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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI  
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.



# THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY UNDER THE  
DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.



The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,*  
*December 1857.*

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POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS.



# POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS

RÊLATING TO

## ENGLISH HISTORY,

COMPOSED DURING THE PERIOD

From the Accession of EDW. III. to that of RIC. III.

EDITED

BY

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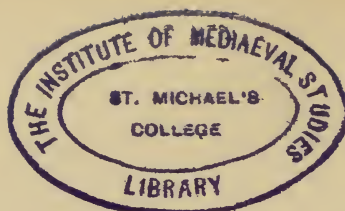
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# CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

	Page
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	xi
1. THE VOWS OF THE HERON . . . . .	1
2. EPIGRAM ON THE ASSUMPTION OF THE ARMS OF FRANCE . . . . .	26
3. AN INVECTIVE AGAINST FRANCE . . . . .	<i>ibid.</i>
4. ON THE BATTLE OF NEVILE'S CROSS . . . . .	40
5. ON THE BATTLE OF NEVILE'S CROSS . . . . .	41
6. ON CRÉCY AND NEVILE'S CROSS . . . . .	52
7. ON THE TRUCE OF 1347 . . . . .	53
8. SONGS ON KING EDWARD'S WARS ; by Laurence Minot . . . . .	58
9. THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE ENGLISHMAN AND THE FRENCHMAN . . . . .	91
10. ON PRINCE EDWARD'S EXPEDITION INTO SPAIN	94
11. PRINCE EDWARD'S EXPEDITION INTO SPAIN, AND THE BATTLE OF NAJARA ; by Walter of Peter- borough . . . . .	97
12. JOHN OF BRIDLINGTON . . . . .	123
13. ON THE DEATH OF EDWARD III. ( <i>English.</i> ) . . . . .	215
14. ON THE DEATH OF EDWARD III. ( <i>Latin.</i> ) . . . . .	219
15. ON THE REBELLION OF JACK STRAW . . . . .	224
16. ON THE SLAUGHTER OF ARCHBISHOP SUDBURY . . . . .	227
17. AGAINST THE LOLLARDS . . . . .	231
18. ON THE EARTHQUAKE OF 1382 . . . . .	250
19. ON THE COUNCIL OF LONDON . . . . .	253
20. SONG AGAINST THE FRIARS . . . . .	263

	Page
21. ON THE MINORITE FRIARS . . . . .	268
22. ON THE TIMES, 1388 . . . . .	270
23. DISTICH ON THE YEAR 1391 . . . . .	278
24. ON THE PESTILENCE (1391) . . . . .	279
25. THE RECONCILIATION OF RICHARD II. WITH THE CITY OF LONDON ; by Richard de Maidstone .	282
26. ON THE TRUCE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1394 ; by Eustache Deschamps . . . . .	300
27. THE COMPLAINT OF THE PLOUGHMAN . . . . .	304
28. ON THE CORRUPTIONS OF THE AGE, 1396-7 ; by John Gower . . . . .	346
29. ON THE VICES OF THE DIFFERENT ORDERS OF SOCIETY ; by John Gower . . . . .	356
30. ON KING RICHARD II. ; by John Gower . . . . .	360
31. ON KING RICHARD'S MINISTERS . . . . .	363
32. ON THE EXPECTED ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER . . . . .	366
33. ON THE DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II. . . . .	368
34. GOWER'S TRIPARTITE CHRONICLE . . . . .	417
35. MEMORIAL VERSES ON THE REIGNS OF EDWARD III. AND RICHARD II. . . . .	454

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INTRODUCTION.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE documents which compose the two following volumes extend through some of the most interesting periods of our national annals. They begin at the moment when a weak and ill-advised monarch had been violently deposed from the throne, and his young son substituted in his place; while his father's marriage had brought to the latter rights in France which led him into wars that raised the military glory of England to such a height as it had never reached before. The reign of Edward III., glorious in many respects, was followed, as it had been preceded, by a reign of weakness and vice, ending similarly in the deposition of the reigning king, but involving in this case a change of dynasty. Then came a short and peaceful reign under the first monarch of the house of Lancaster, followed by the military glories of that of Henry V. The weakness of his son and successor, Henry VI., left the field open to the uncontrolled struggle of personal interests and passions, as well as of political principles, which soon became a more serious contest of dynasties than had yet occurred, and which closed the middle ages by introducing our country to a new political life. Our Political Poems, in fact, occupy the whole space between what may be considered, properly speaking, as the feudal age, and the commencement of our modern history.

Period  
comprised  
in these  
poems.



Disappearance of the Anglo-Norman language

One circumstance strikes us especially when we run our eye through this collection of Political Poems and Songs—the entire disappearance of the Anglo-Norman language. Throughout the whole series there are only two pieces in any dialect of the French language, and those, though intimately connected with English politics and history, were both composed abroad. On the other hand, the Latin language predominates largely during the whole of the fourteenth century, and even during the earlier part of the fifteenth. This indicates, no doubt, the very deep interest and active part taken by the educated classes—those whose minds had been formed in the Universities—in the political events of the time, and it shows further a considerable degree of mental cultivation among the aristocracy in general, to whom many of these Latin poems are addressed. It is probable that this was much less the case as we approach the age of the Wars of the Roses, when we find Latin rarely used in these Political Poems, and the few cases in which it is used are of a specially clerical character. Thus, a monk of St. Alban's recounts in Latin verse some of the events of the Wars of the Roses which had happened chiefly in that part of the country, but his object was evidently to remind the monks of that house of the ill-treatment it had experienced, especially from the men of the north.

THE VOWS OF THE HERON.

The first poem of this collection introduces us to the commencement of the wars with France which formed the grand feature of the reign of Edward III.

History of Robert of Artois.

Among the most turbulent of the great barons of Western Europe at the beginning of the fourteenth century was Robert of Artois, who was descended from a younger son of St. Louis, and who claimed the county of Artois against his aunt, the countess Mahaut, and her daughters. He had made an unsuccessful attempt to establish his claim by force of arms in 1316; and judgment had been given against him twice

in a court of law. The three sons of Philippe-le-Bel, Louis-Hutin, Philippe-le-Long, and Charles-le-Bel, had reigned over France in succession during the short space from 1314, when their father died, to 1328, leaving the crown a doubtful heritage, for the only surviving issue of the three brothers were daughters of the first and third of those Princes, and there was at least a strong prejudice against the existence of the right of succession in females. The French jurists, as is well known, influenced by their national feelings, adjudged the crown to Philippe of Valois. Robert of Artois, who was the brother-in-law and confidential friend of Philippe, and who had contributed more, perhaps, than any single person to his elevation to the throne, stood very high in court favour at the beginning of the new reign, and, stimulated, it is believed, by his wife, the king's sister, he resolved to bring again before a court of law his claims to the county of Artois. As two adverse judgments had already been given, these could only be set aside by the production of some new titles, and documents for this purpose were forged through the agency of his wife. This new trial took place in 1331, when the falseness of the documents was discovered, the persons chiefly concerned in the forgery confessed the whole plot, and several of them were put to death or otherwise severely punished. Their confessions fixed the guilt of this intrigue upon the lady alone, and in all appearance Robert of Artois was not at all aware that the documents were forged until they were exposed in court; but the king, perhaps glad of the opportunity of ridding himself of his obligations to a too importunate friend and benefactor, turned all his wrath against his brother-in-law, and summoned him to appear before his Court of Peers at Michaelmas, 1331. Robert, alarmed for his personal safety, withdrew into Flanders, from whence he employed, not only the agency of assassins, but that of

witchcraft, against the lives of his enemies, but without success. The king of France, informed of these proceedings, compelled the duke of Brabant and the count of Namur to withdraw their protection from him, and seized his wife and children and threw them into different prisons. Robert of Artois, no longer safe on the continent, made his escape, in the disguise of a merchant, to England, where he met with a friendly reception, and was taken into the confidence of the young king, Edward III.

King Edward's  
quarrel  
with  
France.

Edward had already various subjects of complaint against the king of France, and not only he himself, but all his subjects, and even a considerable portion of the aristocracy of France, were convinced of his superior right to the French succession. Robert of Artois laboured assiduously to inflame the young king's ambition, and his success forms the subject of the curious piece which stands at the head of the present volume. The circumstances under which, according to this poem, Edward was finally urged into hostilities, were of a rather singular character. One day in the September of 1338, Robert of Artois, who was at the court of king Edward at London, took his falcon and went hunting on the banks of the river, till he caught a heron. Robert returned to the palace, where he went direct to the kitchen and caused the bird to be immediately cooked and prepared for the table. Now that day king Edward sat at dinner with his courtiers, occupied only with thoughts of love and gallantry, and harbouring only peaceful and indulgent feelings towards all his neighbours, not excepting the king of France. Robert of Artois suddenly presented himself in the hall, followed by three minstrels and two noble maidens, the latter of whom carried the heron ceremoniously laid between two dishes. Robert proclaimed that as the heron had the reputation of being the most cowardly of birds,

it was now destined for the greatest coward at the table, and that, he said, was king Edward, who submitted tamely to be deprived of the kingdom and crown of France, although he knew that they belonged to him by right. Having thus proclaimed his design, he presented the heron to the king, and, as was customary on such occasions, asked him to make a vow upon it. Edward, deeply stung by this reproach, made a vow that before the end of the year he would invade France with fire and sword, and that, if Philippe of Valois ventured to resist him, he would fight him though he came with an army which was ten times the number of his own. Robert was overjoyed at the king's vow, and repeated to himself in undertones the hopes he had of revenging his own quarrel with king Philippe in the war which was about to commence; and then, after making his own vow, carrying the heron in the same ceremony, he proceeded to collect the vows of the other guests. King Edward's court presented at this moment, according to the poem, a singular mixture of English nobles, foreign adventurers, and fugitive barons from the other side of the Channel. Robert addressed himself first to the earl of Salisbury, who was sitting by the side of the daughter of the earl of Derby, of whom he was deeply enamoured. This gallant nobleman declared that, if the queen of Heaven were to descend upon earth and lay aside her divinity, he should not be able to distinguish between her beauty and that of his mistress, and, after complaining of the cruelty which the latter had shown towards him, he begged her to lend him one of her fingers and place it upon his eye. The lady replied by offering him two, and having placed them upon his eye so that it was completely closed, he made his vow that he would not open it again until he

King Edward's  
vow.

Vows of  
the earl of  
Salisbury,



had invaded France and fought king Philippe's people in pitched battle in defence of the rights of the king of England. Robert next received from the lady herself a vow that she would accept no husband while Salisbury was engaged in the war, but would reserve herself for him on his return. After having received the vow of this noble maiden, Robert presented himself before the celebrated warrior, Sir Gautier de Mauny, who made his vow that he would attack and take by assault a strong town then held by a French knight, Sir Godeman de Fay, and that he would return from the attack without having sustained any loss. The earl of Derby, who came next, threatened to attack the count of Flanders, one of the great allies of Philippe of Valois. The earl of Suffolk made his vow that he would single out especially the king of Bohemia, and that wherever he met him in the field he would attack him personally and not cease until he had unhorsed him. Thereupon Jean de Beaumont, who was nearly related to the king of Bohemia, took offence at this boast; he declared that, though the king of Bohemia hated him, yet he still loved that prince as his kinsman, and he threatened that, through his means, the earl should be the king of Bohemia's prisoner. Robert of Artois next addressed himself to Jean de Fauquemont, one of the most celebrated captains of the adventurers or free companions of that time, who made a vow in perfect keeping with the ferocity of the class of troops he commanded. He declared that if king Edward invaded France, he would go in advance and burn the country, promising that he would "neither spare church nor altar, neither woman with child nor infant, nor even his own kinsmen or friends," so long as they were opposed to the English king. Jean de Beaumont, though so cele-

of the  
daughter  
of the earl  
of Derby,

of Gautier  
de Mauny,

of the earl  
of Derby,

of the earl  
of Suffolk.

of Jean de  
Fauque-  
mont,



brated as a warrior, answered Robert's appeal with more modesty than the others. He told the courtiers around him of the vanity of empty boasts made at the festive table, and exhorted them to reserve their valour for the time of action. Nevertheless he promised that, in case king Edward invaded France, he would be his marshal to conduct his host, and that he would take part zealously in the war, however much it might expose him to the vengeance of the king of France. He declared at the same time that, if king Philippe would make reparation for the injuries he had inflicted upon him and recall him from his banishment, he would quit Edward's service and return to that of his lawful king. After hearing the vow of Jean de Beaumont, Robert of Artois presented himself in the last place before the queen of England. She first excused herself on the ground of being a married woman, but, on receiving permission from the king to do so, she uttered a vow which was not very remarkable for its feminine delicacy. She stated, rather coarsely, that she was with child, and vowed that the infant should never issue from her body until the king had carried her with him over the sea on his expedition against France; that, rather than this should happen, she would slay herself and her offspring. "The king thought of this gravely, and said, 'Certainly no one will vow more.'" The heron was now carved and shared among the guests; and soon afterwards the king made his preparations for his first campaign on the continent.

of Jean de  
Beaumont,

of the  
queen of  
England.

I think there can be only one opinion on the narrative contained in this poem, that it is entirely deficient of historical truth. The allusion to the captivity of the earl of Suffolk proves that it cannot have been composed before the year 1340, and its

Character  
of this  
poem.

object was no doubt, at a moment when the energy of the French war was somewhat flagging, to magnify in the minds of his own followers the influence which Robert of Artois had exercised in dragging the king of England into it. The circumstances of the story are in themselves very far from probable, and I shall not be surprised if documents be still found to prove that the persons introduced in it could not have been assembled together in London at any one time. The date is of course wrong, as in September 1338 Edward had already been on the continent two months. The only circumstances we are able to verify seem all incorrect; and the composer was certainly mistaken in his story of the vow of the earl of Salisbury, for it is well known that that nobleman was blind of one eye, in consequence of a wound received in the Scottish wars, in which he had distinguished himself. Yet, it is still possible that the ground of the poem may have been some assembly in which king Edward's courtiers took such vows upon them, and that a poet and partisan of Robert of Artois had changed the circumstances, and built upon them the above story. In this case it would not be an untrue picture of the spirit of Edward's French wars; for the historian Froissart alludes more than once to vows so similar to these that perhaps they were those which the author of the poem had in view when he wrote it. In describing the embassy sent by king Edward to Valenciennes, Froissart tells us that among the envoys were seen a number of young "bachelers" who had each one eye covered with cloth, so that they could not see with it, and it was reported that these had made vows among ladies of their country that they would forego the use of one eye until they had performed some feats of bravery in the kingdom of France; but, he adds, they would not confess this to

Anecdotes  
told by  
Froissart.

those who questioned them, "and everybody wondered greatly at it."<sup>1</sup> A little further on, Froissart describes the commencement of the war, and he says that, as soon as Edward's defiance of the king of France was published and known, Gautier de Mauny assembled "about forty lances of good companions, sure and bold, and set out from Brabant, and rode both day and night, till they came into Hainault, and there they threw themselves into the wood of Blaton, and as yet nobody knew what was his design; but he there told some of his most intimate acquaintance that he had promised in England, before ladies and lords, that he would be the first who entered France, and that he would take a castle or a strong town, and do there some deed of arms, and that it was now his intention to ride to Mortaigne, and to surprise the town which belongs to the kingdom of France."<sup>2</sup> Gautier was successful, and set fire to the town of Mortaigne. It

<sup>1</sup> "Et si y avoit entr'eux plusieurs bacheliers qui avoient chacun un oeil couvert de drap vermeil, pourquoi il n'en put voir; et disoit on que ceux avoient voué entre dames de leur pays que jamais ne verroient que d'un oeil jusqu'à ce qu'ils auroient fait aucunes prouesses de leurs corps au royaume de France; lesquels ils ne vouloient mie connoître à ceux qui leur en demandoient; si en avoit chacun grand merveille." Froissart, ed. Buchon, tom. i., p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> "Sitôt qu'il put sentir et percevoir que le roi de France devoit ou pouvoit être défié, il pria et cueillit environ quarante lances de bons compaignons sûrs

"et hardis, et se partit de Brabant, et chevaucha tant de nuit que de jour, qu'ils vinrent en Hainaut, et se boutèrent dedans le bois de Blaton, et encore ne savoit nul quelle chose il vouloit faire; mais il s'en découvroit là à aucuns de ses plus secrets, et leur dit qu'il avoit promis et voué en Angleterre, présents dames et seigneurs, que il seroit le premier qui entreroit en France, et prendroit châtel ou forte ville, et y feroit aucune appertise d'armes; si étoit son entente de chevaucher jusques à Mortagne, et de sousprendre la ville, qui se tient du royaume." Froissart, ed Buchon, tom. i., p. 222.

can hardly be doubted, I think, that this exploit of Gautier de Mauny is the one alluded to in the poem.

EPIGRAM  
ON THE AS-  
SUMPTION  
OF THE  
ARMS OF  
FRANCE.

Somewhat more than a year later, Edward assumed the arms of France, and quartered them with those of England, an event which is commemorated in an epigram in the present volume. The object of this measure, which is said to have been suggested to him by Jacob van Artaveldt, the popular leader of the men of Ghent, was of course to place Edward in the position of actual king of France, a title which he now publicly assumed, and to give him the right of treating as rebels all subjects of the French crown who remained faithful to Philippe of Valois. Thus, at once, the ordinary feelings of hostility of two nations temporarily at war with each other was converted into all the bitterness of civil war. This bitterness displays itself through the political poems which follow. In the invective against France, published here, the character of France is painted in terms of the

INVECTIVE  
AGAINST  
FRANCE.

most extravagant reproach. To her are ascribed the mingled qualities of the lynx, the viper, the fox, and the wolf. She had listened willingly to the seductions of the usurper, Philippe of Valois, who had now brought upon her the severe vengeance of her rightful sovereign, the boar, by which animal Edward III. is commonly designated in these poems. The sins and failings of Philippe of Valois are then rehearsed in rather strong language; and the praise of king Edward is set forth in no less extravagant terms. Arguments, too, are adduced, and those of a rather singular character, to show the emptiness of Philippe's claims to the crown. Philippe had been proved incapable of curing the king's evil, which was now looked upon as one of the distinguishing characteristics of royalty. Moreover, the vessel of sacred oil, which had been sent down from heaven to anoint Clovis on his coronation, and which had been ever since pre-



served, was now found empty, and had thus refused its sanction to the usurpation of Philippe of Valois. A strange story, which appears to have been widely current at the time, is told of the origin of the so-called Salic law relating to the succession of the crown of France. Hugh Capet, according to this story, was a butcher, who changed his name to Pepin, and having secured the good graces of the heiress of France, married her; but subsequently obtained her consent to a law, contrary to all justice and reason, which deprived the female sex of the right of inheritance. In spite of this unjust law, Edward was still the rightful heir to the crown of France, and his high qualities, his claims to the French succession, and the greatness of England, are dwelt upon with enthusiasm through the rest of the poem, which concludes with an earnest exhortation to accept no truce, for this, it was pretended, would only be a cunning trap laid for him by his enemies.

Stories relating to the law of succession.

From this general invective we pass immediately to the details of history. No event caused greater exultation at this period of our history than the battle of Nevile's Cross, for it was fought in our own island, it saved the people of England from imminent dangers, and it was a glorious victory over their old enemies the Scots. A few lines on this battle, some of which are pilfered from the previous poem, contain little worthy of remark; but they are followed by a longer Latin poem dedicated expressly to this subject. The only detailed accounts of this battle hitherto used by our historians are that of Froissart and those of the Scottish writers, the latter of which are far from impartial. The great inaccuracy of Froissart's account is shown clearly by the poem now printed, which is certainly contemporary with the event, and written no doubt in the midst of the sensation caused by it. It leaves no doubt of Froissart's error in

ON THE  
BATTLE OF  
NEVILE'S  
CROSS.

Different  
accounts of  
the capture  
of king  
David  
Bruce.

supposing that Edward's queen was in the north, or that she was in any way engaged in this affair, a story which was fully adopted by Sharon Turner, and which Lingard did not venture entirely to reject;<sup>1</sup> for surely such an important circumstance would not have been omitted in a poem written at the time of the event, and for the especial purpose of commemorating it. Our poem presents another very curious discrepancy with the ordinary accounts; it states that king David was not taken fighting in the battle, but that he was overtaken by John Copland in the flight (*Brus David auffugit . . . Coplond attingit fugientem . . . rex fugiens capitur*, p. 46); and it seems to be further intimated that he attempted to conceal himself in the thick brushwood among the thorns (*David in spinis reperitur*). The writer of this poem speaks of the Scots with all the bitter animosity which the English then nourished towards them; he describes the motives of this Scottish invasion, and the self-confidence and pride of the Scots, commemorates the courage and patriotism of the Archbishop of York and the lord Henry Percy, and recounts the defeat of the invaders and the capture of the Scottish king by Copland. He then proceeds to depict the character of David Bruce in very reproachful language, and repeats a not very delicate anecdote of the manner

<sup>1</sup> "Lord Hailes is not pleased  
" that the queen should have  
" shared in the honour of the  
" battle, and wished to doubt her  
" presence, because Froissart is the  
" only writer who states it. If we  
" disbelieve all the facts of this  
" reign for which we have *only*  
" Froissart's authority, our scepticism must take a large sweep."—  
Sh. Turner's "England during the

"Middle Ages," vol. ii. p. 204, note  
(2nd edit.)—"Queen Philippa, if we  
" believe the improbable testimony  
" of Froissart, emulating the ex-  
" ample of the countess of Mount-  
" fort, rode among them, and  
" addressed them in kind and  
" animating language."—Lingard,  
"Hist. of Eng.," vol. iii. p. 142  
(5th edit.)

in which he defouled the water of the holy font at his baptism, which he considers to have been a sign of his future disgraceful life. A shorter poem, which follows this, estimates the loss of the French in the battle of Crecy at thirty thousand men, and that of the Scots at Nevile's Cross at twelve thousand. The concluding lines seem to imply the flight of king David from the battle as told in the preceding poem.

CRECY AND  
NEVILE'S  
CROSS.

The great events of the year 1346, and the surrender of Calais, led to a truce or armistice in the following year. This truce was not altogether popular in England, for the warlike ardour of the people had been inflamed by a series of brilliant victories, and many, believing in the full justice of Edward's claim to the crown of France, looked upon it as a dereliction of duty to sheath the sword, even for a moment, until the object of the war should be gained. A poem on the truce, printed in the present volume, is written in this spirit. The king, it says, was not only protected by the favour of heaven because his cause was just, but because in his army piety and charity prevailed, and these virtues, as displayed by the warriors of England, are descanted upon through many lines. The writer proclaims, as a proof that God approved of the war and disapproved of the armistice, the circumstance, mentioned by other writers, that king Edward and his fleet had fair weather when they sailed from England, while, on their return, they encountered violent storms, and narrowly escaped being lost. God was displeased, he says, that the king should return before he had accomplished the grand object of his expedition, by driving the usurper from the throne of France. If, with the spring, king Edward recommenced the war with vigour, no doubt the same great qualities which he had hitherto displayed would carry him through to the end he desired. Victory would be his reward if he continued

ON THE  
TRUCE OF  
1347.



the war; but, in a truce, he would only be the victim of treachery and deceit. The word *treuga* in the Cornish language, we are told by the writer of this poem, signifies grief, and a truce at this time was not a subject for rejoicing.

SONGS ON  
KING ED-  
WARD'S  
WARS, BY  
LAWRENCE  
MINOT.

In the midst of these anonymous writings, we meet with the name of a man who appears to have been the professional song-writer of his age. He takes care to let us know that his name was Laurence Minot. Yet, though these songs must have been very popular, and though they are certainly written with great spirit, we should have lost all knowledge of them, and even the name of the author, had they not been preserved in a very accidental manner. The songs had enjoyed so much consideration among contemporaries, that the author was induced to publish them, about the year 1352, in a collective form, adding some connecting verses. At a later period, in the wars of Henry V., the records of popular feeling in the reign of Edward III. were sought and copied with eagerness; and among other such records, some person copied in a very handsome manuscript these poems of Laurence Minot. This manuscript has fortunately been preserved, and it is by it only we know them.<sup>1</sup> I have printed them collectively, as they were published in 1352; but there can be little doubt that they were written and published separately, on the

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<sup>1</sup> Ritson, who printed Minot's poems, believed the manuscript to be of the time of Richard II., and he and others have taken them as representing the language of the fourteenth century. In this they are evidently wrong, for the language of Minot's songs, as they are now preserved, display too great a neglect of important grammatical forms to

have been written before the fifteenth century. I see no reason to doubt that it was written in the age of the French wars of Henry V., when the poems on the wars of Edward III. were collected with eagerness. The valuable Rawlinson MS., No. 215, which has furnished so many materials for the present volume, was written at that date.

occurrence of the events they celebrate. The subject of the first of these songs is the well-known battle of Halidon Hill, king Edward's first great victory. The songster seems to accuse France of being the cause of the Scottish hostilities, and relates how Philippe of Valois attempted to send them assistance. He exults over their sanguinary defeat at Halidon-hill, which compelled many of them to seek an asylum in the dominions of king Philippe. In fact, the young king of Scotland, David Bruce, with his wife (the sister of king Edward), were carried for security to France after this decisive battle. The second of Minot's songs is a chant of exultation on the manner in which the defeat of Bannockburn had been revenged by the young king of England. The third song commemorates Edward's expedition to Brabant in 1338, and relates how, as soon as war had been proclaimed, the French fleet attacked Southampton, and did considerable harm, until they were surprised and beaten off by the country people, and how afterwards they made themselves masters of the great English ship, the Christopher. The fourth song recounts the sequel of this campaign, and tells us how Edward entered France, and how Philippe of Valois came against him, and promised battle, but afterwards turned faint-hearted, and made his retreat. The fifth of these songs celebrates the great naval battle of Sluys, or, as the English generally termed it from the river which there emptied itself into the sea, of the Swyne, and gives some particulars, especially with regard to individuals engaged in it, which are far from uninteresting. The sixth song has for its subject the siege of Tournai, and was written before Edward,—here designated as the boar,—was compelled to abandon it. The subject of the seventh is Edward's campaign in Normandy in 1346, and the memorable battle of Crécy. It is a song of triumph, composed in the

Battle of  
Halidon  
Hill.

Battle of  
Bannock-  
burn re-  
venged.

Expedition  
to Brabant.

First in-  
vasion of  
France.

Naval  
battle of  
Sluys.

Siege of  
Tournai.

Battle of  
Crécy.

Siege of  
Calais.

Battle of  
Nevile's  
Cross.

Naval vic-  
tory over  
the Spa-  
niards.

Capture of  
Guines.

DISPUTE  
BETWEEN  
THE EN-  
GLISHMAN  
AND THE  
FRENCH-  
MAN.

midst of the joy with which the news of this great victory was received. Another song commemorates the siege of Calais; it describes the arrival of the deputation of the burghers to deliver up the keys to king Edward, but says nothing of the more dramatic part of the scene which forms so prominent a part of the narrative of the chroniclers. The ninth song,—perhaps the most spirited of them all,—commemorates the battle of Nevile's Cross, and the defeat and capture of king David Bruce. Its negative evidence is equally strong with the other contemporary records against the truth of Froissart's story of the part which queen Isabella was pretended to have taken in this battle. It was by the counsel of Philippe of Valois that the Scots invaded England, we are told, and they were so confident in the belief that all the fighting men had been carried out of England to the French wars, that king David talked of descending from his horse at the palace of Westminster. "When sir David the Bruce sat on his steed, he set all England at defiance; but gentle John of Copland talked with David and taught him his creed. Sir David,—who had promised to visit the south,—had the fair Tower of London for his reward." The tenth of these songs celebrates king Edward's naval victory over the Spaniards in 1350; and the eleventh and last was composed immediately after the reduction of the castle of Guines in the earlier part of the year 1352.

A Latin poem, which follows these songs, displays in strong language the hatred which now existed between the two countries, France and England. The Frenchman is introduced replying to various reproaches which were popularly hurled against his countrymen, and he retaliates with a rather heavy volley of abuse, which is curious for the light it throws on the manners of the time on both parts. In the eyes of this French-

man, England was "the dregs of men, the shame of the world, and the last of all things." It appears that Frenchmen were accused of giving a large proportion of care to the combing of their hair, of being pale-faced, of speaking effeminately, of walking in an affected manner, and also of great licentiousness in their private morals. Our Frenchman seems to acknowledge the first four charges, but urges that they had been misinterpreted, and turned wrongly to his disadvantage. He then turns upon the English, and accuses them of making a god of their bellies, and of swilling themselves with ale. "We are nourished with the pure liquor of the grape," he says, "while nothing but the dregs are sold to the English, who will take anything for liquor which is liquid. You drink dregs," he goes on to say "and even those are thought so much of, that it is only on festive occasions that they are distributed to a few and in small quantities." The Englishman replies in the same tone, and accuses the French of unmanly effeminacy, telling them that all their gesticulations and movements betray the faults in their character. Lechery and avarice, he says, were their prevailing vices. The dregs of wine might be used in England at the servile table, but it was the Frenchman who got only the poor remains of the wine, while the Englishman revelled in the pure liquor. Contemporary manuscripts have preserved more than one satirical piece of this description written in prose.

The year 1367 witnessed the expedition of the Black Prince into Spain for the purpose of restoring Peter the Cruel to his ill-merited throne. A short poem, written in a very affected style of versification, commemorates this event, and tells how, while England was reposing in security on her laurels, and the prince was ruling his conquered province of Gascony, the court of the latter gave refuge to the fugitive prince

PRINCE  
EDWARD'S  
EXPEDITION  
INTO  
SPAIN.



who had been driven from the throne of Spain by his people and had been succeeded in the occupation of it by his bastard brother Henry (don Enrique). The writer celebrates in few words the exploits of Edward and his brother of Lancaster, of Ufford, and Chandos, and Knollys, and exults especially over the defeat of the French free companies (*colliberti*), and the capture of their chiefs Du Quesclin, whom the English called Claykyn, and D'Audenham, whose name is here corrupted into Dondinham. A warm panegyric on the Black Prince concludes this short poem.

Poem on  
the same  
subject, by  
Walter of  
Peterbo-  
rough.

The Spanish expedition of the Black Prince had inspired several writers, among whom was a Latin poet of some pretension. Walter of Peterborough was a monk of Revesby, in Lincolnshire, who held some position in the household of prince Edward's brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and appears to have accompanied him in this expedition for the restoration of Pedro the Cruel to the crown of Castile. He wrote a Latin poem to celebrate it, which he dedicated to the duke's treasurer; and at some period subsequent to its composition these Latin political poems became so popular that they seem to have been introduced into the schools as books for reading, and to have been accompanied with glosses, or commentaries, both grammatical and historical. Such a gloss is found attached to one copy, the manuscript of which is unfortunately imperfect, of Walter of Peterborough, and the poem and the gloss together give us a rather full and particular account of this Spanish war. Walter of Peterborough, after giving in a prologue an account of himself and his writings, and indulging in a warm panegyric of the prince of Wales, proceeds to relate the events of the war, which he describes as being one of three brothers against three brothers, the first three being bastards and the other three legitimate. The former were Enrique, Tello, and Sancho, the illegitimate sons

Causes of  
the war.

of king Alphonso by Leonora de Guzman ; the latter were prince Edward, John of Gaunt, and king Pedro, the claims of the latter to fraternity with the two princes being of a very doubtful character. Pedro, driven from the throne of Castile by his bastard brother, and left entirely without friends, sought the protection of prince Edward, who was moved by his tears, and immediately undertook to assist him if he could obtain the approval of his father, king Edward of England. The messenger sent by the prince to England seems to have been his brother, John of Gaunt, who soon returned with king Edward's authority to undertake the war. The prince, greatly rejoiced, proceeded to assemble his army, but, in the midst of his preparations, a messenger arrived, bearing a letter from Don Enrique, who expostulated with the prince on his hostility, but required him, if he would not desist, to indicate the route by which he intended to invade his dominions, in order that he might meet him and give him battle. The prince replied, and summoned the bastard, as the condition of peace, to restore to Pedro the throne of which he had deprived him. The poet then describes the passage of the Pyrenees, and the military arrangements of the troops, whose principal leaders are enumerated. The first town belonging to the king of Castile at which they arrived was that of St. Salvador (Salvatierra), which at first offered resistance, and Sir Richard de Burley was wounded ; but on second thoughts the townsmen opened their gates to their rightful sovereign Pedro. The next town they came to, Vittoria (*villa Bæticensis*), followed the example of St. Salvador, and surrendered at once, and the invaders here learnt that the enemy was encamped in the mountains. One division of the prince's forces, passing the night without sufficient watch, was suddenly attacked at daybreak by the troops of Don Enrique, who rushed upon them from

Passage of  
the Pyre-  
nees.

the mountains, and made considerable havoc; many were slain in their beds. Among the killed was a good English knight, Sir William de Felton, and among the rather numerous prisoners taken by the Spaniards was Sir Ralph de Hastings. The duke of Lancaster hastened to the assistance of the division which had been thus attacked, and the Spaniards, repulsed, withdrew into the mountains. It was now resolved by the enemy to harass the prince's army by desultory attacks, while by seizing the passes they would coop them up in the mountains, and conquer them by famine; and the English soon felt severely the effects of this policy. They, nevertheless, made their way over the mountains, the difficulties of which are particularly described by the poet, and at length reached the town of the Groyne (Logroño), on the banks of the Ebro. It was the 1st of April, when the Black Prince, who had established himself at Navarette, received another letter from the bastard, announcing that he was encamped on the banks of the river Najara ready to give him battle. This news spread joy through the English army, which immediately made a movement in advance to be nearer the enemy. The decisive battle was fought on the 3rd of April, and is described with interesting minuteness through the remaining pages of the poem of Walter of Peterborough, who complains at the end that his labours had met with no reward, and that his poem was in the case of the pearl that was placed before swine.

Battle of  
Najara.

JOHN OF  
BRIDLING-  
TON.

We now come to one of the most remarkable tracts in the present volume. When the period of Edward's great military successes had passed away, and the eyes of his subjects were less dazzled by the outward glory of his rule, they began to look more into the national grievances, and a party in opposition to the government was gradually forming, and was strengthened by

the increasing errors of the court. Many of the younger nobility joined this opposition, and they fortified their cause by assuming for it the popular name of the Black Prince, who lent himself more and more to this opposition to the court and to his unpopular brother the duke of Lancaster. Among the chiefs of this party we may probably reckon the young earl of Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, the last of the Bohuns who held that earldom.<sup>1</sup> Somewhere about the year 1370, or perhaps a little after, a writer who appears to have been in his service drew up and dedicated to him a political review of the reign of king Edward, under the feigned character of a prophecy in Latin verse, which in itself is obscure enough, but it is rendered tolerably intelligible by a pretended prose gloss or commentary. Thus, whatever there might be of criticism or satire was sheltered under the name of a prophetic writer who had long gone beyond the reach of temporal punishment. This writer calls his prophet John of Bridlington, but he professes to conceal his own name, and it seems very doubtful if the later bibliographers had any good reason for stating that it was John Ergome. The reasons he assigns for concealing his name are sufficiently curious; he feared, first, the tongues of the envious, who might pursue him with their detractions; secondly, the power of the nobles, whose vengeance he might provoke by what would be taken as personal attacks; and third, the indignation of wise and discreet men, who, strong in

Humphrey  
de Bohun.

State of  
freedom of  
speech.

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<sup>1</sup> Humphrey's two daughters were married, the eldest to the duke of Gloucester, son of Edward III., and the youngest to the earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, who was subsequently raised to the title of

duke of Hereford, and became eventually duke of Lancaster and king Henry IV. This last Bohun, earl of Hereford, was only in his thirty-second year of age when he died in 1372.



Three pre-  
faces.

their own superior intelligence, might be offended that he, a young man, should presume to meddle with a subject of so much profundity. To whatever degree the crown might overlook freedom of speech, it is evident that it was dangerous in face of an aristocracy which had the power of vengeance in its own hands, unless the offender was under very powerful protection. There are three distinct prefaces to this poem and its commentary, in the first of which the writer explains the causes and objects of the prophecy, and the advantages which must follow from knowing and understanding it. The second preface presents a sort of canon of interpretation, or rather it furnishes the key to the obscurities in the text of the prophecy. Thus the author, by making his text obscure, and by giving an apparently hypothetical explanation, avoided the danger which would have been incurred by a contemporary who openly published his political opinions. The third preface explains the material arrangement and division of the book. The prophet is represented as suffering under the accesses of a sort of delirious fever, under which the revelations of the future are made to him. These accesses are three in number, in accordance with which the poem is divided into three "distinctions." The first of these divisions includes the period from the accession of Edward II., for the political treatise begins with the reign of this monarch, as in some sort the base of the politics of that of his successor, to the battle of Crécy, fought in 1346; the second distinction extends from this latter date to A.D. 1361, the year of the second great pestilence; and the third from that period to a rather indefinite date, the end of the prophecy.

Contents of  
the three  
distinc-  
tions.

The three prefaces just mentioned belong professedly to the commentary. The first chapter of the metrical text is also a preface, in which the prophet describes

how he lay down on his bed under the influence of his fever, and became inspired with the spirit of foresight. The second chapter includes the reign of Edward of Caernarvon, on whose character the writer is by no means indulgent. Edward, he says, was a man without knowledge and wisdom, who was defeated with disgrace in all his wars, and who was always infatuated with worthless favourites. Nevertheless, says the prophet, he was "noble by birth;" which, adds the commentator, was a contradiction to a vulgar error which seems to have prevailed largely in the fourteenth century. The want of noble feelings and the rather low propensities displayed by the second Edward, so widely different from his father's temper, made it easily credible that he was not of the pure blood of the Plantagenets, and a pretender was found in the twelfth year of his reign, A.D. 1318, who laid claim to the crown. He said that he was the eldest son of king Edward I., and that in his earliest infancy he was entrusted to a nurse, who having negligently left him in a low cradle, a sow entered the chamber, seized upon the child, and tore it in such a manner that the nurse dared not show it to its royal parents. She, therefore, secretly changed it for the child of a carter of the same age, and the latter was brought up as the king's son; and the pretender sought to gain credence to his story by showing the marks of the wounds he had received from the sow. It was remarked that this story agreed very well with the low tastes of the king, and, although this pretender was seized and hanged at Northampton, there were many who believed it. We may suppose, from the manner in which this story is told by our commentator, that it still found believers in his time, who only dared not proclaim their belief because it would be casting a doubt on the rights of Edward III.

Sketch of  
reign of  
Edward II.

Story  
against Ed-  
ward II.  
The car-  
ter's son.

Accession  
of Edward  
III.

to the English throne.<sup>1</sup> The principal events of the reign of Edward II. are narrated concisely, and the writer dwells on the manifold evils which are brought upon a kingdom by misgovernment, and on its unhappy end as illustrated in the case of this monarch. We are told, in the conclusion of the chapter, of the birth of Edward of Windsor, how he succeeded to the throne before his father was dead, what were his claims through his mother Isabella to the crown of France, and for what reasons he received the title or epithet of the bull (*taurus*), under which he is commonly spoken of in this poem.

Character  
of Edward  
III.

It is in the third chapter that we really enter upon the grand subject of the pretended prophecy, the reign of Edward III., to the events of whose youth it is devoted. The prophet and his commentator ascribe a rather large array of virtues to the young king, such as fortitude of body and mind, sobriety, chastity, justice, humility, activity in doing good, and courage against his enemies. These, our writer tells us, were the king's virtues when young, but he confesses that they did not all continue with him during his life. Edward's reign would be glorious to the end, there would be abundance of the produce of the earth, yet he would be always in want of money. Lastly, he would be a strong defender of his people, would subdue his enemies, and overcome kings. He would be during

<sup>1</sup> There is a less complete, but supplementary allusion to this affair in Capgrave's Chronicle of England, recently published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, p. 185:—"In the xii. yere cam a zong man to Oxenforth, and there he prechid openly that he was son to kyng Edward the First, and very cyre of Yngland.

" Eke he noysed that this Edward the Secund was not the kyngis son, but a carter child, sotily broute into the queen. The meyhir of Oxenforth took this man, and sent him to the kyng, that lay thanne at Norhampton, where he was hangged and drawe and qwartered."

his whole life a lover of justice. These, we are told, were the king's more durable qualities. Edward is next spoken of as making various innovations in the coinage, among which was the introduction of a gold coin, the noble, while the circulation of silver coinage became very much diminished, in consequence of the application of that metal to other purposes. The fall of Mortimer is described in this chapter, and the oppression and violence which were practised among themselves in the different classes of society. Fraud prevailed among the merchants, as is illustrated in the importation of the base coinage of Luxemburg, the lushburns, as they were called; and simony reigned in the church.

The fourth chapter recounts the marriage of king David of Scotland with king Edward's sister, in the vain hope of establishing peace between the two countries; the successful invasion of Scotland by Baliol, and the misery of Scotland under two kings; Baliol's expulsion and flight; and king Edward's great victory over the Scots at Halidon-hill. The chapter concludes with some allusions to the vices of king David of Scotland, who is spoken of by the title of the crab (*cancer*), "on account of certain conditions of the king in which he resembled that animal." David is accused of treating his English wife with contempt, and of living luxuriously with a number of concubines, so that the licentiousness of his manners became a common subject for celebration among the minstrels and jongleurs, and was proclaimed by them everywhere. His subjects looked upon him with no respect, and his wise men esteemed him a fool.

Relations  
with Scot-  
land.

Character  
of David  
Bruce.

The fifth chapter treats of the relations between England and France. The writer declares the "pride" of the French to have been the cause of the wars which followed, and complains of their continued attempts to rob the king of England of his castles and territory on the continent. England was unwilling

Relations  
with  
France.



to engage in war, for there was an impression among all classes in this country that France was then one of the most powerful kingdoms in the world, and that England was hardly able to contend with it. The French themselves had a similar belief, and in their pride they thought that with their gold alone they were able to conquer England; "but," says the writer, "they were deceived, for the help of God with justice is worth more than many treasures." The French jurists had decided that according to the law of France a female could neither inherit nor convey the right of inheriting to her male descendants, but our writer adduces passages from the Bible to show that this was contrary to the law of God.

Com-  
mencement  
of the war.

The first hostilities with France are the subject of the sixth chapter. King Edward went to the continent and placed himself at the head of a large army, composed partly of Germans, who served for money and could be trusted only as long as they were well paid, and Flemings, who only served the English king because their material interests bound them to England, whence they derived the wool for their clothing manufactures. The French, instead of resisting in the field, withdraw into their castles and strong places, and Edward undertook the siege of Tournai; but he was obliged to abandon it by the want of supplies, and he returned to England to seek them. He raised money by seizing upon the wool, and then, returning to the continent, gained the great naval victory of Sluys.

Progress of  
the war.

Another chapter (*cap. vii.*), concludes the first distinction, and brings the political review down to the battle of Crécy. The pope had interfered, and an unsubstantial peace, or rather an armistice, had been the result; then arose the war in Britany, and the king sailed over, and laid siege to Vannes; in his return the king encountered a dreadful storm, from which he escaped with difficulty. A new truce was concluded;

and Edward spent the interval in ostentatious revelry, holding a "round table" at Windsor in supposed imitation of the doings at the court of the legendary king Arthur. The Flemings drove away their duke, who was unfriendly to England; but, on the other hand, pope Clement, who was a Frenchman himself, showed an undue partiality for his countrymen, which, however, did not prevent them from experiencing a disgraceful defeat by the earl of Derby. At this period of his composition the poet or prophet was visited by an attack of his malady, which compelled him to bring to a close the first distinction.

Conduct of  
pope Cle-  
ment.

The second distinction of so called John of Bridlington embraces the period from the year of Crécy to A.D. 1361. The writer begins this second division of his work with a chapter in which he again asserts the justice of king Edward's claims to the French succession, and insists on his victories as evidence of God's approval. In the month of July (1346), Edward again put to sea with his fleet, well furnished for the war, and landed in Normandy, where he overran the country, and made a great destruction of his enemies, on whom God had sent this punishment on account of their notorious immorality. The French broke down the bridges before the invaders, but in vain; and at the Pont-de-l'Arche (*Pont-large*) the French lost a great number of men in their attempt to prevent the passage of the river. The writer goes on to tell of the taking of Caen by the English, and of the loss sustained by the king of France in passing a river (at Pontoise). He accuses the French of falseness, because, he says, they made promises in their necessities which they did not intend to keep; and of pride, alleging, as an instance of the latter, their refusal to yield to Edward's just claims to the throne of France.

Expedition  
to Nor-  
mandy.

The second chapter of this second distinction recounts the victories of Crécy and Nevile's Cross. The war

Battle of  
Crécy.

was becoming more intense and more sanguinary, and the writer implores the protection of the Virgin Mary for his hero, king Edward. False Philippe, we are told, fled from Crécy, and left his slaughtered people to their fate. The king of Bohemia, the count of Flanders, and the master of the hospitalers, were all slain in the battle, with sixteen hundred and ten knights, whose vain display of gems and precious stones in their accoutrements did not save them from their fate. The army of the "just" Edward gained the mastery over the French, and the English now regaled themselves without interruption on the good wines of France. Meanwhile David of Scotland sought to destroy England during the absence of its soldiery, but, after he had been wounded by an arrow in the face, he was made a prisoner by John de Coupelonde. It was a just punishment for his numerous immoralities. The devil was the leader of the Scots in this invasion, which ended in their perdition; but Christ protected the English, who were few against many. There were bishops in the hostile ranks, who loved strife better than preaching, and who placed themselves under the protection of the shield rather than under that of the cross.

Battle of  
Neville's  
Cross.

Siege of  
Calais.

Court  
scandal.

The siege of Calais commences in the third chapter, and we are here told that at first the English army suffered greatly from the want of provisions and of other supplies. To this statement is added a piece of court scandal of the time, to which I am not aware that we have any other allusion. The writer intimates rather strongly and very coarsely, that king Edward had a concubine who repaired to him before Calais, and that her influence contributed in a great measure to check his warlike ardour. She is designated by the name of Diana, which in the commentary is supposed in the first instance to indicate the queen, but the sequel both of text and commentary show clearly that

this was merely intended as a blind. While Edward, we are told, was constantly occupied with this lady, his army ran short of bread. There is further a rather obscure intimation, that a son was born of this commerce, who is designated by the term *latro*, a robber. This statement gives rise to some moral reflections on the consequences of living incontinently, and the writer further intimates that this was one of the causes why Edward was not allowed himself to gather the fruits of his victories, but he excuses himself from entering into further detail, lest he should draw upon himself the enmity of the lady in question:

Edward's  
concubine.

“Si modo plus dicam, faciam mihi tunc inimicam.”

These words, which are those of the prophet, betray at once the subsequent writer, for the supposed John of Bridlington, living, as we are told, in the earlier part of the commentary, at the beginning of the reign of Edward II., could hardly be afraid, by uttering the words with which he pretended to be inspired, of provoking the hostility of a woman, who, whoever she may have been, was then probably not born, and was destined to be a royal concubine only in the middle of the following reign. On the other hand, these words seem to show that the lady alluded to was still alive, and possessed some degree of power at the time when this book was really composed. During this time, we are told, king Edward had received an affront from the count of Flanders,<sup>1</sup> who had concluded

The count  
of Flan-  
ders.

<sup>1</sup> The young count of Flanders—his father was killed at Crécy—was restored to the duchy by an agreement between the king of France and the Flemings, one condition of which, insisted upon by the count's subjects, was that he should marry

one of the king of England's daughters, but he found his position so disagreeable, that he fled from Flanders to the court of France, and abandoned the treaty by which he had been restored, and with it the proposed marriage.



a matrimonial engagement with one of Edward's daughters, which he now refused contemptuously to fulfil. Edward's exhausted finances soon proved the fidelity, or rather the want of fidelity, of his paid foreign soldiers, for it was no sooner found that money was not ready for their pay, than Brabanters, and Flemings, and Germans began to desert his standard, and he found that he could depend only upon his own Englishmen.

The king  
before  
Calais.

The fourth chapter opens with an eulogium of Edward III., whose great qualities are enumerated, which had uniformly merited victory over his enemies. During the winter, the king had obtained from England money and provisions, and this was no sooner known than soldiers crowded from all sides to his standard. Moreover, his brother, the duke of Lancaster, arrived with reinforcements from Gascony, to his great joy; and the nobles of England hastened to join him at the head of their vassals. Thus the king was enabled to carry on with vigour his great undertaking.

Capture of  
Charles of  
Blois.

Inter-  
ference of  
pope Cle-  
ment.

The fifth chapter is devoted to incidents which occurred during the siege of Calais. Charles of Blois, the claimant to the duchy of Britany against the family of Montfort, having been attacked suddenly while engaged in the siege of the castle of "Rochele" (La Roche-Derien) in the month of June, 1347, was made prisoner by the English, and had been safely lodged in the Tower of London, which was already the prison of king David of Scotland. Pope Clement, also, interfered to make a new attempt to procure a peace, or rather, according to our writer, he interfered to deceive the king of England, for he had always acted with partiality for the king of France. He did all he could, we are here assured, to induce Edward to abandon his rights, but Edward put no trust in the pope, but believed that the help of Christ was much to be preferred to that of Clement, and so it proved. "Hence," says the comment, "it is to be

“ noted, that the pope may often err against justice,  
 “ and may excommunicate the true part, and give his  
 “ benediction to the false part, and grant his in-  
 “ dulgence to those who are fighting on the false  
 “ side ; and then God will give his benediction to  
 “ the true part, and the acts of the pope will not  
 “ hurt it.” The pope is greatly blamed for employing  
 the holy rights and the goods of the church to help  
 Philippe of Valois against the king of England, and  
 he is threatened with God’s judgment for thus mis-  
 using them. The next chapter shows how Philippe  
 resolved to make an effort to save Calais, assembled  
 a great army, and hastened to its relief. But, says  
 our writer, it is in vain we contend against God’s  
 ordinance and will, as Saul only met with defeat and  
 slaughter when he made war upon David, God’s  
 anointed. So Philippe’s great army approached Calais,  
 showed themselves, and then ran away. Philippe’s  
 flight is explained in two ways : in the first place, he  
 had lost confidence in himself since his defeat at  
 Crécy ; and, secondly, heaven had abandoned him  
 since his cause was an unjust one.

Philippe’s  
 attempt to  
 save Calais  
 fails.

The seventh chapter introduces us to the reign of  
 king Jean of France. There was great rumour, we  
 learn, at the beginning of this king’s reign, that the  
 French would renew the war with England, and pre-  
 parations were made for it, but they came to no  
 effect. Indeed, it is added, king Jean did not make  
 war upon the king of England from the beginning of  
 his reign till the year of the battle of Poitiers. A  
 famine was in part the cause of this, and the people  
 of France were not unwilling to enjoy even a tem-  
 porary peace. The pomp and extravagance displayed  
 by king Jean was not destined to last two years,  
 either on account of the great pestilence, which came  
 in the second year of his reign, or “ because he was

Reign of  
 king Jean  
 of France.

The great  
pestilence.

“ never afterwards so pompous as in these two first “ years.” During this period a battle is pretended to have occurred on the river ‘ Seyne,’ with a loss of above a thousand men, but the writer, in his commentary, professes not to know what battle is alluded to. The writer proceeds to announce a series of mysterious dispensations of providence which occurred during the following years. The first of these was the great pestilence of the year 1349, which commenced in England in the month of July. After desolating this island, it began to cease here towards the end of August, and passed over into France, and raged there with still greater intensity. This pestilence compelled the king of England to refrain from hostilities ; and the new pope, who was also a Frenchman, interfered in the hope of turning the armistice between the two kings into a permanent peace, but in vain.

Edward’s  
back-  
slidings.

The eighth chapter explains to us why Edward was not allowed to obtain the object of this war, his royal inheritance in France. His inclination for strange women had gained upon him, and a certain maiden is here said to have obtained so complete an influence over him as to make him neglect and almost separate himself from his own queen. God, however, would not entirely destroy him for these sins, but in his mercy would only send upon him great temporary evils, from the effects of which he would raise him up again. The king had further provoked God’s anger by the slaughter of so many innocent people in France, and by his rapine and oppressions in England. By his unjust exactions he had broken the laws of his kingdom which he was bound to observe, and God punishes kings who do not properly observe their country’s laws. He had, moreover, weakened the power of the country and his own by the destruction of his people, whose means were exhausted by these arbitrary exac-

tions. His conduct is compared with that of David, who sinned against God in somewhat the same degree, and was punished for his sins, but not destroyed. Such also was to be the punishment of king Edward.

The sins of the French, as we are informed in the ninth chapter, were still more crying, and brought upon them far greater misfortunes. Among these pride stood foremost, under the influence of which they had refused king Edward his rightful inheritance. They had received their first punishment for this in their great disaster at Crécy; and the sin prevailed to such a degree, that the very princes of the royal family rose up in rebellion against their father. Nor was this their only fault; for, besides their pride, they were guilty of all the rest of the seven deadly sins, avarice, luxury, envy, gluttony, anger, and sloth. The same judgment would come upon them as fell upon Babylon, when God gave it up to Cyrus, king of the Persians. Their fields and vineyards were wasted, and their towns, formerly so joyful, were impoverished and ruined by the war. A further cause why these misfortunes were sent to them was their want of devotion, and the little reverence they paid to holy things, and to the saints who might have interceded for them. Their misery had been completed by the terrible visitation (the pestilence) which had carried away a seventh part of the land (*septima pars terre*).

The tenth and last chapter of this distinction relates somewhat briefly the events of seven years, namely from 1354 to 1361. The principal of these events was the battle of Poitiers, gained in 1356 by the Black Prince. After just ten years of peace between the kings of France and England, during which each party had spared nothing to irritate the other, for our writer tells us the French spoke reproachfully of the English, and, among other things, pretended that they were born with tails, according to a story which was

Sins of the  
French.

Battle of  
Poitiers.



then prevalent,<sup>1</sup> and the English applying to the French epithets equally opprobrious, the war recommenced, and the English proved their superiority over their opponents in the battle in which king Jean and one of his sons were made prisoners. Before this, in 1354, according to our writer, the Scots surprised Berwick, stealing into it by night, and expelled the English inhabitants, after plundering them, and killing many. This attack was made out of spite to Edward de Baliol, and to revenge the sanguinary defeat which the English had formerly inflicted upon them at Halidon-hill. During the whole life of Edward Baliol, we are told, the Scots were in subjection to the English, on account of Baliol's "justice" and of the assistance he received from the English barons; but, on the death of Lord Henry de Percy (in 1351), Baliol lost one of his chief supports. The king of England, returning from France, marched with an army to the northern borders; but Berwick was recovered by the English before his arrival. He, however, having purchased Baliol's right to the Scottish crown, invaded Scotland, and ravaged the country in a dreadful manner, until his sister, the wife of king David, interceded, and obtained a peace. About this time accusations were brought against the lord Henry de Percy of not being faithful in his allegiance, but our writer throws discredit on these charges, and appeals to his conduct in the battle of Nevile's Cross. Afterwards (*i. e.* in 1356), Charles of Blois was ransomed and set at liberty. The last event described in this chapter is the invasion of France by Edward III. in 1359 and 1360; but in the midst

Capture of  
Berwick  
by the  
Scots.

Invasion of  
Scotland.

Edward's  
last inva-  
sion of  
France.

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<sup>1</sup> On this subject of the pretended tails of the English, the reader will find a very curious satire, in Latin prose, written about this time, and printed in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 230.

of describing the ravages committed by the invaders, the "prophet" was attacked so violently by his malady, that he was obliged to bring his second distinction to a close.

The third distinction commences with the second great pestilence, in 1361, in which the duke of Lancaster and many other people of high rank in England perished, and of which several particulars are given. The king and queen escaped, but it is intimated that other griefs were reserved for them. The king, this time, returned from France, bringing money with him, instead of coming, as formerly, to ask for money to continue his wars. The peace of Bretigni is passed over in silence, and, as the author approaches the time at which he was writing, he becomes more obscure in his allusions, many of which are not easily explained. This is the case with the second chapter of the third distinction, in which the writer touches upon some of the less known scandal and intrigues of the court of Edward III. He begins by intimating that many persons who had been frightened into devotion by the late pestilence assumed the cross and went to the Holy Land to fight against the enemies of the faith, and that there their leader was slain.<sup>1</sup> Who was the leader of the English slain on this occasion is not distinctly stated, but his name is concealed under the Latin word *rusticus*, and the writer insinuates that it may have been one which by its derivation suggested the idea of peasants or churls, "like Charls, or "Charltoun, or something of this kind." It is next intimated that some woman again influenced the king; that she, by her dalliance, rendered him inactive and effeminate, and prevented him from crossing the

The second  
pestilence.

A new  
crusade.

More court  
scandal.

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<sup>1</sup> This was probably the expedition | Cyprus. See Michaud, Hist. des  
led by Pierre de Lusignan, king of | Croisades, tom viii. pp. 149-151.



Trea-  
cherous  
counsellors.

Descrip-  
tion of  
these.

sea and pursuing his victories. And the writer indulges in a display of ill-humour against women in general. Another cause of the failure of the war against France was, we are assured, the want of God's grace, which had been withdrawn from king Edward on account of his wrong-doings, especially in unjustly taxing his people. Instead of standing firmly upon his rights, and prosecuting his claims with vigour, Edward even allowed his prisoners to regain their liberty by the payment of ransoms.<sup>1</sup> This, we are told, occurred in 1362. Our writer speaks next of some great personage who enjoyed the king's familiarity and confidence, but who secretly deceived and betrayed him, and whom he conceals under the appellation of Traulus, a stutterer. This person, he says, was a pompous and ostentatious man, who came to an ill end. Other false and deceitful men who were near the king's person are designated in the metres ascribed to the prophet by the epithets *seduus*, *blesus*, *hircus*, *genitalia læsus*, *panniculos cæsus*, *glaucus*, *fulvus*, and *obesus*, words which the comment intimates described some peculiarities in the persons or characters of the individuals designated by them. "While these," the writer says, "carry honey in their mouths, but seek " to sting the bull (Edward III.) from behind, their " treachery broke the pledge of love, but their fraud was " discovered by the artfulness of their own partizans." The first of these epithets, *seduus*, meant, says the comment, a man who lisped; the second, *blesus*, one whose words were pleasant and fair in appearance, but false. *Hircus* was a man who had the character and appearance of a goat; *genitalia læsus* described an accidental defect in the person to whom it was applied; *panni-*

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<sup>1</sup> This alludes, apparently, to the | the fulfilment of the treaty of  
liberation of the hostages given for | Bretigni.

*culos cæsus*, one who wore to excess the jagged and slit garments which were then coming into fashion; *glaucus* and *fulvus* designated the individuals by their complexions, which are described more minutely a few lines below; *obesus* was, of course, a fat man. After thus explaining the names, and informing us that people would all know the persons they designated by the descriptions, the writer, as though he thought he had said too much, tries to mystify his subject further by remarking that each word may singly denote an individual, so that there would be eight in all, or that two or three names might signify one man, in which latter case, if carried to the furthest limit it would allow, there would be at least two individuals. "These things being premised," he goes on to say, "the aforesaid persons will be more easily "recognized;" and he proceeds to explain the metrical text, as quoted above, by saying that the honey they carried in their mouths was pleasant and honeyed words, by which they deluded the king, while they plotted against him behind his back. Thus, they broke the league of love, that is, as he says, "between the "king and the other lords, whom the king would have "loved well but for their words, or perhaps between "different lands and kingdoms, against which they "urged the king either to war or hatred." It is thus that the writer gives several explanations of his own words when he comes near the time at which he wrote, in order to cover the direct attack contained in the first explanation. He goes on to say that their fraud would be discovered (*fraus illorum nudabitur*) by the artfulness of their own partizans (*arte suorum*), that is, by some open act of treachery, or by some man or men of theirs who, knowing their treasons, should reveal them to the king. The writer, leaving these individuals, proceeds to criticise the costume of the day, complains bitterly of the evil of these jagged

Extrava-  
gance in  
dress.

garments, and declares that there was a change of dress eleven times a year, which impoverished the nobility and gentry to such a degree that they were unable to furnish their tables, and were obliged to abandon their old hospitality. This sin of extravagance in dress was punished by a famine, and by the absolute want of those things in which extravagance in dress had obliged people to be sparing.

Domestic  
grievances.

The subject of these domestic grievances is continued in the third chapter of this third distinction. The king had abandoned his expeditions against France, and remained at home in peace. His domestic policy is represented as worse even than his foreign policy.

Simony in  
the church.

He sent out six censors or judges, who, instead of relieving, oppressed the people. An archbishop of Canterbury was raised to his see by simony and the exercise of influence at the court of Rome; but he was deprived of his dignity by Satan, "or some other "evil spirit," who would not allow him to hold it long. This can only refer to Simon de Langham, who succeeded Simon de Islip in the see of Canterbury in 1366, and perhaps there is an implied pun upon his name. Langham retained the see of Canterbury only two years, but the Satan who deprived him of it was the pope, who made him a cardinal and bishop

Submissive  
conduct of  
David  
Bruce.

of Præneste, in Italy. David king of Scotland about this time made peace with his brother-in-law the king of England; he was becoming aged and weak-minded, and he submitted readily to king Edward, but the writer represents this peace as an injudicious one, and the foundation of great evils which were to fall upon both countries. An unusual phenomenon in the Cheviot hills is next alluded to, and a disturbance in Scotland, which threatened to break the alliance between the two kings. The king of England sent out new judges instead of the six first appointed, and these were worse than the former, for, as the first

judges tyrannized over the commonalty, and ruined them by their extortions, the new judges attacked in the same manner the superior classes of society.

The fourth chapter records the tribulations of the English monarch at this period. The kingdom of France was held back from him on account of his sins and of the sins of his people. He was, or was to be, exposed to great dangers on the sea; he was to pass the sea against his enemies, and be obliged to return by his necessities; he was to cross again, and gain a victory, which was to be followed by a treaty; and a third expedition was to end in a victory accompanied by great slaughter, which was to be followed by another treaty. In this expedition the flower of the English troops would perish. "This seems to have been fulfilled," says the comment, "when the king was last in France, when many of the English warriors died, namely, about the year of Christ 1362;<sup>1</sup> or perhaps this is to come." Thus the writer goes on concealing his attacks on the past and present by supposing they may refer to the future. This expedition was to be accompanied or followed immediately by a famine, which was to bear heavily upon the poor. More than this, all the four elements would conspire against the king to humiliate him. The earth was to be shaken by an earthquake; on the sea he was to be endangered by furious tempests; the air was to be infected with pestilence; and fire was to be hostile to him in a manner to which the allusion is more obscure.<sup>2</sup> But the chapter concludes with the consoling

Edward's  
tribulations.

<sup>1</sup> The date is wrong, for Edward's last expedition to France took place in 1359 and 1360, and ended in the treaty of Bretigni. The sufferings of the English during this campaign are well known.

<sup>2</sup> These tribulations seem to have been scattered over several years. The third pestilence, and a famine, occurred in 1369; the fire may possibly allude to the burning of the English fleet by the Spaniards at



reflection that, as sorrow often follows joy, so joy might be expected in its turn to come after sorrow.

The king's  
predicted  
repentance.

Our writer, who seems to have been one of the popular party who were rallying round the prince of Wales, now begins to speculate on the future. In the fifth chapter of this third distinction he proceeds to show how king Edward would repent of his past misdeeds and reform his life. The king having thus, he says, been purified by the elements, or, in other words, having become convinced that these various visitations on earth and water, and by air and fire, were brought upon him by his own conduct, will return to his warlike life, which he had left against the intentions of Providence, will submit himself to be guided by the laws of his country, and will abandon the errors of his youth. He will punish the wicked judges who had indisposed him towards his nobles and people, turn the unjust public officers out of their places, which will be given to good men; and he will thus increase his revenue, which had been squandered away by his ministers. He will make good ordinances for the utility and profit of his kingdom, and will promote peace between the commons and the aristocracy. Taxes will then cease, and the people will sing and be joyful during the rest of his reign. He will be a benefactor to churches and monasteries, yet will not seek to extort money from his subjects. It is intimated, however, that on some occasion the king would be tempted to renew his extortions, and that, though money would be allowed no longer to pervert justice by bribing the judges, right would be defeated by perjury in the courts

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La Rochelle; and the tempest may be that which the same year drove the king back when he would have come with his fleet to the rescue of

La Rochelle. Perhaps, however, the pestilence, famine, and earthquake in 1349 are more especially alluded to.



of law. Subsequently to this, the king will renew his claim to the inheritance of France, but his backslidings will again stand in his way, and it will not be given to him to establish his rights.

The sixth and seventh chapters relate to a great battle which was to take place between Scotland and England, and which was to occur, according to the calculations made in the comment, in the month of May, 1373, in a plain by a river side, and near a fountain, to which woods and forests were adjacent. The French and other foreign nations were to come to the assistance of the Scots; and among them there would be a great king with his army, who is conjectured to be the king of Denmark. The French were to be infinitely numerous, and all the allies would be bent on the destruction of England. The king of England would be obliged to trust entirely to the bravery of his own subjects, as he would be without foreign allies; and he would now regret the loss of so many good men as had been ruined and destroyed by his wicked officers and unjust laws. Nevertheless, the lords and knights of England would hasten to his standard, and it is intimated that among these would be the writer's patron, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, who bore six lions *or* on his shield. Among the last to arrive at the general rendezvous would be the king's sons, perhaps because it was supposed that they would have to come from a greater distance. All these good English warriors would come to serve the king voluntarily, and without wages. The king of Scotland, who, by his habit of retrograding, had merited the name of the crab, would turn tail at the first shock, and the king of England, marching straight against his enemies, would overcome the French and all the other allies. An important part of the battle would take place about the well already alluded to. Various imaginary details of this predicted battle are given to

Battle with  
the Scots.

Patriotism  
of the  
English.

They are  
to be vic-  
torious.

throw more appearance of credit on the prophecy. It is further intimated that some of the young English nobles, and even the king's own son, would in the sequel of the battle fall into an ambush by their own rashness, and suffer severely.

The eighth chapter enters upon a new subject King Edward had celebrated his jubilee, or the fiftieth year of his age, in 1362, by a general pardon and amnesty, and by the confirmation of Magna Charta, but his people were now looking forward, it appears, to a greater jubilee. "It is to be noted," says the comment, "that the jubilee of the bull (Edward III.) will be the fiftieth year of his reign, and not of his age, as the monks reckon it in the fiftieth year of their monastic profession and not of their age." This jubilee, he proceeds to reckon, would happen in the year 1377. Peace would prevail during the interval between the battle described in the two previous chapters and the jubilee, and the king would again repent of some backslidings against the church, as it seems to be intimated, and would become so virtuous that his people would look upon him as a god upon earth. *Scilicet pater in terra*, the text goes on to say, *vix absolvit sine guerra*. This line, we are told in the comment, will admit of three interpretations. In the first place it may mean that the father on earth, *i.e.* the pope, will hardly absolve without war the king of England, who then would be penitent for certain offences regarding the church. Secondly, it might mean that the pope will hardly absolve or preserve the kingdom of England without war against the French. A third interpretation is, that the father on earth, meaning king Edward, will hardly absolve or preserve the land without war, which will, perhaps, at that time be raised among the English barons. At the time of this jubilee there would be a legate of the pope in England, who would celebrate the

The king's  
jubilee.

New  
offences.

A legate  
from the  
pope.

jubilee, under compulsion of the king, at Canterbury, of which see he would be made archbishop. Then even the thief would be joyful, for every one would be liberated from prison, and captives would be ransomed. "Whence it is to be noted," says the comment, "that it is probable that, if he shows such favour to these malefactors, he will do more for the commonalty of the kingdom and for good men." After the jubilee the king was to give himself up to piety and good works until his death.

The ninth chapter treats of the "cock" (*gallus*), that is, of Edward the Black Prince, in whom now the hopes of the nation were centred. According to the speculations of our writer, prince Edward was to succeed his father on the throne, and to reign a model of greatness and of justice, and at the same time of gentleness towards good men, while he would be the terror of his enemies. In his time there would be great abundance of the necessaries of life, and his subjects would flourish in martial vigour. He would assemble an army in the north in order to invade France and recover the rights transmitted to him by his father; while the Flemings, afraid openly to oppose the English, would secretly meditate treason against them and their monarch. That time, however, the English would not succeed, on account of their vanity, displayed in the diversity and jaggings of their garments, and of their presumption.

In the tenth chapter we are told of a great pestilence which was to fall upon the land in the reign of the "cock," as a new punishment for the sins of the people. This pestilence would last two years and a half, and would carry away one half of the population. This would thwart the designs of the king, and would humble the pride of the English warriors. The "cock" would outlive the pestilence, and after it was over the Scottish king would again

Expected  
accession  
of the Black  
Prince.

A great  
pestilence.

Story of  
Philippe le  
Bewes.

make war upon him, but, as on former occasions, he would turn coward at the moment of decisive action. The "cock" would also be exposed to the treachery of the French; and here the writer repeats a popular story relating to the origin of the law of succession in France, which is nearly identical with the one mentioned in a former poem. "It was the law in France," he says, "that women should inherit until the time of Philippe 'le Bewes' (le Bel), whom one of the heiresses of France took from the shambles to make him her husband, on account of his beauty, whence all the kings of France since that time are the descendants of butchers. It was thereupon ordained that in future women should not inherit, on account of the contempt brought upon royalty by making a butcher a king."

Recovery  
of the  
crown of  
France.

The eleventh chapter tells us of a second pestilence which was to happen in the time of the "cock," and its causes and consequences. After this second and most severe pestilence, in which the king of Scotland would die, Edward was destined at last to obtain the recognition of his rights and to succeed to the crown of France. This event occupies the twelfth chapter of the third distinction and the last chapter of the book. It is predicted to take place in the year 1405, when the "cock" would have reached an age at which he certainly could not expect to live long to enjoy his triumph. The book ends with an appeal to the author's patron, earl Humphrey de Bohun, that he would not let it pass through the hands of many people, and that, above all things, even with those to whom he might show it in the greatest confidence, he would carefully conceal the name of the writer.

Account of  
the MSS.

In spite of this appeal, however, this "prophecy" soon found its way abroad, and became popular, especially, as it would appear, among the clergy. The three manuscripts I have used appear to be contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the date at



which it was composed; one, the Digby MS., belonged to a dean of St. Paul's, in London; the other, the MS. in the King's Library, belonged to the chapter of Canterbury; and I am inclined to think that the Cottonian MS., from which the text is here taken, was the original copy made by its author for the earl of Hereford. It is the best written manuscript of them all. It contains errors of the scribe, which have either been copied into the others, or, in the latter, the attempt to correct them has caused still greater corruption of the text. In one instance, at the beginning of the eighth chapter of the third distinction, the second line of the text has been accidentally omitted, as appears by the comment, in which nearly all the words which composed it are preserved, but none of the other manuscripts that I have consulted supply it. The metrical text of the supposed prophecy became afterwards popular, without the comment, which nobody seems to have cared for after the reign of Edward III., and then it was interpreted according to the caprice of the individual who quoted it. John Capgrave, in his Chronicle, has taken two lines, and entirely abandoned the old interpretation, in order to apply them to the execution of archbishop Scrope in 1404.<sup>1</sup>

The author of this singular political tract describes accurately the known events of English history down to the period at which he wrote, but the case is very different when he attempts to penetrate the future. People were becoming weary of the oppressive government of the latter part of Edward's reign, and they looked forwards eagerly to the reign of a successor who had already made himself extremely popular, and who was known to be opposed to the

The author's prophecies not fulfilled.

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<sup>1</sup> Capgrave's Chronicle of England, p. 290.



Death of  
king Ed-  
ward.

domestic policy of the government; and whoever wrote this book was no doubt catering to the popular taste, and doing service to his party. But the sequel of events soon proved that he was no prophet. Edward did live to see the jubilee of his reign, on which occasion he granted a general pardon for minor offences, but it presented none of the joy which the would-be prophet looked forward to. Edward's reign, under the influence of his evil advisers, had become more and more dishonourable, and he was at this time sinking in health, and died four months afterwards. The Black Prince, the favourite of the people, had died in the preceding year, and the crown descended upon the head of a mere child, whose subsequent reign presented a sorrowful contrast to that which was expected from his father. People in general seem to have anticipated the worst, and in the deep grief with which the death of king Edward was received, they forgot the errors of his reign to remember only his greatness and his virtues. They saw themselves on the eve of a war with France, and all their great warriors were departed.

ON THE  
DEATH OF  
EDWARD  
III.

England  
the good  
ship.

These sentiments are strongly imprinted in the melancholy tone of an English song in this collection, which has for its burthen the transitory character of human greatness and the want of durability in popular gratitude. Once England had been a good ship, of noble make, and with lofty tower—one of the chief appendages of a ship of war at that time. It weathered storm and tempest without fear and without damage. The ship was furnished with a rudder to steer and govern it, such as could not elsewhere be found in the world; and while rudder and ship held together, they were proof against all dangers. A sure mast belonged to the ship, with a strong and large sail; and it had a barge, which set at nought the whole power of France, and was the shield and

protection of England. The song goes on to tell us that the rudder of this ship was not a rudder made of oak or elm, but it was the noble prince Edward the Third; and it was his son, the prince of Wales, who was never discomfited in fight, who bore up the helm. The barge was duke Henry of Lancaster, who never failed to chastise his enemies when they provoked him. All these were now laid low, and, no longer seen, they would soon be forgotten. The mast of the ship represented the good commons, who maintained the war with their wealth; and the wind which filled the sail was "good prayers." Now, the songster laments, devoutness is cast away, and good deeds are clean forgotten. An imp, or offset, of the same root remained, and there was hope that when the child grew up to manhood he would not degenerate from his blood. There remained, however, nobody on earth to compare with the warriors and rulers whom England had lost.

A short Latin poem which follows enters more particularly into the bright phases of Edward's reign. After expressing a hope that the young king Richard might some day be equal to and thus worthy of his father, he gives a sorrowing retrospect on Edward's reign and his personal character. He was, he says, remarkable for the regularity and frequency with which he performed his religious duties, and extremely liberal in his gifts to the church. Among the numerous relics which he distributed to the English religious houses, the black monks, or Benedictines, received from him the head of their founder, the abbot Benedict, and the white monks or Cistercians that of St. Anne, the grandmother of Christ. The latter was at the East-Minster, or St. Paul's, and the former at Westminster. Edward was happy in the number and in the great qualities of his children; he was merciful as well as just in his courts; and he was uniformly

Latin poem  
ON THE  
DEATH OF  
EDWARD  
III.

Relics  
brought to  
England.

King  
Edward's  
character.

successful in his wars. Crécy, Calais, and three great victories over the Scots, were proofs of the latter, as well as his victory over the Spaniards at sea, and the numerous illustrious prisoners whom he brought to England. His love towards his subjects was proved by his edict against the arbitrary violence of his purveyors, who were required in future to take nothing but what they paid for. In order to ensure an impartial administration of justice, he appointed to be "prefects" of provinces (*præfectos patriarum*) men who did not belong to the same county, so that, for instance, a West-Saxon judge would be appointed to Mercia, who could thus be biassed by no personal feelings. He laboured strenuously to destroy the numerous banditti who infested the country, and succeeded in greatly diminishing their number; and he was a terror to all transgressors of the laws. Yet, after all, so great and so noble a being, who was looked upon almost as a god, now lies low, and a small stone is sufficient to cover him.

Troubles of  
the reign of  
Richard II.

We are now approaching times of popular turbulence. During Edward's reign the desire for civil and religious liberty was becoming daily stronger, and a reform movement was advancing steadily though silently, and had numerous preachers busily employed among the middle and lower classes. The dazzling glories of the French wars, and the great feeling of personal attachment to Edward III. which prevailed among the commons of England, prevented for a long time any strong or open demonstration of the popular sentiments, but during the latter years of his reign the discontent had been gathering which soon broke out in scenes of turbulence under the misgovernment of his grandson. Unfortunately, the popular songs connected with these events—and there undoubtedly were numerous popular songs current at the time—were the least likely to be preserved, as the class most interested in them were

not in possession of books in which they could write them. The only two poems I have found having for their subject the great rebellion of the commons in 1381 belong to the clerical or at least to the more learned class of society, for in one the whole and in the other the alternate lines are written in Latin. Hence, though they were evidently composed by persons who entertained different political opinions, they are both hostile to what we should now call "the mob."

The first of these poems is a song written evidently by an opponent of the government. He complains that everybody had been ruined by "tax," and appeals, as a proof of his statement, to the deaths of so many men of strength; yet most of the wealth which was extorted from the people went into the hands of the greedy collectors and courtiers, and a very small part ever reached the king's treasury. This misrule had hard "hansell," and in the sequel was productive only of grief; for the misdeeds of the wicked are destructive of all reverence. The trouble, we are told, began in Kent by an insurrection against the rich, where the ribalds assembled in arms, and acted with the presumption of fools, which is not to be wondered at, since they had churls for their chieftains. In this wicked manner they went from Kent to London, depopulating the farms on their way, proud in their first success, and little thinking of their future defeats and misfortunes. They refused to listen to any terms until they were freed from their servile bondage, and obtained, in effect, charters of their freedom; but the advantage they supposed they had thus gained only led them into still greater bondage, which they had merited by the outrages they perpetrated. "Loud the lads laughed, and "shouted with sonorous voice, when they slew the bishop, and many other persons of distinction; "they threw down some of the best manors in the

ON THE  
REBELLION  
OF JACK  
STRAW.

The insur-  
rection.

Outrages  
committed  
by the  
rebels.



"kingdom, and did harm enough so long as their "reins were slackened." Jack Straw was their great incendiary, and declared that all England should bow to the victorious populace. They slew Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, burnt the palace of the Savoy, and put to death all who fell into their hands against whom they had any spite. The young king displayed his courage on this occasion, and, while others sought to escape and hide themselves, he rode into Smithfield, and there, with God's assistance, cast down Jack Straw. The writer has either made a mistake in the person who was killed in Smithfield, or he means that in Smithfield the king put down the insurrection, of which he looks upon Jack Straw as the chief promoter and leader.

ON THE  
SLAUGHTER OF  
ARCH-  
BISHOP  
SUDBURY.

The grand theme of the second of these pieces is the slaughter of archbishop Sudbury. The writer laments the confusion into which the kingdom had been thrown, in which the nobles had entirely lost their spirit and courage, while the mob ruled and ordered everything at its will. The world, in fact, was turned upside down, for the nobles had sunk into servility, and the serfs had become lords; the judge was condemned, and the criminal occupied his seat. England, having fallen under the pope's anathema for her outrage upon the church, had lost all her good name. The young and feeble king was not yet feared by the populace, and hence the lower orders rose, went about furiously, slaughtering people, throwing down houses, plundering, and burning. They dragged the archbishop out of the Tower, cut off his head, and stuck it up on London bridge; but it was taken down by Sir John Walworth (the lord mayor) and reverently wrapped up in a pall. Next day the populace behaved so threateningly towards the king that they extorted from him letters of pardon; nevertheless their leader would have run the king through

Conduct of  
Sir John  
Walworth.



with his sword, had not Walworth struck off his head, which was raised upon London bridge in place of that of the archbishop. The fate of the latter is lamented in great bitterness, and the writer exults over the various degrees of providential vengeance which fell upon his murderers. He then gives way to an invective, first against the English populace in general, whose violence he describes, and next against the people of Kent in particular. The poem ends with a list of the rather grotesque names or nick-names of the chief leaders of the rebellion, who had all met with their due punishment. These were Jack Sheep, "Tronche," John Wrau, Tom the Miller, the Tiler, Jack Straw, the earl of the Plough, Rake-too-dear (?), Hob the Carter, and Rake-straw. The order in which the names are given seems to have been regulated merely by the desire to get them into two hexameter lines.

Among the legacies which the reign of Edward III. had left to that of Richard II. were the religious doctrines of the great reformer John Wycliffe. The Wycliffites, or the Lollards, as they were called, had been increasing rapidly during the latter years of Edward's reign, although they enjoyed the protection of the unpopular duke of Lancaster. This protection however, gave them a great amount of freedom, which they continued to enjoy under the new reign, though they soon began to be exposed to persecution. The intellectual agitation caused by the promulgation of these new doctrines, and the impatience of those who suffered under the pressure of ecclesiastical intolerance, drove many people much farther than Wycliffe and his party ever contemplated; and there can be no doubt that the religious feeling was deeply mixed up with the political feeling in these popular troubles. In all periods of great discontent with the existing forms and condition of society there rises an extreme party which has for its

Wycliffe  
and the  
Lollards.

Medieval  
socialism.

standard the principle which in modern times has received the name of socialism, implying an absolute equality of individuals and a common right in property; and doctrines approaching closely to this, if not identical with it, were preached to the populace in the reign of Richard II. by men of ardent tempers, who had been originally friars or monks, who had embraced the reforming principles of Wycliffe, and who had subsequently thrown themselves into this medieval socialism.

John Balle.

Among these was John Balle, who had become so popular as a preacher of these extreme doctrines, that he had been selected as a special object of persecution by archbishop Sudbury and the bishop of London, and lay in prison at the time of the insurrection. The rebels released him, made him their chief preacher, and talked of appointing him primate of England. After the suppression of the insurrection, Balle was arrested at Coventry, and carried to St. Albans, where the king was holding his court; and there, under the influence of terror, he made, or was accounted to have made, a confession, by which the Wycliffites in general were implicated in the insurrection. The opponents of Wycliffe, the old ecclesiastical party, grasped eagerly the weapon thus accidentally placed in their hands, and they attacked the Wycliffites not only as heretics but as subverters of public order.

AGAINST  
THE LOLLARDS.

A curious manifesto against the Lollards, in Latin rhyming metres, which is here printed, was evidently written immediately after the insurrection and the arrest and confession of John Balle. It seems to have been intended to serve as so many memorial verses of the principal charges exhibited against the followers of Wycliffe. It begins with an appeal to Christ, that he would cause the brambles and other noxious weeds to be extirpated from his garden, the church, which had hitherto been remarkable for the beauty and fruitfulness of its trees and plants. The old enemy

of mankind had, however, sown the tares in this garden, which were destroying all its beauty and usefulness. These tares were the Lollards,—thorns, brambles, and weeds (*lolia*), which laid waste the Lord's vineyard. There never was a greater pestilence in the church, nor a more fruitful source of error. They had tongues of vipers, full of deceit; and under the outward appearance of sanctity they allured the unwise and simple into their nets. "This plague now reigns without remedy in England, and in no other land. . . . O now pestiferous land, thou wert formerly rife with all wholesome science; free from the stain of heresy, a stranger to all error, and unconscious of all fallacy; but now thou art at the head of all schism, discord, error, and madness; thou art the lewd follower of every nefarious sect and of all strange doctrine." The Lollards are accused of displaying all sorts of outward mortifications, while they privately indulged in luxuries. While they pretended to be superior to all others, they were false teachers and false interpreters. They were the authors of hatred and division among the clergy, and of sedition among the populace, and they were the real disturbers of the peace of the kingdom. To them is ascribed the rebellion of the serfs and the slaughter and outrages which followed. "John Balle taught us this when he was put to death for his wickedness; that sect was a nest which contained depraved chickens, and nourished them for the ignominy of the kingdom; meaning thereby the sect of Wycliffe, which was the primary cause of the strife which had terrified the whole kingdom." The sectaries had thus brought the kingdom to the very brink of ruin. The writer then goes on to enumerate their particular errors. They not only forbade tithes and other dues to the clergy, but services and homages to the lords; that is, they preached against the spiritual and civil

England  
accused of  
religious  
backslid-  
ing.

The Lol-  
lards  
charged  
with hypo-  
crisy.

Lollard  
doctrines  
concerning  
the priest-  
hood.

oppression under which the commonalty then groaned. The ordinary arguments in favour of the claims of the church to such offerings or dues are put forth in a popular form, coupling always rebellion against the state with resistance to the church. The Lollards pretended that a man who was notoriously immersed in sin, though he might be an ecclesiastic, was not capable of administering the sacraments of the church or of duly performing any of the religious offices; to which the writer of this poem objects the ordinary argument that the power of administering was given by Christ not to the man but to the office, and that it was in no degree affected by the private character of the individual. Besides, he urges, if we once adopt this principle, who is to be the judge of any particular priest, if he be privately a sinful man or not? The power of confession and absolution, he says, as given to the priesthood, is one of the most intimate and necessary principles of Christ's church; yet the Lollards denied it altogether, and held that God alone was able to cleanse people of their sins. This, he says, was a grave injury to the authority and discipline of the church, as it deprived the clergy of the power of judging of people's spiritual maladies, and applying the proper remedy, as well as of holding under proper restraint those who were running astray. The Lollards again, he says, held the absurd opinion that one pope was not enough, but that it was expedient to have several; as if there were not naturally in every institution and body one head to rule and guide its various parts. Moreover, they pretended that if any one of the faithful were manifestly better than the rest, he ought to be pope; the reply to which is that God alone is the judge who is qualified to be pope and who not. The Lollards, he says, complained of the riches of the church; but it was not right or expedient that the church should be deprived of the

On the  
pope.

On the  
riches of  
the church.



property which enabled it to sustain its outward respectability and command popular respect, or that its priesthood should be allowed to die of hunger. He accuses the Lollards of inconsistency, because they carped equally at the temporal power of the clergy, at the wealth of the monks, and at the poverty of the friars; and he argues that all these different qualities, however various, were approved by Christ either by word or example. He declaims bitterly against the rancour with which the followers of Wycliffe pursued the four orders of friars, and the slander which he accuses them of inventing and vomiting against them. Lastly, he inveighs against the opinions of the Wycliffites in regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation which was then held by the Catholic church. After confuting these opinions in his way, he concludes by calling down the wrath of heaven on these would-be reformers.

On the  
friars.

Amid all these contending principles in politics and religion, and in presence not only of turbulence among the people and oppression and misgovernment by the court, but of threatening convulsions of nature, the popular writings bear upon them the impress of alarm and sadness of spirit. An earthquake of a violent character, unusual in this island, had just occurred, and filled people with terror; and an English poet of the time made it the occasion for a short poem or ballad, in which he pointed out the many warnings God had sent to make people of all classes amend their lives. The first of these warnings was the insurrection of the commons, when, he says, there was no lord so great, but he quailed with fear, and laid aside all joyfulness until the danger was past. If the lords had been favoured with God's grace, they might easily have put down the rising at its first start; but it was God's will to show them for a moment their own insignificance, and he left them to be terrified and tyrannized over by the class of society which they

ON THE  
EARTH-  
QUAKE OF  
1382.



Effects of  
the earth-  
quake.

had most despised. Next came the earthquake, at which people were equally terrified, though it was no sooner over than they all returned to their old vices. So utterly aghast were they, that they fled out of their houses, without caring for gold or silver; for "chambers and chimnies all burst to pieces; " churches and castles fared foully; and pinnacles and " steeples were cast to the ground." These two events, combined with a third, the pestilence, were sufficient warnings for all reasonable people, but they had produced no effect, and the poet concludes with some moral reflections on the corrupt state of the world.

ON THE  
COUNCIL  
OF LON-  
DON.

The earthquake had happened, somewhat ominously, at the very moment when a council of the clergy was sitting in London to pronounce judgment upon Wycliffe and his adherents. It was St. Dunstan's day, Wednesday, the 19th of May, 1382. There is a sort of ballad upon this council, composed in Latin, with a curious mixture of English words in the refrain or burthen. The writer complains of the "desolation" which hung upon England, and how the good ship stood in danger of being wrecked; and prays that God might bring the people to penitence, and especially that he would open the eyes of the young king to the wickedness and hypocrisy of the friars. A pestilence was thinning the population. An earthquake had been sent as a warning to the people for their sins, for Christ was almost forgotten in England. God's anger was shown undoubtedly in this earthquake, for it occurred at the very moment when the scribes and pharisees were assembled with the high priests against God's anointed. Winds and floods, such as had not been known before, had swept away the harvest.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Stowe mentions the great floods of this year, but he says that they occurred on St. Thomas's day, *i. e.*

Dec. 21, when they could not have affected the harvest, as they are here stated to have done.

cause of all these visitations was plain to be seen, for all orders of society had become equally wicked. In the very shops the purchasers were deceived by the use of false measures, and perjury and fraud reigned everywhere; and no wonder, for the clergy, who ought to be a mirror to the laity, were remarkable chiefly for their pride and licentiousness; and those in power only thought of plundering those whom it was their duty to protect. Few of the prelates of the church were promoted for their theological learning, but they obtained their money by favour, or by simony, or by flattery. Equally blameable were the monks and friars, especially the latter, who in their outward acts pretended to be like red roses, "but the roses have faded, and their odour is like that of a dung-hill." These built vast and magnificent houses, which were no better spiritually than dens of wolves. There was no monastery, however rich in lands, nor a king or a bishop, who could raise a palace so quickly as those whose daily profession was begging. In truth, says our writer, "they are either thieves, or they make money, which is treason against the crown." They call themselves public mendicants, and they protect themselves against the inclemency of the weather with rich and expensive clothing, while they exclaim, with the pharisees, "Lo, what we suffer for the love of Christ!" These friars preached everywhere that whoever died in their habit would escape the torments of hell and pass directly to heaven. If a rich man in the neighbourhood was taken ill, one of the order would hasten to him and labour to persuade him to give his corpse to the friars; but if a poor man in sickness went to them to beg them to give him burial, the reply was that the guardian was absent, and the suppliant was turned out of doors. The friars, in their chapters, drew up letters which they called suffrages, by which they made those who paid for them partakers in all the masses, prayers,

General wickedness of the people.

Tricks practised by the friars.

Their 'suffrages.'

and abstinences they said or performed for themselves, caring little whether the purchasers were worthy or not. So many shares were thus distributed, that the writer conjectures they must have had very little left for themselves. They were guilty of many greater crimes than these, of which, says the writer, "I will not here speak; but I say farewell to you, friars! Whoever throws his net among you is sure to catch reprobates." He next turns to the monks of the order of St. Benedict, who, he says, must have received their name by the figure of speech called antiphrasis, or, in plain words, by contraries, for they deserved more truly to be called *maledicti*, or accursed. Although the monks professed to abandon the world, nobody indulged more in worldly enjoyments, and in none more than in eating and drinking. "I, who write this, began by being a monk; I was shorn by them, but not yet professed; but I was soon tired of their society, and I left them to embrace Christ's rule. . . . For the Lord, seeing his sea so much agitated, caused certain noblemen to be placed in authority, in order that the faith of the church might be able to be restored, and to that end called Wycliffe and his disciples—these are the fishermen to whom the Lord has given to conduct Peter's ship with caution." These good teachers reproached the monks for not keeping their rule, and admonished them to avoid idleness and turn their hands to labour; and the same reproach was made to the friars, who would rather beg than write. The mere mention of work stirred up the indignation both of monks and friars; and the former delegated to the latter the task of preaching against the reformers, and they attacked them with slander and falsehood. For this cause they were now assembled in council, and the monk of Ramsey, John Welles, began the attack, in a windy and stormy discourse, with a face the colour of gall, which

The Bene-  
dictines.

The call of  
Wycliffe.

John  
Welles  
attacks the  
Wycliffites.

displayed the temper it covered. Wycliffe himself was not present, but his disciple, Nicholas Hereford, replied to Welles, and soon brought him to a stand in his arguments. Then rose another pompous monk, named Goydoun,—who was not a regular monk, but a layman in monk's clothing,—and undertook to prove that monks ought not to labour, and that friars, though able-bodied men, and capable of earning their living, ought to beg. Crophorne, a man of no fame, spoke less to the purpose than his predecessors, and his arguments were not worth *unum stercus canis*; he and the resk of the monks did no more than “croak like frogs.” After the monks had done, the friars began, and a Minorite doctor named Merton rose to speak, but only babbled like a raven. Whappelode, who followed, was a notorious liar, a hair-brained fellow, who only proved himself an empty talker. Stokes, who spoke next, displayed a bilious-looking face and an equally bilious temper, yet he laboured through several days to convict the reformers of heresy, though to little purpose. On the last day Nicholas Hereford replied, and, with the assistance of Philip Repingdon, so confuted his accusers that they held down their heads in confusion. Nevertheless, the monks and friars, having filled their purses with the money of the poor, hastened to London, prepared, as the writer says, “to give large thongs out of other people's leather.” They presented themselves before the archbishop, and proclaimed Nicholas Hereford a heretic and Philip Repingdon a madman, while they anointed the prelate's hand with money. The archbishop, thus propitiated, assented to all that the friars demanded. Then the bishop and the friars cited Hereford and Repingdon to appear before them; but when they came they merely abused them, without alleging any substantial charges; and the two objects of their persecution, perceiving their danger, appealed to the pope.

Nicholas  
Hereford  
replies.

Others  
follow.

Hereford  
and Re-  
pingdon.



SONG  
AGAINST  
THE  
FRIARS.

Dealings of  
the friars.

Their in-  
continence.

The English song which follows contains a more general attack on the friars, and is rich in satirical irony. Men might see by their appearance, the writer says, that they were given to great penance, and that their diet was simple and spare. "I have lived forty years, and I never saw men fatter about the kidneys than are these friars. Where they wander about the country, they are made so thin by want of meat, and are so reduced by penance, that each one is a horse-load, when he will truss out of town." It is much to be lamented, he says, that they should be allowed to go by two and two from town to town to seek their sustenance, dealing in "divers mercery," as though they were pedlars. They carried about in their bags purses, pins, and knives, and girdles and gloves, and such articles, "for wenches and wives;" but wherever they haunted, the husband "ever thrived backward," for during the "good man's" absence the friar would come to the dame, and "spared neither for sin nor shame but he did his will." In fact, he says, the friars would fare but poorly if they had no help of housewives in the husband's absence. They were far cleverer traders than an ordinary pedlar, and they knew, too, how to conjure; for one of them, with a pound of soap, would gain a kirtle and a cape, and if he gave a woman a knife that cost but twopence, he would have the value of ten knives from her before he went. The writer next proceeds to warn his hearers who may have handsome wives or daughters against allowing any friars to come near them, and describes the consequences in rather coarse language. He accuses them of maintaining men in sin, instead of teaching them virtue; for, he says, if a man had murdered all his kindred, and go make his confession to a friar, the friar would absolve him clean and quickly for less than the value of a pair of shoes, and give him

assurance that his soul was cleansed of every sin he had done. The writer adds that the founder of the four orders of friars was the first murderer Cain, and that hence the four initials of their names (Carmelites, Austins, Jacobins, and Minorites) formed his name, which was spelt in the middle ages Caim. Hell, he says, was so thronged with the friars, on account of their enormous wickedness, that soon there would be no room for the souls of other people. Their constant labour was to cry down the regular clergy, but he prophesies that before long they would suffer the same fate as that which had fallen upon the Templars. He then goes on to explain their methods of extorting money from people, and concludes with a declaration which would lead one to suspect that he was the same versifier who wrote the preceding Latin ballad. "I was myself a friar full many  
 " a day, and thus I know the truth. But when I  
 " saw that their living accorded not with their  
 " preaching, I cast off my friar's clothing, and nimbly  
 " went my way. No other leave I took of them when  
 " I went, but I bequeathed them to the devil every  
 " one, the prior and the convent. Although I have  
 " left the order, I am not an apostate, for I was with  
 " them a month and nine or ten days less than a  
 " twelvemonth. I made me ready to depart before  
 " the time of profession came, and went my way  
 " publicly through the town."

Their ex-  
tortions.

A second English song on the friars is directed chiefly against the Minorites, who appear to be satirized in it for the use they made of pageants and theatrical shows to impose upon the uneducated classes. The writer describes them as hanging up a representative of the Redeemer, with wings and other grotesque accessories, on a tree (or wooden cross); while in another place a friar acted also the part of Christ, with a wound in his side, and others in his hands and feet; and further

ON THE  
MINORITE  
FRIARS.

Pageantry  
employed  
by the  
friars.

on appeared a grey friar in a cart made of fire, of course intended to represent Elijah carried up to heaven in the fiery chariot. He suggests, in regard to the latter, that fire was an appropriate accompaniment to any of the "four orders," as all friars deserved to be burnt. "They are always preaching of poverty," he says, "though they love it not; the whole town is searched to procure delicate meat for their mouths, and their dwellings are extensive and wonderfully wrought; but all these extravagancies were paid for with money by which people had bought impunity in the commission of robbery and whoredom."

ON THE  
TIMES,  
1388.

Corruption  
of society.

We have now to pass over a few more years, which furnish us with no political poems known to exist, until we arrive at that period of political agitation, when, in 1388, the party in opposition to the court had gained so much strength, that the king's favourite, Robert de Vere, was obliged to fly with some others of Richard's ministers to the continent. I think I am right in ascribing to that year a poem in alternate lines of English and Latin, which presents a sort of general complaint of, or satire on, the corruptions of society at that period. From the number of copies preserved, it was evidently popular. The writer of this piece begins by lamenting the decadence of England, and the absence of all that manly character which had formerly characterized its people. Lust and pride were now predominant in England, and truth was entirely set aside. Friends were changed into enemies, and the land was filled with dissension, while the foes abroad threatened it with invasion. Internally there was nothing but confusion; truth had disappeared, and the only persons listened to were whisperers and flatterers, who ruined the commonwealth. The upper classes of society had become shamefully corrupt, and showed no feeling of sympathy for the sufferings of the poor, who were exposed to great oppression. In the

courts of justice money everywhere overcame right. The king might perhaps do something to amend it, but he was surrounded by people who concealed from him the state of the kingdom. Jack and his fellow (Vere, duke of Dublin, and the earl of Suffolk) had gone, and were not greatly sorrowed for, but plenty of bad people remained behind. These walked about in new and extravagant fashions. They enlarged their shoulders artificially, and made them broader than they were made by God, with wide and high collars, which, says the writer, made their necks look as if they were prepared for the axe. They had long-pointed boots, and great spurs at their heels, and their hose had a straight band, which looked as if their thighs were tied to the body. "They may not," he adds, "as I suppose, bend their knees without trouble. When other men kneel, offering up their prayers to Christ, these stand at their heels, not able to bend their legs. They avoid bending themselves for fear of hurting their hose." They were thus obliged to pray standing, and not only showed little piety themselves, but they disturbed other people in their devotions. Many other ridiculous and inconvenient fashions in dress are enumerated, which were but the index to the vain and frivolous manners of those who wore them. Drinking and swearing also had increased to a deplorable extent, for which many in the end would "sing a counter-tenor in Newgate." Lastly, simony had invaded the church, and the clergy were equally corrupt with the laity.

A single distich commemorates the king's fourteenth year, A.D. 1390-1, by telling us that the axe was sharp at that time, and had a hard stock, but the allusion is not very clear.

The pestilence of 1391 furnishes us with another ballad in rhyming Latin on the general corruption of society, by an anonymous writer, who complains that

Extrava-  
gant fash-  
ions in  
dress.

DISTICH  
ON THE  
YEAR  
1391.

ON THE  
PESTI-  
LENCE.



the whole world had turned to wickedness, and that Christ was entirely forgotten; that peace and patience, love and justice, had entirely disappeared; that errors and vices had taken their place; fraud prevailed among merchants; the poor suffered through the wickedness of the rich; and the flock of Christ was dispersed through the negligence of its shepherds.

The king's  
quarrel  
with the  
city of  
London.

The king's extravagance compelled him to resort to arbitrary expedients for raising money, and one of these brought him into a direct collision with the city of London. Many circumstances combined to keep up a feeling of hostility between the citizens and the court, and at length, when in 1392 Richard asked them for a loan of a thousand pounds sterling, he met with a flat refusal. The Londoners, moreover, are said to have ill-treated a Lombard merchant who was willing to lend the king the money. Richard was greatly enraged against the citizens, and he ordered the lord mayor, John Hinde, and the other chief municipal officers, to appear before him at Nottingham, where he not only deposed them from their offices, but committed them to different prisons, the mayor in the castle of Windsor, the two sheriffs severally in those of Wallingford and Odiham, and others of the principal citizens in other places of confinement. The charters of the city were annulled,

Change in  
the govern-  
ment of the  
city.

its liberties withdrawn, and its laws abrogated; and the king abolished the office of mayor, and appointed a creature of his own to govern it under the title of guardian or keeper. The first guardian, Sir Edward de Dalingrig, was soon removed, because, as it was said, he showed too much favour and indulgence to the citizens; and the king appointed in his place a sterner guardian, Sir Baldwin de Radington. Nevertheless, after having treated the citizens with great rigour during several months, the king suddenly relented, partly, it would appear, through the inter-

The king  
relents.

cession of queen Anne, though it is said, also, that the duke of Gloucester was the friend of the Londoners on this occasion. The citizens thus obtained the restoration of their liberties, and the office of lord mayor was restored, but the king took the opportunity of extorting from them no less a sum than ten thousand pounds. Richard was residing at his palace of Shene, in Surrey, and he proceeded thence on the 29th of August, 1393,<sup>1</sup> to complete his reconciliation with the citizens by a pompous procession through the capital.

Is reconciled, and visits the city.

A Carmelite friar, named Richard de Maidstone, who held some employment at court, was present in this grand ceremony, and has left us a minute account of it in Latin elegiacs addressed to a friend who was named like himself Richard. It is a curious picture of medieval pageantry and medieval manners. Richard of Maidstone, in the spirit of a thorough courtier, sees nothing but virtue and perfection in Richard II.; “there was not such another youth in the whole world, who, like him, knew how to rule his kingdom with the wisdom of Solomon.” Envious tongues, our author confesses, had turned the king’s mind against the citizens, and caused him to desert his “chamber,” but even the power of detraction could not keep him long away from it. Early on this auspicious day the king’s “guardian” warned the citizens to be prepared to meet their sovereign, and the warning was acted upon with the greatest alacrity. The streets were lined with rich tapestry, and decked with garlands of sweet-smelling flowers; while nearly the whole population poured out to meet the king. There were a thousand and twenty young men on horseback, and the number on foot could not

RECONCILIATION OF RICHARD II. WITH CITY OF LONDON; by Richard de Maidstone.

Preparations of the citizens.

<sup>1</sup> The 21st, according to the poem.

The  
trades.

They meet  
the king  
and queen.

A homi-  
cide par-  
doned.

be counted. The guardian led the way, followed by the twenty-four aldermen, all clothed in red and white. Then followed the several trades, each distinguished by its livery; and Richard of Maidstone takes the opportunity of giving us a rather curious list of the various trades existing in London at that time. The approach of the king leads the poet into a rather flattering description of his person. Richard was seated on a white horse, and was surrounded by his nobles and courtiers. Queen Anne came immediately after him, covered with jewels, and attended by her ladies of honour. The guardian, in the name of the citizens, presented the sword of office of the lord mayor and the keys of the city, in a very humble address, to the king, who delivered them to his knights to keep until he had visited his capital, to see whether his subjects knew how to appreciate their sovereign. They next addressed the queen, and implored her intercession in their favour, which she promised. The king and queen, followed by the citizens, then continued their route towards the city, amid great rejoicing and loud clangor of musical instruments. Hitherto the day had been rainy and stormy, which cast some gloom over people's spirits, but as they approached the capital the weather cleared up and it became fine. In the midst of the street of Southwark, a man who had been exiled for homicide presented himself before the king, with a wooden cross in his arm, and obtained the king's pardon in consideration of the joyfulness of the occasion. Here also a rich crown was placed on the head of the queen. At the foot of the bridge, two valuable horses, with splendid trappings, were presented to the king, and very graciously accepted. A fair palfrey was similarly presented to the queen. As they approached the bridge much confusion was caused by the crowded state of the street, and the good friar describes

in not a very saintly tone the mirth of the spectators when a chariot full of court ladies were upset, and their persons exposed not very becomingly to the vulgar gaze. He makes amends, however, by moralizing on the accident, as ominous of the fall of pride and luxury. Slowly they gained Chepe (Cheapside), the principal street, which was decked out with extraordinary magnificence, and its windows were filled with beautiful women and maidens. The fountains in Chepe ran wine, and in the middle of the street was raised a lofty tower, at the top of which were a boy and a beautiful virgin, the first in disguise of an angel, and the latter bearing a crown. As the king and queen approached, these two personages descended as though in a cloud, in a manner which Richard of Maidstone professes not to have understood, the boy, or angel, holding in his hand a cup of gold full of wine, and the maiden holding two crowns of gold in her hand. The maiden delivered her two crowns to the guardian, who presented them to the king and queen, and both accepted them gracefully, and drank of the cup with a smiling countenance, which carried joy to the hearts of the citizens. The second fountain of Chepe, at the entrance to St. Paul's, was the scene of still more elaborate pageantry; and the music was so varied, that the poet takes the opportunity of enumerating all the musical instruments of which he could have found the names in a medieval Latin dictionary. The king and queen entered St. Paul's, where they were received by the clergy, and visited the shrine of St. Erkenwold. Ludgate was the scene of another wonderful pageant, from which angels threw flowers and perfumes on the royal party. But the grandest pageant of all was at Temple-bar, on which was represented a forest and desert filled with all kinds of wild beasts. In the middle of it appeared John

The pageantry in Cheapside.

The fountains in Cheapside.

Pageant at Temple-bar.



Presenta-  
tion of  
golden  
tablets.

The scene  
at West-  
minster.

the Baptist with the *agnus Dei*. This subject was cleverly and even artfully contrived. It appears that John the Baptist was king Richard's favourite saint, and as his eyes fell upon this exhibition, he was seized with a sudden feeling of devotion, and all traces that may have remained of his irritation against the citizens of London disappeared. Besides John the Baptist, there was an angel at the summit of this pageant, who descended suddenly as the king and queen approached, holding a golden tablet or altar-piece in each hand, which he delivered to the guardian. The latter presented one, on which there was a representation of the crucifixion, to the king, which he touched, declared that he had entirely forgiven the citizens, and invited them to follow him to Westminster to hear his final determination with regard to them. The other tablet, representing St. Anne, in allusion to her name, was presented to the queen, who received it equally graciously, and promised to do all in her power to complete the reconciliation of the citizens with the king. The king now rode without further delay, attended with similar pomp and pageantry, to Westminster, where he seated himself on his throne in the hall, holding his sceptre in his hand, and surrounded by his nobles. The queen, attended by her maids of honour, entered, threw herself at the king's feet, and interceded for the citizens of London. The king graciously granted her request, and is made to address the citizens in a long speech, in which he reminds them of their past errors, and exhorts them never again to provoke the anger of their prince or to treat his courtiers with disrespect; to despise the new doctrines in religion, and defend the Catholic faith; to avoid injustice, fraud, and contention; or to expect his severe displeasure if they did otherwise. He restored to them the keys and the sword, with all their old laws and privileges, and then dismissed them

with the promise of his favour. Richard of Maidstone concludes with a glowing picture of the joy of the citizens at the king's generosity, but he forgets entirely the fine of ten thousand pounds sterling.

Since the beginning of the reign England had not Foreign relations. been at peace with France, and the greater part of it had been passed in war more or less active, our shores had been insulted, and our island threatened

with invasion; but during several years there had been a succession of short armistices. At length, in the year 1394, a truce for four years was concluded, which it was hoped would be converted into a lasting peace, but the French were now averse to it. The only one of Edward's conquests in France of any importance which the English still preserved was Calais, and the French had during the last few years gone through such a rapid succession of recoveries, that they were reluctant to relinquish the hope of adding Calais to them. They were not willing, therefore, to make a lasting peace, of which the restoration of Calais should not be a condition. This feeling is embodied in a song by the poet Eustache Deschamps, which is printed in the present volume. During the progress of the treaty a party of peasants are introduced conversing upon it, and they all agree in one point, that there would be no peace until the English restored Calais. France had, nevertheless, to wait a century and a half before the town of Calais was recovered.

ON THE  
TRUCE  
BETWEEN  
ENGLAND  
AND  
FRANCE; by  
Eustache  
Des-  
champs.

The religious agitation had been increasing instead of subsiding; for, although Richard II. did not Religious agitation. directly countenance the religious reformers, he was not a persecutor, and there were so many other subjects of agitation and discontent, that the Lollards experienced a good deal of unintentional tolerance. Under these circumstances the followers of Wycliffe became bold and active, and preached openly against

THE COM-  
PLAINT OF  
THE  
PLOUGH-  
MAN.

Pride and  
warlike  
character  
of the  
prelates.

Their  
luxury.

Pride of  
the pope.

the corruptions of church and state. Among the written records of the popular feelings of this time is a poem of some length, composed probably in 1393 or 1394, and pretending to emanate from the Ploughman, who since the publication of the Visions of Piers Ploughman had been adopted as the representative of religious and political purity. It was the embodiment of the pure democratic principle which lay at the bottom of the opinions which now agitated the world. The writer of the poem alluded to, to which I have here given the title of the Complaint of the Ploughman, who professes to have held an independent position between the two parties, pretends to have heard in a wood a dispute between two "fowls," a griffon and a pelican, the first of which was the advocate of the Romish church, and the other its opponent. The pelican begins by urging the meekness and humility preached by the Saviour, and contrasts with these the conduct of the prelates of his day, who sought to amass wealth and worldly possessions, led men to battle (alluding, probably, to the warlike deeds of Spencer, bishop of Norwich), and aspired to temporal sovereignty. They claimed, he says, to be the equals of kings and emperors, rode on horses with gorgeous trappings, had daily change of rich clothing, and oppressed the poor. They "turned holy church into a prostitute, and filled her belly with wine and ale." They kept luxurious tables, wore mitres and pastoral staffs of gold and jewels, claimed the right of judging people to death in this world and to damnation in the next, and were ready to sell heaven and earth for money. They compelled temporal lords to make obeisance to them, and, when they rode out, they were attended by escorts like those of kings. Their head, the pope, was like them greedy of worldly honours, and made kings kneel and bend to him, and dispensed power in different degrees to

all his subjects, but reserved very little to Jesus Christ. When he sate upon his throne, he thought he was superior to Christ himself. They called Christ only *sanctus*, but the pope was in their language *sanctissimus*. But their true head, he says, was Belial, and their ungodly character was proved by the war which they were now carrying on among themselves, alluding to the sanguinary struggles between rival popes in the schism of the latter part of the fourteenth century. He goes on to charge the priests of the church with forcing people to swear falsely, with using and encouraging simony, with acting under the influence of envy and hatred, with selling the sacraments of the church, with leading immoral lives, and with oppression of their flocks in an infinite variety of ways. They sold to people for money absolution of their sins, however great. "They say that Peter had the keys of heaven and hell," continues the pelican, "but I trow he never sold sins for money; nor had Peter so little wisdom as to leave his keys to a wretch like those who now call themselves popes." Men, who did not even know their creed, were placed in authority in the church through favour or bribery. When Christ was on earth he had twelve apostles; but now there is only one apostle, and no man may believe that he may err, although Peter, from whom he claims his authority, erred more than the other apostles. A second part of the Complaint treats of the misdoings of the priests and inferior clergy, who are described as the servants of Antichrist and not of Jesus. They are represented as living in everything contrary to Christ's example; using pride instead of meekness, strife instead of sufferance (forbearance), anger instead of soberness, wilfulness instead of wisdom, outrageousness instead of measure (moderation), lordly life instead of lowliness, hasty judgment instead of mercy, covetousness instead

Faults of  
the priests.

The  
inferior  
clergy.



Who are  
permitted  
to be  
preachers.

of largess, treachery instead of truth, envy instead of almsdoing, lechery instead of chastity, and self-indulgence instead of penance. Their place in the other world shall be with Dives. These carried with them the badge of Antichrist; and without that badge they were not allowed to preach. Christ sent the poor, and not the rich, to preach; but now the poor are not allowed to preach, and if any such are found, they are suspended and thrown into prison. All such as have forsaken the world, and live lowly, shall be carried into Antichrist's prisons, and be beaten and bound. He accuses the Catholic priesthood in general of taking Judas as their pattern. "If Christ were here on earth again, these would condemn him to die; they have overthrown all his bests, and say that his sayings are heresy, cry out against his commandments, and condemn all his to be burnt. . . . These have more might here in England than hath the king and all his laws; they have purchased them such power, that they take all who will not acknowledge them, and say that their doctrine is heresy, and so send them to prison. It was not so in the days of our forefathers. God for his mercy amend it!" "The king," it is added, "taxeth his men only by the assent of the commonalty, but these every year will take from them by force more than he gets by the legal taxes. Their seals are more worth yearly than the king's, and their officers have greater fee. . . . For whoso will prove a will that is not worth ten pound, he shall pay for the parchment the third part of all the money. . . . For a simple act of incontinence he shall pay twenty shillings, and then have an absolution and a licence to commit the sin the whole year. . . . It is a wonder that the parliament, and all the lords of this land, have not paid more attention hereto, to help the people out

Extortions  
of the  
church.

“ of their hands.” In the third and last part the griffion interrupts the pelican to inquire his opinion of the secular clergy, to which he replies that they sought to obtain a plurality of benefices, and that they occupied themselves much in gaining money, which some spent and others hoarded up, but very little in the cure of souls. Those who hoarded their money purchased lay fee with it, or expended it in building great houses; but they spent nothing on the poor. Many of them lived in pride and jollity, and squandered their incomes upon their concubines. So intent, indeed, were they in getting money and collecting their rents, that some could hardly find time to say matins “ for counting and court-holding,” and others stored up the whole of their ecclesiastical revenue, while they neglected their parishes and went into the service of kings and earls to gain more money. So strictly did they collect their dues, that they would put people in the stocks for the tithing of a duck, or an apple, or an egg. They were always to be seen at the wrestling, and at the wake, and were “ chief chanters” at the ale. They went a hunting with their packs of hounds, and could blow a horn and cry “ hey!” “ And yet they must have some “ stock or stone painted gaily and adorned proudly, “ to make people put their faith in and look upon it “ as full of might.” To these images they induced people to make pilgrimages and present offerings, all which went to increase their wealth. As their dealings were unscrupulous, so their private life, as it is here described at some length, was without modesty or shame. The griffion has heard enough of charges against the priesthood, and he asks the pelican what he has to say about the monks. Formerly, he says, and according to the foundation of St. Benedict, they were poor and lived modestly, but this did not last long, and now they were rich, proud, and worldly

The secular clergy.

Their selfishness and eagerness to make money.

Image worship.

The monks.

The friars. minded, and kept houses and lived like lords. For his opinion of the friars, the pelican refers to the popular tract known as Piers Ploughman's Creed. The griffon next takes up the cause of holy church and retorts somewhat bitterly on the attacks of the pelican. "Should holy church," he asks, "have no head or guider? If so, who is to direct or advise her? If men assail the church with force, men must defend her with strength equally. If the pope were poor and needy, he would be driven from door to door, and the wicked would not be afraid of him. People would live in their sins in spite of him. To amend them he must have force, for wolves are driven away from the sheep with weapons. If the pope and prelates had to beg and ask, and bow and borrow, holy church would stand full cold, and her servants would sit and sup sorrow." The pelican replied, that Christ was the head of the Church, and that they ought to have no other head. Christ had forbidden his priests to assume any "mastership." Their rich clothing should be righteousness, their wealth charity, their lordship love, and their rich vessels a clean conscience. Poverty of spirit and humility were the legitimate defences of the church. The griffon, losing his temper, accuses the pelican of envy, and says that because he cannot gain riches himself, he grieves at the prosperity of others. "You speak against the seven sacraments as though ye were knowing people, against tithes, offerings, and tenths, and allege falsehoods about our Lord; and this ye do that ye may live at your ease, in the belief that there are no such things. It is the devil who brings in these new doctrines to disturb the peace of the church. Leave thy chattering, with bad luck to thee. If thou live well, what wilt thou more? Let other men live as they list. Ye have no cure to answer for; why meddle

The church needs power.

The reformers are charged with envy.

“ ye with that which does not concern you? Let all men live as they have done of yore, for thou art not answerable for them.” The pelican expostulates, and urges that he did not despise the persons or the sacraments, but complained of the misrule of the one and of the misuse of the other. This reply makes the griffon still more furious, and after uttering various threats against the pelican and the church reformers, he flies away in a rage. The pelican meanwhile enters into conversation with the ploughman, who has been the listener to their dispute, and continues his remarks on the corruptions of the church; but they are interrupted by the return of the griffon, with a numerous flock of birds, his allies, such as ravens, rooks, crows, magpies, buzzards, kites, and the like. It was the turn of the pelican now to fly away in alarm, but he also returned, after a rather long absence, bringing with him the phoenix, who defeated the griffon and his allies, slaughtering great numbers of them, and driving the rest into places of concealment, from which there was no danger of their return. Thus this curious poem ends.

Among the courtiers in the earlier part of Richard's reign was John Gower the poet. Gower was at first a courtier in every sense of the word, and he was treated by the king with regard. Richard, one day, while passing along the Thames, met the poet, who was rowing in a boat, took him into the royal barge, and asked him to employ himself upon some new poem in the English language. The result was the English poem by which Gower is best known, the *Confessio Amantis*, in the introductory lines to which the poet relates this anecdote, and speaks of his sovereign in very flattering language. He evidently took a deep interest in the political agitation of the day, and after the great insurrection of the lower classes he wrote his longest Latin poem, the *Vox Clamantis*, in which he

The  
pelican  
and the  
griffon.

John  
Gower the  
poet.



Gower's  
sentiments  
undergo a  
change.

ON THE  
CORRUPTIONS OF  
THE AGE;  
by John  
Gower.

Gower an  
enemy to  
the Lollards.

traces the cause of these troubles to the corrupt manners and principles of all classes of society, and he describes and satirizes these with considerable minuteness.<sup>1</sup> He here still exhibits much attachment for the young king, though he expresses considerable apprehension for the future. Soon afterwards he began to be disgusted with the conduct of the court, and attached himself more and more to the earl of Derby (afterwards duke of Lancaster and king of England), and to the other great lords who had put themselves in opposition to Richard's misgovernment. A new edition of his English poem was brought out, in which he omitted the prefatory story about king Richard, and all the complimentary allusions to that monarch, and substituted for them a dedication to the earl of Derby. We trace Gower's political sentiments through the latter years of king Richard's reign in a number of short poems, all directed against the government. The first of these was written in the twentieth year of this reign, and has for its subject "the manifold pestilence of vices, whereby our country was more especially tainted in the time of Richard the second." He begins with a declaration that in times of national danger it was the duty of every man who could to speak out, and gives this as an excuse for the employment of his pen. His first attack is directed against "Lollardy," the cause of which, he says, was Satan's craftiness. In his English poem, and especially in the *Vox Clamantis*, though Gower does not spare the corruptions of the church, he displays everywhere a decided hostility to the Lollards. As he acknowledges the corruptions in the papal church which the religious

<sup>1</sup> A valuable edition of Gower's *Vox Clamantis* has been edited, but a very small number of copies printed, for the Roxburgh Club, by the Rev. H. O. Coxe, of Oxford, 4to., 1850.

reformers attacked, he is obliged to consider them in a political light, as breeders of division in the church and state. He adopts the derivation of Lollard from the Latin word *lolium*, and treats them as noxious weeds growing up among and spoiling the corn. They were sent into the world by Satan, the author of all evil, and brought with them a large share of the old serpent's falsehood and deceitfulness. They dressed in clothes of coarse wool, affected serious countenances, but these were only covers for their fraudulent designs. He warns people from lending their ears to the dangerous incantations of these new sectarians, and urges the danger of not remaining satisfied with the faith which had been handed down from former ages. The next vice against which the poet inveighs is pride, which also originated with the evil one, and which now pervaded society, and was displayed in vain and extravagant fashions in dress. Next comes lasciviousness, which had gained possession of all classes of society, the poor as well as the rich. Perjury and avarice were, too, cognate vices, which were then the cause of numerous and immense evils. Gower assures us that he wrote these things with weeping eyes, deeply affected with the sorrows of his country, and the moral darkness which enveloped it.

The attacks in this satire are very general, but in another poem which follows, and which seems to have been written nearly about the same time, the charges are brought home rather more closely to the different orders in society at that day. The poet engages in a search for light, which had been concealed by the darkness of vice, or at least he undertakes to direct the search. Beginning at what was then considered as the head, he says that it would be in vain to seek for light at Rome, where there were already two popes, who of course contradicted each other, and if there was any light among the clergy, it was concealed under a

Pride, lasciviousness, perjury, and avarice.

ON THE VICES OF THE DIFFERENT ORDERS OF SOCIETY ; by John Gower.

Darkness of the Roman court, and in the church.

bushel, because it was rejected by the church itself. There could be little light, it is intimated, in a church where everything was governed by simony. Though, as we have seen, Gower was no friend to the Lollards, he was not blind to the great corruptions of the papal church. Among the monks and the secular clergy he tells us there was nothing but darkness. Their only lamps were games, idleness, prostitutes, and taverns. Light was equally a stranger to the councils of kings, or otherwise they would have interfered to prevent the divisions in the church, and would have united to arrest the progress of the infidels who were threatening the safety of Christendom. There was no light among the nobles, who put trust in their own power, and by this self-confidence and the want of due precaution were led on to their ruin. Light had departed also from the chivalry of the kingdom, which was intent only upon self-indulgence and rapine. Light among the men of law had disappeared before the influence of bribery, and law had no weight against money. Nor was there more light among merchants and tradesmen, who sought only to enrich themselves by means of usury and fraudulent dealings. The commons, or, in the language of law, the country, was too deeply immersed in ignorance to show much light, and was overrun with robbers, homicides, and turbulent characters of every description. The poet concludes by avowing the grief which overwhelmed him in contemplating this universal darkness, and by praying that God would send some light upon his country.

ON KING  
RICHARD  
II. ; by  
John  
Gower.

In a third Latin poem, Gower gives us some moral reflections on the goodness and badness of kings ; intended, of course, to be applied to Richard II. It is stated in the rubric to have been written at the last period of king Richard's life. Richard was, indeed, now approaching rapidly towards the melancholy end of his career. Two songs in the present volume, one

in Latin, the other in English, belong to the period immediately preceding his fall. The first of these was evidently intended to be sung among the people, and, though obscure enough to the modern reader, it presented no obscurity to those who felt every allusion, and were familiar with every nickname it contained, especially with the puns and jokes which were made upon the three most obnoxious ministers, Bushey, Greene, and Bagot. It is to these names, of course, that the song writer alludes when he tells us in his first stanzas of a *bush* which was already overgrown, and which would soon go wild if it were not well pruned and held low; of "grass, which was so *green*," that it required to be mown and raked away, to prevent its overgrowing the field; and of a great *bag*, which required to be cut smaller, and which had its bottom nearly out, and was so rotten on every side that it would hardly bear mending. Jokes like these, when levelled against their oppressors, were richly relished by the English populace in the reign of Richard II. The bush, the song goes on to say, was the cause of the murder of a gentle swan (the duke of Gloucester), who was of good brood, and profitable to the kingdom. The green grass, by its length and rankness, slew a strong and sturdy steed (the earl of Arundel), of which any king might have been proud. It was a bear-ward (the earl of Warwick, whose badge was the bear and ragged staff), who found the rag of which he made the bag, and all with very good intentions; nevertheless, this bag of his own making was the instrument of the earl's fall; he was condemned to death, but his punishment was commuted for perpetual imprisonment. The death of the swan had been the cause of grief to his duchess, who was further deprived of her eldest son, Humphrey Plantagenet, who was carried away to Ireland, and imprisoned in the castle of Trim. The

ON KING  
RICHARD'S  
MINIS-  
TERS.

The bush,  
the grass,  
and the  
bag.



steed's colt (Thomas, son and heir to the earl of Arundel) had made his escape on his father's death, and had joined the eagle (Henry of Lancaster). They had taken the son of the bear-ward, who was a minor, and married him according to their will, but he only waited the time for following in the footsteps of his father. The eagle, however, was now up, had taken his flight towards England, and had alighted in the north country, bringing with him the steed's colt. The geese and the peacocks (perhaps signifying the Percies and the Nevilles) joined him in great numbers. The eagle, it is hoped, will first settle on the bush, which he likes above all places for watching his prey; and then he will fall upon the green fiercely. The bag is full of rotten corn,—treasures hoarded up to little purpose; and it shall be emptied, and its contents distributed among the peacocks and geese, and among other fowls; while the bush has become bare of leaves and dry, and must be hewn down, crop and root. The long grass, though it seem green, is unfit food for the cattle, which have become lean by it, and will remain so until the bad portion of it be "dinged out." The great bag is so torn and worthless that the only thing to be done with it is to hang it up to dry, and after it has undergone this operation, it will be seen whether it can be amended or not. When all this has been done, the lean beasts will have rest, and better pasture.

ON THE  
EXPECTED  
ARRIVAL  
OF THE  
DUKE OF  
LAN-  
CASTER.

The Latin song ought, perhaps, to have preceded the other, for it appears to have been written before the duke of Lancaster landed in the north. It contains the same complaints of the destruction of the nobles, of the insupportable burthen of taxes, and of the inordinate pride and tyranny of the court.

We come now to one of the most curious political poems in this volume, but of which the only copy now known to exist is unfortunately imperfect. The great

reform poem of the fourteenth century was the work known by the title of the Visions of Piers Ploughman. It possessed all those holds upon popularity which are found in the writings of Bunyan. People seem to have a natural taste for moral satire conveyed under allegorical forms, and it was here clothed in that pure Anglo-Saxon form of verse which seems to have been preserved among the people alone, but which from this moment came into great vogue. It will be remembered that at the end of that celebrated poem, Conscience sets out as a pilgrim to "walk as wide as the " world lasteth," in search of Piers Ploughman, in order to obtain his assistance against Pride. The writer of the alliterative poem on the deposition of Richard II. takes up the narrative here, and, apparently in the person of Conscience, continues his wanderings, and becomes a witness of the strange events which were then taking place. He had arrived in the town of Bristol, and entered the church of the Trinity, which was popularly called Christ Church, when extraordinary rumours reached his ears, how, while king Richard was warring on the wild Irish, Henry had entered the kingdom on the " east half," and how the people, who all loved him, had risen to join him and assist in righting his wrongs, in the expectation that he would afterwards assist them in obtaining a remedy for their injuries. Troubled in mind at these rumours, the more so as they were known to be true, and uneasy about the result, which he could not see, the wanderer resolved to write a letter to the king, reminding him of the errors of his reign, that he might be induced to amend him of his misdeeds, and so perhaps merit to be restored to his crown. "For," he says, " as my body and my chattels ought to be at the " disposal of my liege lord, so ought also my reason " and my counsel to advise, if I could, my king and " the lords, and therefore I endeavoured, with all my

The Visions  
of Piers  
Plough-  
man.

ON THE  
DEPOSITION OF  
RICHARD  
II.

The  
author's  
motives.

" five wits, to labour on this treatise." After this declaration he lays aside his allegorical character, and appears as the author of a political tract, addressed to the king, in which he gives a popular sketch of the errors of his reign. Accordingly, still addressing the king, he begs of him not to be satisfied with merely looking into it, and reading a hundred lines, but to read it through calmly, and if he saw anything untrue or unwise in it, to cause it to be corrected by his council, for the writer intended to keep it secret until it had been approved by wiser wits than his own. He hoped, then, when it should be published in a corrected form, that it would benefit the readers, both young and old; and he discards the supposition that he had any idea of offending his sovereign, or any other person. It could offend only those who were deserving of blame, and to them he could only say, whoever felt grieved in spirit, "let him govern himself better, and not blame the man who made the book, but his own wicked will and his words which sprung from it."

Spirit of  
the poem.

In spite of these prefatory remarks, the writer addresses the king in terms which are anything but respectful. "Richard the redeless (the unadvised)," he says, "rue on yourself, who led your life lawlessly and your people also." He goes on to tell him that, through pride and waste which prevailed in his time, and his own wilfulness, an end had been put to his "riot," and he had been placed in a position to reflect upon the consequences of his misrule. He asks him whether allegiance be most established by dread and blows, and untrue judgments, by squandering the public money on bad ministers, by plundering the people for the sake of his favourites, by acting wilfully in despite of wisdom, by taxing his towns when there was no war, by ruthless agents who were always robbing people, and such like expedients, or by acting accord-

Richard's  
misrule.

ing to the law and displaying love towards his subjects. Allegiance without love, he says, are little worth. But there was a crowd of young courtiers who considered nothing but their own indulgence and ease, and who were incapable of shedding a tear for any degree of suffering they inflicted on the people. "Ye came to your kingdom," he says, "before ye knew yourself, crowned with a crown such as no king under heaven could have bought a better." The rich ornaments of this crown were, punishment of wrong-doing, righteous judgment, and peace among the people, with loyalty, love, and mercy. It would require, the writer tells us, some penetration to discover what had become of this crown; nevertheless, he will undertake to do it, and that without mentioning names, except allusions which would be understood by everybody. "Full privily these men plucked thy powers away, they rode like kings throughout your realm, and like tyrants took from the husbandmen whatever they liked, paying them on their skulls when money was not forthcoming. For none of your people durst complain of their wrongs, for fear of your dukes, and of their great power. Men might as well have hunted a hare with a tabor as ask any amends for their misdeeds, or for those of their men, for all was fellows and fellowship where ye went." This impossibility of obtaining redress drove Richard's "men" to resistance. They, in obedience to the laws, led the king to prosecute his "duke" for his misdeeds, to the great joy of everybody. If his crown had been kept to the satisfaction of the commons, there would have been no murder nor discord among the nobles; but by the deceit which the king had used towards the commons he had ruined himself, so that without God's help "his harvest was in." The king had to blame himself, and not his council, for the misfortune which had thus fallen to faithless people,

Conduct of  
the young  
king's  
favourites.

Movement  
against the  
duke.



Character  
of the  
courtiers.

and he was urged to weigh well the advice which was now to be given to him. When the king, as he is here told, first mounted the throne, he chose for his friends or councillors men who were too young of years to govern such a realm. Some of them were "hobbes," or low fellows, of Hurlewayn's kindred, *i.e.*, limbs of Satan, who refused to submit to the laws which ought to have held the king and court within due limits. All these thought of was how to enrich and indulge themselves, and avoid ever being brought to account for it. "But if ye had done your duty as a sovereign ought, the first who instructed you in such false conduct should have been hanged aloft on the gallows, though he had been your born brother. Then would other such lewd fellows have been abashed, and would not have ventured upon the same evil courses." Thus the king and his favourites went on, until at last they raised up the storm under which they all came to ruin.

Extra-  
vagant  
liveries.

The writer of this poem has divided it, in imitation of that of Piers Ploughman, into Passus, or divisions, answering somewhat to what were called in the popular ballad poetry "fits." He now enters into his second Passus, in which he goes more into the consequences of the misdeeds of the court. He complains of the extravagant liveries which the king gave to all about him, to conciliate the horned harts (his favourites), who roamed in pride over the kingdom, and who were all ready, now in his need, to forsake and disown him. Their only feeling was dread of the eagle (the duke of Lancaster), who had come to save the people; and they had fled precipitately to seek shelter in the

Grievance  
of the  
king's  
badges.

forests and fields. The writer asks what advice the king could have acted upon when he allowed such a numerous host of agents to bear his badges and over-run the country, who troubled the land and talked to the commons with the king's authority, or with that

of the court lords; they "plucked the feathers from  
" the skins of the poor," and then showed their badges,  
at which people were afraid to ask for any amends for  
their misdeeds. Thus were the people oppressed by  
the king's liveries, and the poor lieges were borne  
down by their tyranny. The folly of such misgovern-  
ment was enough to astonish anybody. "For first, at  
" your anointing, all were your own, hearts and minds,  
" and held of no other; no individual in your land  
" held otherwise than a liege ought, until you by your  
" dulness made a disseverance through your side  
" badges, which spilt all the broth, and overthrew the  
" crock into the midst of the coals." After some <sup>Who</sup> further remarks on these badges, which were the source <sup>should have</sup>  
of so much oppression, the author gives his opinion <sup>badges.</sup>  
that no maintainours should carry marks (badges), nor  
have livery of lords, to impair the law, neither brag-  
gards nor boasters, for all their swaggering talk; but  
that men possessing knowledge and conscience, firm  
against temptation, strong in their intelligence, and  
loyal in their lives, who lived by their own means,  
and would not be influenced by bribery in trying the  
truth between two sides, and whom no lord's power  
would prevent from sustaining the law when the poor  
complained of being wronged—such men, in his  
opinion, should have badges and "something by the  
" year," that they might keep the country in quiet  
and repose. Our writer charitably supposes that the  
king might have had originally a good motive for this  
multiplication of badges and liveries, but if it did not  
show a want of goodness of disposition, it showed a  
great failing in judgment. If the good greyhound  
(supposed to be the earl of Dorset) had not been ag-  
grieved, but had been cherished as the chief of  
Richard's leash, king Richard might have had harts  
enough at his command, that is, he might have had  
plenty of loving subjects. That this was not the case,

The king's want of sympathy with his subjects. however, ought not to be matter of wonder, for the king had never shown any care for the poor herd, who had become lean with hunger, because their provisions had been stolen from them by flatterers. He had fostered and fed a few only, and left uncared for the common herd, who managed to endure until "the blessed bird" (Henry of Lancaster) came to spread his wings over them and cover them from the cold, as the house-hens cherish their chickens. The gentle eagle had come in the harvest time to take care of his birds, and he "battered" on the *bushes* (an allusion to Bushy), and collected men as they walked on the *green* (sir Henry Green), and the *bag* (Bagot) was taken and brought to justice. Thus the eagle hawked and hovered about, until all the kites and crows and other disloyal fowls submitted to him.

Anecdote of the hart.

At the beginning of the third Passus we are treated with an anecdote from the mediæval systems of natural history, how the harts, when they grew old, seized upon the serpents which would have attacked the horses, and by killing them and eating their venom became young again. The application of the story is not very clear, but the writer tells us in the sequel, that it was the nature of "clergy" not to grieve colts (alluding to the young earl of Arundel), nor to contend with horses (the elder earl of Arundel), nor to strive with swans (the duke of Gloucester), nor to bait or bind bears (the earl of Warwick.) According to another zoological anecdote, it was the nature of the partridge to sit diligently upon her own eggs, in the hope that before harvest time the young would be hatched, but another cunning partridge came and watched her opportunity, when the true mother quitted the nest, to usurp her place, continue the process of incubation, and bring up the young till they were strong enough to leave the nest, and then, at the first call of their true mother, they deserted their step-

Anecdote of the partridge.

mother and followed her. So now, when the gentle eagle made his appearance, all the birds who heard the note "busked from the bushes and briars which " annoyed them, and burnished their beaks, and bent " towards him, and followed him fiercely to fight for " their wrongs; they babbled with their bills how " they had been beaten and injured with twigs two " and twenty years. Thus they left the leader who " had led them wrong, and who had taken from them " by guile the corn which ought to have fed them." They were sorrowful in spirit for the injury which had been done to the horse (Arundel), and they hastened to have the eagle's help, "for he was " head of them all, and highest in blood, to be " guardian of the crown." He set the bear (Warwick) at liberty, and all the young bears crowded to his standard. They demanded vengeance for the murder of so many good knights, who had withstood stiff storms for the commons, and their wrath was great against the earl marshal for the part he had taken against his unfortunate father-in-law, the earl of Arundel. The writer again returns to Richard and his courtiers, and dwells at some length on their vanity, their outrageous fashions in dress, and their other extravagances. A stranger made his appearance in their hall, whose name, Wisdom, was no sooner known than he was unceremoniously turned out of doors. Yet it became the young men of whom the king had made his favourites to rule a kingdom about as much as it did a cow to "hop in a cage." Kings, he says, were not made to live at their ease in the world, but to labour on the laws no less than husbandmen at the plough, and to look after and put down all evil-doers. The abuse of kingly power is described, and the perversion of justice in the courts of law.

Applica-  
tion of it.

Vanity and  
extrava-  
gance of  
the court.



King  
Richard's  
compliant  
parliament.

The fourth Passus of this poem introduces us to the compliant parliament of the twenty-first year of king Richard's reign. The writer tells us that no other christian king was ever known that held half such a household as king Richard held. All his revenues were far too little to support it, and besides the money he raised illegally, he was obliged to call a parliament to grant him more. It was to be a "privy" parliament, that is, one chosen to be compliant with the king's will, and the sheriffs and other returning officers received instructions to cause such to be chose for members as would not be likely to offer any opposition to the court. When this parliament was assembled, the "clerk," who addressed them on the part of the crown, "moved for money more than "anything else," and the members of the House of Commons were told that they must meet again next morning, and agree to the king's wants before meat.

Behaviour  
of the  
members of  
parliament.

Nevertheless, some of them, for sake of form, argued against it. "We are servants," they said, "and receive "salaries, and are sent from the shires to represent "their grievances, and to speak for their profit, and "pass no further, and we are not to give their money "away wrongly, but only in case of war; and if we "are false to those who pay us our wages, we shall "not be worthy to receive our hire." They did not all, however, speak in this manner. Some sat like a cipher in arithmetic, which makes a place but avails nothing. Some had supped with Simon the night before. Some were titulars, and gave private information to the king of such as were opposed to him. Some slumbered on the benches and said little. Others "maffled with the mouth," but knew not what they meant. Some were bribed, and acted under the orders of those who had bought them; while others looked solemn, but seemed not to know why. Some were so

fierce at the first start, that they appeared to have put on all sail to catch the wind, but they soon pulled down their sail when the storm set in. Some had been beforehand tampered with by the council, and knew well enough how it would end, or some of the assembly should repent of it. Some held with the majority, however it went; and others talked pertly, but they had more in view the coin which the king was to give them than the interests of their constituents, and were promised "handsell" of the silver which was to be given to the king. "Some were in dread of "dukes and forsook Do-well." Here, unfortunately, in the midst of this curious satirical description of king Richard's parliament, the scribe to whom we owe the manuscript abruptly ceased from his labours.

Their  
interested  
motives.

At the time when this poem was composed, king Richard was a captive, but the intention to depose him appears not yet to have been made public. Gower now reappears, embittered more than ever against Richard's government; and as that monarch was not only deposed, but dead, and Henry IV. was seated on the throne, the poet could proclaim his opinions without fear of giving offence. The Tripartite Chronicle is much more plain spoken, and more strictly speaking historical, than his previous poems. It is divided, as its name indicates, into three books, embracing three political periods, the first of which he terms *Opus humanum*, because, he says, it ought to be the work of humanity to seek and promote peace, which the three nobles, Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick performed; the second, *Opus inferni*, which was that of king Richard, who disturbed the peace of the kingdom, and put to death its rightful champions; and the third, *Opus in Christo*, because it witnessed the punishment of the wicked, and ended in the deposition of king Richard, and the elevation of the duke of Lancaster to the throne. He begins with the year

King  
Richard a  
captive.

GOWER'S  
TRIPAR-  
TITE  
CHRO-  
NICLE.

1387, having told the earlier popular tumults in the *Vox Clamantis*. At that time the young king was changing from bad to worse, and, taking none but young men into his confidence, he rejected the council of the old and experienced. Among the latter were three of the old nobles whom the king especially disliked, and whose death he sought to effect,—Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick,—who are described through the poem by their popular *sobriquets*, the swan, the horse, and the bear. He consulted with his legal authorities, who flattered him with the belief that his own will was the supreme law, and put their names to advice which was to lead to the ruin of the three lords. The latter, warned of their danger, strengthened themselves in their own defence, and were supported by the earl Marshal, the earl of Derby, and the earl of Northumberland. The king applied to the citizens of London for assistance against the three lords, but they refused it, knowing well the king's malice. The earl of Oxford (Vere), the king's favourite, assembled an army in Cheshire to make war upon the three lords; but he was met one Friday on the banks of the Thames, near Oxford, and defeated by the duke of Gloucester, and he fled to the continent, while his castles were razed. Others of the king's favourites, informed of the disaster of the earl of Oxford, followed his example, and sought safety in exile. These were Alexander de Neville, archbishop of York, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and the king's confessor, the bishop of Chichester, the latter of whom is spoken of very reproachfully. The three lords repaired to the king in the Tower, of which they took possession, and where they held a consultation with Richard and obtained his consent to holding a parliament in London. This parliament condemned the ministers who had fled to perpetual banishment, and then proceeded to bring to justice the king's evil advisers who remained in

The king's  
hostility to  
the three  
popular  
nobles.

Defeat  
of the  
favourites.

Punish-  
ment of the  
ministers.

England. Simon de Burley, the chamberlain, was beheaded; Sir John de Beauchamp, baron Bridgenorth, steward of the king's household, underwent the same fate; and Nicholas Brembel, the lord mayor of London, and Sir Robert Tressilian, the judge of the King's Bench, were both hanged. Brembel, or Brambre, was accused, among other political crimes, of having suggested a plan for alluring the duke of Gloucester into the city of London, and murdering him there. The other false judges who had signed the document against the three lords, were, at the intercession of the bishops, merely banished to Ireland. The friars, who had been encouraged at court, and had been willing and base instruments for promoting the king's evil designs, were also sent away. All means were tried to seduce and corrupt the three lords, but they remained firm to their principles, and persisted in their patriotic conduct.

The second division relates the melancholy fates of King the three popular nobles. Richard professed and <sup>Richard's dissimula- and treachery.</sup> showed the greatest friendship for them, while he was secretly meditating their destruction. Not only were they received familiarly, but they obtained from the king assurances of his attachment in writing, and under his hand. The king, in this manner, concealed long his malice, which was especially directed against his uncle, the duke of Gloucester. At length, when the duke was far from suspecting any evil, the king <sup>Seizure of the duke of Gloucester,</sup> went in person with a sufficient force to his castle of Plescy, in Essex, arrested him there, and sent him a prisoner to Calais. This act of treachery put the other nobles on their guard; but they were not proof against the profound and unprincipled cunning of Richard II. The king called to him archbishop Arundel, of Canterbury, and promised him upon oath that, if his brother, the earl of Arundel, would come



voluntarily to his presence, he should not only be allowed to depart in liberty, and without any accusation, but that he should continue to enjoy his steady friendship. The earl of Arundel unfortunately trusted to king Richard's oath, presented himself at court, and was thrown into prison. The earl of Warwick remained in London, prepared for the worst; and he was there arrested, and thrown into prison, like his colleagues. The king then called a parliament, which was chosen under court influence, and at which eight appellants brought in the articles of impeachment against the three lords, who were cited to appear before the parliament to answer the charges brought against them. The king was afraid to let the duke of Gloucester appear in person, knowing the strong feeling of the people in his favour; and he invented a new falsehood, pretending that the duke was at Calais too ill to be removed. He was accordingly condemned in his absence by the "pestiferous" king. Still, the king had not the courage to brave public opinion so far as to bring his illustrious victim to a public execution; and he sent some of his creatures to Calais, who murdered the duke of Gloucester by smothering him under a feather bed. The earl of Arundel replied to the charges brought against him in parliament without hesitation, showed that they were all false, and produced the king's charters of peace and concord; yet the king caused him to be condemned in defiance of all justice, and to be executed on Tower hill. The earl of Warwick trusted to the king's promise of pardon, and made a confession of guilt; but Richard, who only aimed by this trick to gain some information which would criminate others, caused him, nevertheless, to be condemned, though the capital sentence was subsequently commuted to imprisonment for life, and he was sent away to the Isle of Man. The

and of the  
earls of  
Arundel  
and  
Warwick.

Murder of  
the duke of  
Gloucester.

Arundel  
executed.

Warwick  
banished.

innocent lord Cobham, who had sought peace in the retirement of a Carthusian monastery, was next dragged before the parliament, and, though he easily cleared himself from the charges brought against him, and no judgment was recorded against him, was banished from England by the king. The same fate fell upon the archbishop of Canterbury, whose chief offence was his relationship to the earl of Arundel, and his friendship for the others. So great was the alarm created by these proceedings, that nobody dared even to lament the fate of Richard's victims; and the king's favourites and their creatures even made songs in derision of them.

The subject of the third division is the punishment which followed upon these unjust and arbitrary acts, and it is written in a tone of exultation. We are told how, like a mole, the king gradually undermined his country and the power of the parliament, how by various means he oppressed and plundered the country more and more daily, until it could be supported no longer; and how he banished Henry earl of Derby, the son and heir of the duke of Lancaster, who took up his residence in France to watch the course of events. The earl of Derby, having become duke of Lancaster by the death of his father, repaired to Calais, with the intention of claiming his patrimony, and sailing thence with the archbishop of Canterbury and the heir to the earl of Arundel, landed near Grimsby (the ordinary authorities say at Ravenspur). The whole land rose joyfully to welcome the exiles; while Richard, who was in Ireland, ruined himself by his dilatoriness. The king's three evil advisers, Scrope, Green, and Bushey, were captured at Bristol and put to death. King Richard, returning at length from Ireland, landed in Wales, where he and his followers surrendered to duke Henry, who carried him to London and lodged

Lord Cobham.

Banish-  
ment of the  
earl of  
Derby;  
who  
becomes  
duke of  
Lancaster.

He returns.

Execution  
of the  
favourites.

him in the Tower. The duke of Lancaster recalled all the banished lords, and summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster at Michaelmas; but Humphrey, the son and heir of the duke of Gloucester, and his mother, died in the interim. When the parliament met, Richard's abdication of the crown was accepted and the duke of Lancaster was unanimously elected king of England as Henry IV. In this parliament, also, king Henry's eldest son, also named Henry, received the title of prince of Wales, and all the acts of Gloucester's parliament were confirmed, while those of king Richard's last parliament were annulled. The supporters of the deposed king, having given their adhesion to these acts of the parliament, were allowed to go free, except that some of them were degraded from their new titles, as the dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, who became again earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon. Gower concludes his book with an account of the conspiracy of the four lords, Holland, Kent, Salisbury, and Spencer, who, "more wicked than Judas," sought to repay the benefits they had received by treason. But God's anger fell upon them in the town of Cirencester, where the conspiracy was defeated by a rising of the populace, in which the four lords were put to death. The citizens of London were faithful to the new dynasty, and took up arms in defence of the king and his children. When king Richard heard of the defeat of this plot, and of the deaths of the lords, he gave himself up to despair, refused to take any food, and died of starvation.

The duke of Lancaster made king as Henry IV.

Conspiracy of nobles.

Death of king Richard.

MEMORIAL VERSES ON THE REIGNS OF EDWARD III. AND RICHARD II.

The last piece in the present volume is a brief metrical abstract of the two reigns included in it, contemporary as far as regards the reign of Richard II., and containing, with its prose comment, some historical notes which are perhaps worth preserving. It may

serve as a sort of summary of the period illustrated by the political poems which precede.

Such are the contents of the volume now given to the public, and this brief review of them will be sufficient to show that it contains materials of considerable value to the historian. They are varied in character, and, of course, in importance, and some of the Latin poems are very obscure. This arises from several causes. In the first place, the style and phraseology, full of quaint conceits and barbarisms peculiar to the time at which they were written, are in themselves not very intelligible to the modern reader, who is better acquainted with classical forms; secondly, the texts, as preserved, have been mostly written by very incorrect scribes, and are full of clerical errors, which are the more difficult to correct on account of their characteristic obscurity; while they are in most cases written in detestably bad handwriting, with a multitude of contractions which are neither of the usual character nor very easy to make out. In the cases where we find more than one copy of the same poem, they only partially assist us in correcting the text, for in these poems of a political character, different individuals who copied them, or had them copied, evidently changed or modified words and phrases at will, according to the strength of their own political bias; and hence among several various readings it is not possible to say with certainty which was the reading of the original text. In such cases, the editor has thought it most prudent to adhere to one manuscript in the text, and merely give the variations of the others in the notes. These various difficulties, he trusts, will be accepted as the excuse for a few literal errors which may have escaped him in correcting the proofs, and which the eye of the reader will easily detect. It may, perhaps, also be right to remark that these



Political Poems are not all printed for the first time. Some of them have appeared in print before, but scattered in works where they are hardly known, and often incorrectly edited; and, as they are here edited from the manuscripts, it has not been thought necessary to refer to the former editions.

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## POLITICAL POEMS.

### THE VOWS OF THE HERON.<sup>1</sup>

1338.

Ens el mois de Setembre, qu'estés va à declin,  
Que cil oisillon gay ont perdu lou latin,  
Et si sekent les vignes, et meurent li rosin,  
Et despoillent li arbre, et coeuvrent li chemin,

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#### [TRANSLATION.]

In the month of September, when summer is in the decline,—when the gay little birds have lost their note,—and the vines dry up, and the grapes are ripe,—and the trees shed their leaves, and the roads become covered with them,—in the

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<sup>1</sup> This very curious poem is preserved in a MS. in the library of Berne in Switzerland, No. 323, from which it was printed, with some inaccuracies, by Sainte-Palaye, in his *Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*. It was no doubt composed by a partizan, and probably a subject, of Robert of Artois, and its object seems to have been to vaunt the part which Robert had acted in provoking the English monarch into the war against France. The writer seems to have been acquainted with the appearance of the different

English chieftains, but not to have known much about them personally, as we may judge by his mistake in regard of the earl of Salisbury's blindness, and from one or two other circumstances. As he alludes to the imprisonment of the earl of Suffolk in 1340, it must have been written after that event, and probably before the truce in the September of that year, as the war is spoken of more than once as having experienced no interruption. This poem is written in a strong northern dialect, very likely that of Artois.

L'an m.ccc.xxxviiij., ainsi le vous affi,  
 Fu Edouars à Londres en son palais marbrin  
 Avecques lui seoient duc, conte, et palasin,  
 Et dames, et pucheles, et maint autre mechin.  
 Edouart Loeys l'apelent si voisin.  
 Li rois seoit à table, sans penser mal engin,  
 En pensées d'amours tenant le chef enclin.  
 Du gentil roi de Franche s'apeloit il cousin;  
 Et le tint en chiertée com son loiel voisin;  
 Envers li ne pensoit bataille ne hustin.  
 Mais quant fortune tourne, ensi com je devin,  
 Tost moevent ces paroles dont il aist grant venin.  
 Ensi en avint-il en che propre termin,  
 Par un gentil vassal, qui estoit de grant lin,  
 Robers d'Artois ot non, ce dient palasin;  
 Chie comença la guerre et l'orible hustin,  
 Dont meint bon chevalier fu geté mort souvin,  
 Mainte dame en fu vesve, et main[t] povre orfelin,  
 Et maint bon maronier acourchiet son termin,  
 Et mainte preude femme mise à divers destin,

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year 1338, as I assure you,—Edward was at London in his palace of marble;—with him sat dukes, earls, and courtiers, —and ladies, and maidens, and many other females.—His neighbours call him Edward Louis.—The king sat at table, not thinking of mischief,—in thoughts of love looking downwards.—He was called cousin of the gentle king of France; —and he held him in affection as his loyal neighbour;—he meditated against him neither battle nor strife.—But when fortune turns, as I guess,—the words are soon agitated from which he will have great bitterness.—So it happened at this particular time,—by a gentle vassal, who was of great ancestry, —named Robert of Artois, as the courtiers say;—he began the war and the horrible strife,—through which many a good knight was cast down dead,—many a lady made a widow, and many a poor orphan,—and many a good mariner shortened his life,—and many an honest woman put to different fates,—

Et tante belle eglise fu arse et mise à fin ;

Et encore sera, se Jhesus n'i met fin.

Signour, à ichel temps de coy je vous devis,  
 Quant li airs se reffroide, après le douch tamps prin,  
 Et nature esvoisie dekiet de ses delis,  
 Et chil bos se deffoeillent, et prés sont defflouris,  
 Fu Edouars à Londres, avec lui ses marchis,  
 Mout y ot asanlé de gens de son pays.  
 Là fu Robers d'Artois, un hons de moult grand pris.  
 Bannis estoit de Franche le nobile pays,  
 Escachiés de la terre roi Philippe o le cler vis ;  
 Et n'osoit demourer de chà mer ou pais,  
 N'en Flandres, n'en Namur, n'en Auvergne autressi ;  
 Et li falirent tout, et parens, et amis,  
 Pour l'amour du bon roy qui tenoit Saint Denis,  
 Fors le roi d'Engleterre, dont bien fu recoeillis.  
 Chicux le prinst à tenser contre ses anemis ;  
 Moult le tint en chierté, qu'il estoit ses amis,  
 Extrait de son lignage, de par les fleurs de lis.

and many a fair church was burnt and destroyed ;—and will be again, unless Jesus put an end to it.

Lords, at that time of which I am telling you,—when the air is cooled, after the warm weather,—and nature after being joyous falls from its state of joy,—and the woods lose their leaves, and the meadows their flowers,—Edward was at London, and with him his nobles,—there was a great assemblage of people of his country.—There was Robert of Artois, a man of great worth.—He was banished from France the noble country, —driven from the land of king Philip with the clear countenance,—and dared not remain in the country on this side the sea,—neither in Flanders, nor in Namur, nor in Auvergne either ;—and he was deserted by all, both kindred and friends,—for the love of the good king who held St. Denis,—except the king of England, by whom he was well received.—He protected him against his enemies ;—he held him in great affection because he was his friend,—derived from his lineage, on the side of the fleurs-de-lis.—



Che jour estoit à Londres quens Robers li marchis,  
 Et d'aler en gibier envie l'ot sousprins,  
 Pour ce qu'il li souvint du très gentil pais  
 De France l'alosée, dont il estoit ravis.  
 Che jour ala voler par camps et par larris,  
 Un petit faucon porte, qui de lui fu nourris,  
 Un faucon muskadin l'apellent ou pais;  
 Tant vola par riviere qu'il a un heron prins.  
 Si tot com il le prinst, si li rougi li vis,  
 Et dist qu'il le donra Edouart Loeys,  
 S'en fera faire veus à chiaux de son pais.  
 A Londres s'en repaire, avec lui ses soubgis;  
 En la cuisine entra, là fu li hairons mis;  
 Et là fu il moult bien et plumés et farsis,  
 Et si fu quis en rost, ensi com si devis.  
 Entre deux plats d'argent fu li hairons assis;  
 Deux maistres de viele a quens Robers saisis,  
 Avoec un quistreneus, acordant par devis;  
 Deux puchelles apele, filles de deux marchis;

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That day earl Robert the noble was at London,—and he was seized with the desire of going to the chase,—because he called to mind the very gentle country—of France the lauded, from which he was banished.—That day he went fowling over fields and over heaths,—he carries a little falcon which he had bred,—they call it a muskadin falcon in that country;—he went fowling along the river till he has caught a heron.—As soon as he had caught it, his face reddened,—and he says that he will give it to Edward Louis,—and he will make those of his country take vows upon it.—He repairs to London, and his dependents with him;—he entered the kitchen, there was the heron put,—and there it was very well both plumed and stuffed,—and it was cooked in roast, according to custom.—Between two dishes of silver was the heron placed;—count Robert has seized two players on the fiddle,—with a player on the guitar, to accord with them;—he called two maidens, daughters of two nobles;—they carried

Le hairon aporтерent ens ou palais vautis.  
 Les deux puchelles cantent aussi com par devis ;  
 Et chil Robers s'escrie hautement à haut cris :  
 " Voidiés les rens, voidiés, mauvaise gens salis,  
 " Laissiés passer les preus cui amours ont sousprins ;  
 " Vechi viande as preux, à chiaux qui sont soubgis  
 " As dames amoureuses, qui tant ont cler le vis.  
 " Seigneur, j'ai un hairon que mes faucons a prins ;  
 " Et chi ne doit mangier nuls couars, ce m'est vis,  
 " Fors li preus amoureux, qui d'amours son garnis.  
 " Le plus couart oysel ay prinst, ce m'est avis,  
 " Qui soit de tous les autres, de che soit chescuns  
     fis ;  
 " Car li hairons est tels de nature toudis,  
 " Si tost qu'il voit son ombre il est tous estordis,  
 " Tant fort s'escrie et brait com s'il fut à mort mis.  
 " A li doivent vouer les gens de cest pais ;  
 " Et puis que couers est, je dis à mon avis,  
 " C'au plus couart qui soit ne qui oncques fust vis

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the heron into the vaulted palace.—The two maidens sing also  
 as for pleasure ;—and Robert cries aloud with loud cries :—  
 " Open the ranks, open, wicked and dirty people ;—let pass  
 " the gentles who have been seized by love ;—here is food  
 " for the gentlemen, for those who are subjects—to the  
 " amorous ladies, who have such delicate complexions.—  
 " Lords, I have a heron which my falcon has taken ;—and  
 " here methinks there can be no coward sitting at table,—  
 " except the gentle lovers, who are furnished with love.—  
 " I have taken the most cowardly bird, methinks, — which  
 " there is of all others, of this let every one be sure ;  
 " —for the heron is such by its nature always,—as soon  
 " as it sees its shadow it is all astounded,—it cries and  
 " brays as loud as if it were being murdered.—The people  
 " of this country ought to make their vows upon it ;—and  
 " since it is a coward, I say in my opinion,—that to the  
 " greatest coward who is or ever was alive—I will give

“ Donrrai le hairon, ch’est Edouart Loeis,  
 “ Deshiredés de Franche, le nobile pais,  
 “ Qu’il en estoit drois hoirs ; mès cuers li est falis,  
 “ Et por sa lasquethé en morra dessaisis ;  
 “ S’en dois bien au hairon voer le sien avis.”  
 Et quant li roys l’entent, tous li rousi li vis,  
 D’ire et de maltalent li est li coers fremis ;  
 Et dist : “ Puis que couars est par devant moi mis,  
 “ Drois est que mieux en vaille, j’en dirai mon avis,  
 “ Et s’en verrai le fait se longuement je vis,  
 “ Ou je moray en painne de mon vœu acomplir ;  
 “ Car je veu et prometh à Dieu de Paradis,  
 “ Et à sa douche mere de qui il fu nourris,  
 “ Que ains que chix ans soit passés ne acomplis,  
 “ Que je deffierai le roy de Saint Denys,  
 “ Et passerai la mer, avec moi mes subgis,  
 “ Et droit parmi Heinau passerai Cambresis,  
 “ Et dedans Vermendois logerai par devis ;  
 “ Et se ert li fus boutés par trestout le pais,

“ the heron, that is Edward Louis,—disinherited from  
 “ France, the noble country,—of which he was rightful  
 “ heir ; but heart has failed him,—and for his cowardice  
 “ he will die deprived of it ;—so he must vow on the heron  
 “ what he thinks.”—And when the king hears it, his face  
 became all reddened,—his heart chafes with anger and spite,  
 —and he says : “ Since coward is thrown in my face,—it  
 “ is right that I be more worth, I will tell my opinion,—  
 “ and the deed shall be seen if I live long,—or I will die  
 “ in labouring to accomplish my vow ;—for I vow and pro-  
 “ mise to God of Paradise,—and to his sweet mother by  
 “ whom he was nursed,—that before this year be passed  
 “ or completed,—I will defy the king of St. Denis,—and  
 “ I will pass the sea, my subjects with me,—and right  
 “ through Hainault I will pass Cambresis,—and within  
 “ Vermandois I will lodge at my will ;—and fire shall be  
 “ set through the whole country,—and there I will await

“ Et là atenderay mes morteus anemis,  
 “ Ch'est Philype de Valois qui porte fleur-de-lis,  
 “ Un mois trestout entier, tant qu'il soit acomplis.  
 “ Et s'il vient contre moi, avec lui ses subgis,  
 “ A lui me combaterai, de ches soit il tous fis,  
 “ Se seulement n'airoie que un home contre dix.  
 “ Me cuide-il dont tolir mèn terre et mon pais?  
 “ Si je li fis hommage, de coy je suis sousprins,  
 “ J'estoie jovene d'ans, se ne vaut deux espis.  
 “ Je le jur come rois Saint Jorge et Saint Denis,  
 “ Que puis le tamps Ector, Acilles, ne Paris,  
 “ Ne le roi Alexandre, qui conquist maint pais,  
 “ Ne fist tel treu en Franche damoisiaux ne marchis,  
 “ Que je le pense à faire ains l'an xlvi.,  
 “ S'encontre moi ne vient, avec lui ses subgis;  
 “ Mès à li je renonche, sois en cherteins et fis,  
 “ Car je le guerreray et en fais et en dis.  
 “ Avec mon serment ay-je che veu pourprins.”  
 Et quant Robert l'entent, s'en a jeté un ris,

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“ my mortal enemies,—that is Philip of Valois who bears  
 “ the fleur-de-lis,—one whole month, until it be finished.—  
 “ And if he come against me, and his subjects with him,—  
 “ I will fight him, of that let him be quite sure,—if I had  
 “ only one man against ten.—Does he think, then, he may  
 “ rob me of my lands and my country?—If I did homage  
 “ to him, at which I am confounded,—I was young of years,  
 “ so that it is not worth two ears of corn.—I swear it as  
 “ king, by St. George and St. Denis,—that since the time  
 “ of Hector, Achilles, or Paris,—or of king Alexander,  
 “ who conquered many a country,—no such truce was made  
 “ in France by bachelor or noble,—which I think to make  
 “ before the year forty-six,—if he come not to meet me,  
 “ his subjects with him;—but I renounce him, whether in  
 “ castles or fiefs,—for I will make war upon him both in  
 “ deeds and in words.—With my oath have I undertaken  
 “ this vow.”—And when Robert hears him, he has given



Et dist tout en basset : “ Or ai-je m’en avis ;  
 “ Quant par ichel hairon, que aujourd’hui ay prins,  
 “ Commencera grant guerre, selonc le mien avis,  
 “ Je dois bien avoir joie, par Dieu de Paradis ;  
 “ Car à tort du boin roi fuis sevrés et partis,  
 “ Et banis fui de Franche, le nobile pais,  
 “ Et desevrés à doel de tous mes boins amis ;  
 “ Et s’estoit mes serouges, et s’a ma femme prins,  
 “ Ma fille, et mes enfans, et en sa prison mis.  
 “ Mès, par la foi que je doy à filles et à fix,  
 “ Ains que muire de mort, si plaist à Jhesu Crist,  
 “ Me logeray en Franche, car jou i ai des amis ;  
 “ De l’estracion sui monseigneur Saint Loys ;  
 “ Et là vesrai-je Philipe qui crie Saint Denys  
 “ Monjoie ; au roi de Franche, qui est fors poestis,  
 “ Du tamps qu’i fu regens de Franche et recessis,  
 “ De son privé conseil fu, de che soiés tous fis,  
 “ Loiaument en tous temps le consillay toudis ;

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way to a smile,—and said all in a whisper : “ Now have I  
 “ my will ;—since through this heron, which I caught to-  
 “ day,—great war will begin, according to my desire,—I  
 “ ought well to have joy, by God of Paradise ;—for I was  
 “ wrongfully divided and separated from the good king,—  
 “ and I was banished from France, the noble country,—  
 “ and dissevered with grief from all my good friends ;—and  
 “ he was my brother-in-law ; yet he has taken my wife,  
 “ —my daughter, and my children, and put them in his  
 “ prison.—But, by the faith which I owe to daughters and  
 “ sons,—before I die the death, if it please Jesus Christ,—  
 “ I will have a lodging in France, for I have friends there ;  
 “ —I am descended from monseigneur St. Louis ;—and  
 “ there shall I see Philip, who cries St. Denis—Montjoie ;  
 “ to the king of France, who is very powerful,—at the  
 “ time when he was established regent of France,—I was  
 “ of his privy council, of this be ye all assured,—on all  
 “ occasions I always counselled him loyally ;—for which I

" Dont mauvais guerredon m'en a eté meris.  
 " Mès, par icheli Dieu qui en la crois fu mis,  
 " Et ferus de la lanche du chevalier Longis,  
 " Je m'en irai en Franche, n'en suis mie esbahis,  
 " Et si me combaterai ains que soie partis.  
 " Or, aviegne qu'aviegne, si l'ai ensi emprins,  
 " Se je vis longuement mes veux est acomplis."

Quant chil Robert d'Artois ot voé son talent,  
 Les deux plas a reprins, qui tout furent d'argent,  
 Et le hairon dedens, dont au roy fist present.  
 Et li dois menestral vielent douchement,  
 Avoec le guistreneu s'accordent ingaument;  
 Et lès les deux pucheles contoient douchement,  
 " Je vois à la vredeure, car amours le m'aprent."  
 Là peusiés veoir moult esvoisiement  
 De gieu et de solas grant esbaudissement.  
 Qui puis se di tourna à grant encombrement,  
 Et encore fera, se Dieux pité n'en prent.  
 Et chil Robert d'Artois n'i fist arestement,  
 La table tressali tost et apertement;

" have only been paid a bad reward.—But by that God who  
 " was put on the cross,—and was struck with the spear of  
 " the knight Longis,—I will go into France, I am not at all  
 " frightened,—and I will fight before I leave it.—Now,  
 " happen what may happen, I have undertaken it so,—if  
 " I live long my vow is accomplished."

When this Robert of Artois had vowed his will,—he  
 took the two dishes again, which were entirely of silver,  
 —and the heron in them, of which he made a present  
 to the king.—And the two minstrels fiddle sweetly,—and  
 with the guitar-player they accord equally,—and hard by  
 the two maidens sung sweetly,—“I go to the verdure, for  
 “ love instructs me to do so.”—There you might see  
 very joyfully—great enjoyment of game and solace,—which  
 after that day turned to great disaster,—and will still,  
 unless God take pity on it.—And this Robert of Artois did  
 not stay there,—he leaped over the table quickly and

Au conte Salebrin ala premierement,  
 Qui sist dalès sa mie où grant amours apent,  
 Qui fu gente et courtoise, de biau contenement,  
 Fille au conte Derbi,<sup>1</sup> qui l'amoit loialement.  
 Et Robers li a dist moult gracieusement,  
 " Biaux sire, vous qui estes plains de grant hardement,  
 " El nom de Jhesu Crist, à qui li mondes apent,  
 " Voués à no hairon le droit deuouement,  
 " Sans faire nul delay, je vous prie humblement."  
 Et chieux li repondis, " Et pour coy ne comment  
 " Porroie aventurer men cors si hautement,  
 " Que peusse akieuer nul veu parfaitement?  
 " Car je sers la puchelle qui soit au fermament  
 " Selonc che que j'ay, et amours le m'aprent,  
 " Se le Virge Marie estoit chi en present,  
 " Osté la deité de li tant seulement,  
 " Je ne saroie faire des deux deseivrement.

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openly ;—to the earl of Salisbury he went first,—who sits  
 near his mistress to whom great love attaches,—who was  
 gentle and courtly, and of fair bearing,—daughter of the  
 earl of Derby, who loved him loyally.—And Robert said to  
 him very gracefully,—“Fair sir, you who are full of great  
 “ boldness,—in the name of Jesus Christ, to whom the  
 “ world belongs,—make a vow to our heron of true devo-  
 “ tion,—without making any delay, I pray you humbly.”—  
 And he replied to him, “And why and how—could I adven-  
 “ ture my body so highly,—that I might be able to achieve  
 “ any vow perfectly?—For I serve the maiden who is chief  
 “ in beauty—according to what I have, and as love teaches  
 “ me,—if the Virgin Mary were here present,—if deity  
 “ were only taken from her,—I should not be able to make

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Plantagenet, earl of  
 Derby, who had two daughters and  
 coheirs, Maude and Blanche, neither  
 of whom married the earl of Salis-

bury, so that we may consider it at  
 least probable that the story in the  
 text is a mere invention of the com-  
 poser of this poem.

“ D’amours li ay requis, mais elle se deffent ;  
 “ Mais gracieux espoirs me donne entendement  
 “ Qu’encore aray merchi, se je vis longuement.  
 “ Si pri à la pucelle de ceur devotement,  
 “ Qu’elle me preste un doit de sa main seulement,  
 “ Et methe sur mon oeil destre parfaitement.”<sup>1</sup>  
 “ Par foy,” dist la pucelle, “moult feroit laskement  
 “ Dame qui son amant rekiert parfaitement  
 “ La forche de son cors avoir entierement,  
 “ Se d’un doit à toukier faisoit refusement ;  
 “ Et l’en presteray deux, ainsi l’ai en couvent.”  
 Les deux dois sur l’oeil destre li mist isnelement,  
 Et se li a clos l’oeil et fremé fermement.  
 Et chix a demandé moult gracieusement,  
 “ Bele, est-il bien clos ?” “ Oyl, certainement.”  
 Adonc dis de le bouche du ceur le pensement.  
 “ Et je veu et prometh à Dieu omnipotent,

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“ a distinction between the two.—I have asked her for  
 “ love, but she refuses ;—but gracious hope gives me to  
 “ understand—that yet I shall have mercy, if I live long.—  
 “ So I pray the maiden from my heart devoutly—that she  
 “ lend me only a finger of her hand,—and put it entirely  
 “ on my right eye.”—“By my faith,” said the maiden,“ she  
 “ would act basely,—the lady who requires of her lover  
 “ fully—to have entirely the force of his body,—if she  
 “ refused to touch him with one finger ;—and I will  
 “ lend him two, and so I am ready to do.”—Immediately  
 she placed her two fingers on his right eye,—and so she  
 has closed his eye and shut it up firmly. — And he  
 asked her very gracefully,—“Lady, is it quite closed ?”  
 “ Yea, certainly.”—Then he said with his mouth his heart’s  
 thought.—“And I vow and promise to God Almighty,—

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<sup>1</sup> William de Montacute, earl of Salisbury, one of Edward’s bravest warriors, did not, as our poet pre-

tends, affect blindness, but he had lost one of his eyes in the wars in Scotland.



“ Et à sa douche mere que de beauté resplent,  
 “ Qu’il n’ert jamais ouvers, pour ore ne pour vent,  
 “ Pour mal ne pour martire, ne pour encombrement,  
 “ Si seray dedans Franche, où il a bonne gent,  
 “ Et si arai le fu bouté entierement,  
 “ Et serai combatus à grand efforchement  
 “ Contre les gens Philype, qui tant a hardement ;  
 “ Si ne sui en bataille prins, par boin ensient  
 “ Ed[ouart aid]erai à acomplir son talent.  
 “ Or aviegne qu’aviegne, car il n’est autrement.”

Adonc osta son doit la puchelle au cors gent,  
 Et li iex clos demeure, si que l’ virent le gent.  
 Et quand Robert l’entent, moult de joie l’enprent.

Quant li quens Salebrin ot voué son avis,  
 Et demoura l’oeil clos en la guerre toudis,  
 Li bers Robers d’Artois ne s’est mie alentis,  
 La puchelle apella, fille au conte Derbi ;  
 “ Damoiselle,” dit-il, “ ou non de Jhesu Crist,  
 “ Car voés au hairon le droit de chest pais.”

“ and to his sweet mother who is resplendent with beauty,—  
 “ that it shall never be opened, for weather or wind,—for  
 “ hurt or torture, or for disaster,—till I am within France,  
 “ where there are good people,—and I shall have set fire  
 “ everywhere,—and I shall have fought with great force—  
 “ against the people of Philip, who has so much boldness.  
 “ —If I am not taken in battle, by good will—I will aid  
 “ Edward to accomplish his design.—Now happen what may  
 “ happen, for it is not otherwise.”—Then the maiden with  
 the elegant body withdrew her finger,—and the eye remained  
 closed, so that the people saw it.—And when Robert hears  
 it, he is seized with much joy.

When the earl of Salisbury had made his vow,—and the  
 eye remained closed always in the war,—the noble Robert  
 of Artois did not remain idle,—he appealed to the maiden,  
 the daughter of the earl of Derby ;—“ Damsel,” said he,  
 “ in the name of Jesus Christ,—now vow on the heron

"Sire," dist la puchelle, "tout à vostre devis ;  
 "Car je veu et prometh à Dieu de Paradis,  
 "Que je n'arai mari, pour homme qui soit vis,  
 "Pour duc, conte, ne princhedomaine, ne marchis,  
 "Devant que chieux vassal aura tous acomplis  
 "Le veu que pour m'amour a si haut entrepris ;  
 "Et quant il revenra, s'il en escape vis,  
 "Le mien cors li otroie de bon coer à toudis."  
 Quant li vassaux l'entent, li coers li est sousprins,  
 Si en fu en son cuer plus liés et plus hardis.

Quant la gentix pucelle ot faite sa pensée  
 De son ami servir, car ensi li agrée,  
 Li quens Robers d'Artois n'i a fait demourée,  
 Les plats d'argent reprent, li porteres li agrée ;  
 Car serment se penoit en coer et en pensée  
 De dire tel parole dont Franche fut grevée,  
 Pour che qu'il ot perdu la nobile contrée,  
 Le pais agensi, dont fort li desagrée ;  
 A Wautier de Mauny a dite sa pensée,

"the right of this country (*i. e.*, the right of the English to France).—"Sire," said the maiden, "all as you will;—for I  
 "vow and promise to God of Paradise,—that I will not have  
 "a husband, for any man who is alive,—for duke, earl, or  
 "sovereign prince, or marquis,—before this vassal has entirely  
 "accomplished—the vow which for my love he has so loftily  
 "undertaken;—and when he shall return, if he escape alive,  
 "—I give him my body cordially and for ever."—When the  
 vassal heard this, his heart was overcome,—and he was for  
 it in his heart more joyful and more courageous.

When the gentle maiden had expressed her thought—of  
 serving her friend, for so it pleased her,—the count Robert  
 of Artois made no delay,—he took again the dishes of  
 silver, the bearer gave them up;—for he laboured hard in  
 heart and in thought—to say such word as should bring  
 grief to France,—because he had lost the noble country,—  
 the country so rich, at which he was much grieved;—  
 to Walter de Mauny he said his thought,—“Sir,” said

"Sire," ce dist Robert, "s'il vous plaist et agréé,  
 "Voués à no hairon vo plaisanche honorée."  
 Et Wautiers respondi, "M'i a mestier chelée,  
 "Ne say faire voauche qui puist estre akievée;  
 "Mais pour chou que chi voi une gent honorée,  
 "Me vaurai esprouver que mes honneurs soit gardée  
 "Car je veu et prometh à la vierge honorée  
 "Qui porta cheli Dieu qui fist chil et rousée,  
 "Qu'en une bonne ville qui est de tours fremée,  
 "Et de palus enclose, de tours avironnée,  
 "Godemars du Fay l'a longuement gardée,  
 "Mais, par le serement dont j'ai fait le vouée,  
 "G'i bouterai le fu ens une matinée,  
 "Et sera de par moi celle ville gastée,  
 "Et ochise la gent gisant geule bée,  
 "Et si m'en partirai en ichelle journée  
 "Tous sains et tous haitiés, que ma char n'est navrée,  
 "Ne ma gent qu'avec moy est par dedans entrée.  
 "Or me doinst Dieux pooir d'acomplir ma pensée."

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Robert, "if it please and be agreeable to you,—vow to our  
 "heron your honourable pleasure."—And Walter replies,  
 "I ought to be silent,—I know not how to make a  
 "vow which can be achieved;—but because I see here  
 "a people that is honourable,—I would make an effort to  
 "guard my own honour;—wherefore I vow and promise  
 "to the honoured virgin—who bore the God who made  
 "heaven and the dew,—that in a good town which is  
 "fortified with towers,—and inclosed with marshes, and  
 "surrounded with towers,—Godemars de Fay has long held  
 "it,—but, by the oath of which I have made the vow,—I  
 "will set fire to it one morning,—and this town shall be  
 "ruined by me,—and the people slain and lie with their  
 "mouths gaping,—and I will go away from it that same  
 "day—all sound and rejoicing, without a wound on my  
 "flesh,—nor my people who with me entered therein.  
 "—Now may God give me power to accomplish my

Et quant Robert l'entent, moult forment li agréé,  
 Et dist, " Fors est la cose, s'ensi estoit passée,  
 " Mains preudons en morra ains ke soit akievée."  
 Quant Wautiers de Mauny ot le sien veu voué,  
 Robers, cheli d'Artois, dont j'ai devant parlé,  
 A reprins les deux plas, si les a relevés,  
 Et les trois menestreus ont leurs cordes tiré,  
 Et les deux pucelles ont en haut escrié,  
 " Loyaux amours nous mainent, qui nous ont encanté."  
 Le preu conte Derby a li quens apelé,  
 Et li proie pour Dieu et pour la Trinité,  
 Que il veue au hairon son voloir et son gré;  
 Et li quens respondi par grant humilité,  
 " Robert, je le ferai à votre volenté,  
 " Et je veue et prometh, et si iert akievé,  
 " Que, se li rois Englès nous a delà mené  
 " En la terre de Franche, dont on a tant parlé,  
 " Que encontre un fort conte que on a tant redouté,  
 " Ch'est Loeyes de Flandres, ainsi l'ont apellé

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" thought!"—And when Robert hears him, he is greatly  
 " pleased,—and says, " The thing is hard, if thus it were done,  
 " —many a good man shall die before it is accomplished."

When Walter de Mauny had vowed his vow,—Robert, he  
 of Artois, of whom I have spoken before,—has taken again  
 the two dishes, and has raised them up,—and the three  
 minstrels have drawn their cords,—and the two maidens  
 have sung aloud,—“Loyal loves lead us, which have en-  
 “ chanted us.”—The count has called upon the noble earl of  
 Derby,—and prays him, for the sake of God and the  
 Trinity,—that he vow to the heron his will and pleasure;—  
 and the earl replied with great humility,—“Robert, I will  
 “ do it at your wish,—and I vow and promise, and it shall  
 “ be achieved,—that when the English king has led us over  
 “ there—into the land of France, of which so much has  
 “ been said,—that against a powerful count who has been  
 “ so much redoubted,—I mean Louis of Flanders, so have



“ Le mainie Philype de Valois le menbré,  
 “ Qui se fait roi de Franche, mès c’est contre le gré  
 “ Le bon roi Edouart, qui tant a de fierté.  
 “ Si m’ait Sains Thomas, j’ai en mon ceur voué,  
 “ Tant cherqueray le conte, que je l’arai trouvé,  
 “ Demanderay lui jousté, s’il a le cuer osé,  
 “ Et s’il ne vient à mi par très grant poesté,  
 “ Par le foy que je doy Edouart le menbré,  
 “ Que si très près de lui aray le fu bouté,  
 “ Que bien sera par lui veu et esgardé;  
 “ Or aviegne qu’aviegne, je l’ai ensi voué.”  
 Et quant Robert l’entent forment li vint à gré,  
 Et dist, “ Si faite guerre me seroit amisté;  
 “ Encore venra li termes, se Dieux l’a destiné,  
 “ Que mi enfans seront de prison delivré,  
 “ Et si porai bien nuire chiaux qui tant m’ont grevé.”  
 Quant chieux Robert d’Artois ot dit chou qu’il pensa,  
 Les deux plas a reprins, et si les releva;

“ called him—the people of Philip of Valois the strong-  
 “ limbed,—who makes himself king of France, but it is  
 “ against the will—of good king Edward, who has so  
 “ much pride.—As St. Thomas have me, I have vowed in  
 “ my heart,—I will seek the count until I shall have found  
 “ him,—I will demand justs of him, if he has the heart to  
 “ dare it,—and if he does not meet me with very great  
 “ power,—by the faith which I owe to Edward the strong-  
 “ limbed,—so near to him I will have set the fire,  
 “ —that it shall be well seen and looked at by him.—  
 “ Now happen what may happen, I have vowed it so.”—  
 And when Robert hears it, he is greatly pleased,—and  
 says, “ War thus made will be friendship to me ;—the time  
 “ will yet come, if God has destined it,—when my children  
 “ shall be delivered from prison,—and I shall perhaps be  
 “ able to injure those who have so much grieved me.”

When this Robert of Artois had said what he thought,—  
 he took again the two dishes and raised them up,—to the

Au comte de Souffort s'en vint et dit li a :

" Biaux sires, vous qui estes des Englès par delà,

" Voés à no hairon, et Diex vous aidera."

Et li quens respondi : " Ne vous en faurai jà,

" Car je veu et prometh, et mes cors le tenra,

" Que, si li rois Englès nous amene delà

" En la terre de Franche, où maint chevalier a,

" Que chertes le mien cors à toujours cachera

" Le fils d'un empereur, où moult de bonté a,

" Ch'est le roi de Behaigne, ne sai s'il i verra,

" Mès se mon cors l'encontre, par Dieu jà n'i faura

" Qu'il n'ait bataille à mi ; mon cors desiré l'a,

" Ou de glaive, ou d'espée, si qu'il le sentira,

" Si que il proprement à terre versera,

" Et s'arai son keval, ne sais s'il me donra.

" Or aviegne qu'aviegne, tout ainsi en sera."

Quant Jehans l'entendit, chil qui Biaumont garda,

Par grant ire de ceur moult fort en souspira ;

Et sachiés de certain que forment l'en pesa,

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earl of Suffolk he came and said to him:—"Fair sir, you  
 " who are of the English over there,—vow to our heron,  
 " and God shall aid you."—And the earl replied : " I will  
 " not fail you,—for I vow and promise, and my body shall  
 " hold it,—that, if the English king lead us over there—  
 " into the land of France, where there is many a knight,—  
 " that truly my body shall ever pursue—the son of an  
 " emperor, who possesses much goodness,—I mean the king  
 " of Bohemia, I know not if he will come there,—but if  
 " my body meet him, by God, there will be no fail—that  
 " he shall have battle with me ; my body has desired it,—  
 " either with glaive or with sword, so that he shall feel  
 " it,—so that he shall be clean thrown to the ground,—  
 " and I will have his horse, I know not if he will give  
 " it me.—Now happen what may happen, just so it shall  
 " be."—When John heard this, he who held Beaumont,—  
 with great anger of heart he sighed very deeply ;—and know  
 for certain that it annoyed him very much,—and he said,

Et dist : " Outrageux veus vostre coer vouè a ;  
 " Car jou qui suis parens au bon roy qui tant a  
 " Conkis en grant noblesse, et encore fera,  
 " S'il me het, et je l'aime, et il est par delà,  
 " Ne li faurai-je mie quant li besoins sera,  
 " Que par icel Seigneur qui le monde estora,  
 " Qui nasqui de la virge quant l'estole leva,  
 " Je vous rendrai prins, ne vous en faurai jà ;  
 " Li fors roys de Behaigne en prison vous tenra,<sup>1</sup>  
 " Qui qu'en poist, ne qui non, autrement n'en ira."  
 Dist li quens de Souffort : " Or soit sans courouchier ;  
 " Amours, et hardemens, et li grant desirier  
 " Que nous avons de Franche la terre calengier,  
 " Nous en fait le grand fais enprendre et enkerkier.  
 " Chil amant par amours se doivent efforchier ;  
 " Car qui par amours aimme, il se doit avanchier,

" Your heart has vowed outrageous vows ;—for I who  
 " am kinsman to the good king who so much has—con-  
 " quered in great nobleness, and will do so still,—though  
 " he hates me, and I love him, and he is over there,—I  
 " will not fail him when he is in need,—that by the Lord  
 " who created the world,—who was born of the Virgin  
 " when the star rose,—I will cause you to be taken, I will  
 " not fail you ;—the powerful king of Bohemia shall hold  
 " you in prison,—who is vexed, or who not, it shall not  
 " go otherwise."

Said the earl of Suffolk : " Now let it be so without  
 " anger ;—love, and courage, and the great desire—which  
 " we have to challenge the land of France—causes us to  
 " desire and seek the great task.—These lovers for love must  
 " be exerting themselves ;—for he who loves by love, he

<sup>1</sup> The earls of Salisbury and Suffolk were taken prisoners in an attempt upon Lisle in Flanders, soon after the Easter of 1340, and carried to Paris. They were treated with

severity, and the French king is said to have proposed to put them to death as rebels, but they were saved by the intermediation of the king of Bohemia.

“ En parole ou en fait on se doit efforchier ;  
 “ Chescuns le fera bien s’il vient à l’apochier ;  
 “ Mais li plus fort sera du retourner arrier.”  
 Li quens Robert d’Artois ne s’i vault atergier,  
 Il fait les menestreux de viele efforchier,  
 Et ces dames danser, pour le proie essauchier.  
 Les deux plas a reprins et le hairon arier ;  
 Jehan de Faulkemont enprent à arrainnier.  
 Li bers Robers d’Artois n’i vaut plus arester ;  
 Jehan de Faulkemont enprent à apeler.  
 “ Et vous, sire, qu’en guerre vous faites si douter,  
 “ Or voués au hairon le droit d’aventurer.”  
 Et chil a repondu : “ Je ne dois m’en mesler  
 “ De veu de promesse ; car je n’ai que donner ;  
 “ Car je suis povres hons, si ne m’en voel mesler.  
 “ Mais, pour l’amour de vous et pour mes honneurs  
     garder,  
 “ Je veu et je prometh, et le voel affier,  
 “ Que, si li rois Englois passoit delà la mer,  
 “ Et parmi Cambresis voloit en Franche entrer,

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“ must advance himself ;—one ought to labour in word and  
 “ in deed ;—every one will do it well when he comes to  
 “ the approach,—but the hardest will be to return back.”—  
 Count Robert of Artois would not delay there,—he makes  
 the minstrels labour on the fiddle,—and these ladies dance  
 to prepare the prey (*i.e.* to excite the ardour of those whom  
 Robert sought to entrap into making vows).—He has taken  
 again the two dishes and the heron back ;—he begins to talk  
 to Jean de Faulkemont.—The noble Robert of Artois would  
 make no delay ;—he proceeds to call on Jean de Faulkemont.  
 —“ And you, sir, who make yourself so much feared in war,  
 “ —now vow to the heron the right to adventure.”—And he  
 has replied : “ I ought not to meddle—with vow of promise ;  
 “ for I have nothing to give ;—for I am a poor man, and  
 “ am not desirous of sharing in it.—But, for the love of you  
 “ and to keep my honours,—I vow and I promise, and I give  
 “ assurance of it,—that, if the English king passed beyond  
 “ the sea,—and would enter into France through Cam-



“ Que j’iroie le fu par devant li bouter,  
 “ Et si n’espargnerioie ne moustier ne autel,  
 “ Femme grosse n’enfant que je peusse trouver,  
 “ Ne parent ne amis, tant me peust-il amer,  
 “ Pour tant que il vausist roy Edouart grever ;  
 “ Por son veu acomplir vorray mon cors pener.  
 “ Or aviegne qu’aviegne, j’i voel aventurer.”  
 Et dist li uns à l’autre : “ Tes hons fait à amer,  
 “ Qui l’onneur son seigneur voelt croistre et amonter.”  
 Li quens Robers d’Artois ne va plus atargant,  
 Les plas d’argent reprent, qui sont fort et pesant,  
 Et les deux pucelles s’aloient escriant :  
 “ Loyaus amours nous mainent, qui nous vont encanter.”  
 Robers a apellé un chevalier vaillant,  
 Che fu Jehan de Biaumont, un prinche conquerant,  
 Oncles au gentil conte de Henau le poissant ;  
 Lors li a dit Robert moult gracieusement :  
 “ Voués au hairon, sire, je vous en vois priant.”  
 Dist Jehan de Biaumont : “ Sire, à votre talent ;

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“ bresis,—I would go and set fire before him,—and I would  
 “ neither spare church nor altar,—neither woman with  
 “ child nor infant that I could find,—nor kinsman nor  
 “ friend, however much he might love me,—as long as he  
 “ should will to grieve king Edward ;—to accomplish his  
 “ vow I would pain my body.—Now happen what may  
 “ happen, I will incur the adventure.”—And said one to the  
 other : “ Such a man is to be loved,—who would increase  
 “ and raise the honour of his lord.”

Count Robert of Artois makes no more delay,—but takes  
 the plates of silver again, which are large and heavy,—  
 and the two maidens went crying :—“ Loyal loves lead us,  
 “ which go enchanting us.”—Robert has called a valiant  
 knight,—it was John de Beaumont, a conquering prince,—  
 uncle to the gentle count of Hainault, the powerful ;—then  
 Robert said to him very gracefully :—“ Vow to the heron,  
 “ sir, I pray you.”—Said John de Beaumont : “ Sir, at your

“ Mès de tant de paroles me vois moult merveillant  
 “ Vantise ne vaut nient qui n’a achievement.  
 “ Quant nous sommes en tavernes, de ches fors vins  
     boevant,  
 “ Et ches dames de lès qui nous vont regardant,  
 “ A ches gorgues polies ches colieres tirant,  
 “ Chil oeil vair resplendissant de beauté souriant,  
 “ Nature nous semont d’avoir ceur desirant  
 “ De contendre, à le fin de merchi attendant ;  
 “ Adonc conquerons nous Yaumont et Aguilant,  
 “ Et li autre conquirent Olivier et Rolant.  
 “ Mais quand sommes as camps, sor nos destriers  
     courans,  
 “ Nos escus à nos cols, et nos lanches baissans,  
 “ Et le frodure grande nous va tous engelans,  
 “ Li membre nous effendent et derriere et devant,  
 “ Et nos ennemis sont envers nous approchant ;  
 “ Adonc vauriemes estre en un chelier si grant  
 “ Que jamais ne faissons veu ne tant ne quant ;  
 “ De si faite vantise ne donroie un besant.  
 “ Je ne dis pas pour cause que me voise escusant,

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“ will ;—but I marvel much at so much talk ;—boasting is  
 “ worth nothing without it be accomplished.—When we are  
 “ in taverns, drinking the strong wines,—and the ladies  
 “ near who look at us,—drawing the kerchiefs round their  
 “ smooth necks,—their grey eyes resplendent with beauty  
 “ smiling,—nature provokes us to have desire in our hearts  
 “ —to contend, looking for mercy as the result ;—then we  
 “ conquer Yaumont and Aguilant,—and others conquer  
 “ Oliver and Roland.—But when we are in the fields, on our  
 “ swift war-horses,—our shields at our necks and our  
 “ spears lowered,—and the great cold benumbs us all,—  
 “ our limbs fail us both behind and before,—and our enemies  
 “ are approaching towards us,—then we should wish to be  
 “ in a cellar so great—that we should never make a vow  
 “ of one kind or other ;—for such boasting I would not  
 “ give a besant.—I do not say this for a ground to excuse

“ Car je veu et prometh au vrai cors Saint Amant,  
 “ Que se li rois Englès voloit faire aitant,  
 “ Qu’il entrat en Hainau et passat en Breubant,  
 “ Et parmi Cambresis allat en Franche entrant,  
 “ Son marisal seroie de son ost conduissant,  
 “ Pour guerroier en Franche le riche roi poissant,  
 “ Que je ne li faurai pour nul homme vivant,  
 “ Et en tous ses besoingnes serai toudis devant,  
 “ Pour tant perdrerai ma terre et quanques j’ai vaillant.  
 “ Mè si li roi de Franche voloit faire aitant,  
 “ Que de sa volonté il me fust rapellant  
 “ En Franche, dont bannis sui pour mon ensiant,  
 “ D’Edouart partiroie, par Dieu le tout puissant,  
 “ Isi honestement que nus, petit ne grant,  
 “ Ne me poroit monstrier que fuisse meffaisant,  
 “ Ne par traison nulle je li fuisse grevant.  
 “ Et, se che ne veut faire, j’ai Dieu en convenant,  
 “ Qu’au boin roy Edouart serai toudis aidant,  
 “ Et parmis cette guerre serai la gent menant.”  
 Et quant li rois l’entent, se l’en va merchant.

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“ myself,—for I vow and promise on the true body of St.  
 “ Amant,—that if the English king would do so much—as  
 “ to enter into Hainault and pass into Brabant,—and go  
 “ through Cambresis to enter France,—I will be his marshal  
 “ to conduct his host,—to make war in France upon the  
 “ powerful rich king,—that I will not fail him for any man  
 “ living,—and in all his needs I will be always before him,  
 “ —though I shall lose my land and all I am worth.—But  
 “ if the king of France would do so much—as voluntarily  
 “ to recall me—into France, from which I am banished, as  
 “ I know,—I would quit Edward, by God the Almighty,  
 “ —so honestly that no one, little or great,—could point to  
 “ me as acting injuriously,—or that I was grieving him by  
 “ any treason.—And, if he do not so, I make a covenant  
 “ to God,—that I will always be aiding the good king  
 “ Edward,—and throughout this war I will be the leader  
 “ of his people.”—And when the king hears him, he thanks  
 him.

Quant Jehan de Beaumont ot dit ce qu'il pensa,  
 Robert, celi d'Artois, gaires ne demoura,  
 Les deux plas a reprins et si les releva,  
 Et les trois menestrels il mie n'oublia;  
 Les deux pucelles cantent, chescuns une emmena.  
 Par devant la roine Robert s'agenouilla,  
 Et dist que le hairon par tems departira,  
 Mès que chou aït voué que le ceur li dira.  
 "Vassal," dist la roine, "or ne me parlés jà;  
 "Dame ne peut vouer, puis qu'elle seigneur a,  
 "Car s'elle veue riens, son mari pooir a  
 "Que bien puet rapeller chou qu'elle vouera;  
 "Et honnis soit li corps que jà si pensera,  
 "Devant que mes chiers sires commandé le m'ara."  
 Et dist le roy: "Voués, mes corps l'aquittera;  
 "Mès que finer en puisse, mes corps s'en penera;  
 "Voués hardiement, et Dieux vous aidera."  
 Adonc dist la roine: "Je sais bien que piecha  
 "Que sui grosse d'enfant, que mon corps senti la,

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When Jean de Beaufort had said what he thought,—Robert, he of Artois, did not stop long,—he has taken the two dishes again and raised them up,—and the three minstrels he did not forget;—the two maidens sing, each led away one.—Robert knelt before the queen,—and said that the heron he would distribute in time,—when she had vowed that which her heart should tell her.—"Vassal," said the queen, "now talk to me no more;—a lady cannot make a  
 "vow, because she has a lord;—for if she vow anything, her  
 "husband has power—that he can fully revoke what she  
 "shall vow;—and shame be to the body which should  
 "think of it,—before my dear lord shall have commanded  
 "it me."—And said the king: "Vow, my body shall  
 "acquit it;—but that I may accomplish it, my body shall  
 "labour;—vow boldly, and God shall aid you."—Then  
 said the queen: "I know well for sometime—that I am  
 "big with child, that my body has felt it,—it is only



" Encore n'a il gaires qu'en mon corps se tourna ;  
 " Et je voue et prometh à Dieu qui me crea,  
 " Qui nasqui de la vierge, que ses corps n'empira,  
 " Et qui morut en crois, on le crucifia,  
 " Que jà li fruis de moi de mon corps n'istera,  
 " Si m'en arés menée ou pais par delà,  
 " Pour avanchier le veu que vo corps voué a.  
 " Et s'il en voelh isir, quant besoins n'en sera,  
 " D'un grand coutel d'achier li miens corps s'ochira ;  
 " Serai m'asme perdue et li fruis perira."  
 Et quant li rois l'entent, moult forment l'en pensa,  
 Et dist : " Certainement nuls plus ne vouera."  
 Li bairons fu partis, la roine en mengna.  
 Adonc, quant che fu fait, li rois s'apareilla,  
 Et fit garnir les nes, la roine i entra,  
 Et maint franc chevalier avecques lui mena.  
 De illoec en Anvers li rois ne s'arreta.  
 Quant outre sont venu, la dame delivra ;  
 D'un biau fils gracieux la dame s'acouka,

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" a little while since it moved in my body ;—and I  
 " vow and promise to God who created me,—who was  
 " born of the Virgin, while her body remained perfect,—  
 " and who died on the cross, they crucified him,—that my  
 " fruit shall never issue from my body,—until you have led  
 " me to the country over there,—to perform the vow that  
 " your body has vowed.—And if it should be ready to issue,  
 " when it will not be need,—with a great knife of steel  
 " my body shall slay itself ;—my life will be lost, and the  
 " fruit will perish."—And when the king hears this, he  
 thought of it very gravely,—and said : " Certainly no one  
 " will vow more."—The heron was divided, the queen ate of  
 it.—Then, after this was done, the king made his prepara-  
 tions,—and caused ships to be stored, the queen entered ;  
 —and led many a free knight with him.—From thence to  
 Antwerp the king made no halt.—When they had finished  
 their voyage, the queen was delivered ;—the lady was brought

Lyon d'Anvers<sup>1</sup> ot non quant on le baptisa.  
Ensi le franque dame le sien veu aquitta ;  
Ains que soient tout fait, main[t] preudomme en morra,  
Et maint bon chevalier dolent s'en clamera,  
Et mainte preude femme pour lasse s'en tenra.  
Adonc parti li cours des Englès par delà.

*Chi finent leus veus du hairon.*

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to bed of a graceful fair son,—Lion of Antwerp he was called, when they baptized him.—Thus the noble dame acquitted her vow ;—before they are all acquitted, many a good man will die for it,—and many a good knight will lament,—and many a good woman will be tired of it.—Then went the court of the English over there.—*Here end the vows of the heron.*

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<sup>1</sup> Lionel duke of Clarence, king Edward's third son, was born at Antwerp in 1338.

EPIGRAM ON THE ASSUMPTION OF THE ARMS OF  
FRANCE.<sup>1</sup> 1339.

*Jus E. regis Angliæ in regno Francorum.*

Rex sum regnorum bina ratione duorum ;  
Anglorum cerno me regem jure paterno ;  
Jure matris quidem rex Francorum vocor idem.  
Hinc est armorum variatio bina meorum,  
M. ter centeno cum ter denoque noveno.

AN INVECTIVE AGAINST FRANCE.<sup>2</sup>

Written in the Autumn of 1346.

Francia, foeminea, pharisæa, vigoris idea,  
Lynxæa, viperea, vulpina, lupina, Medea,  
Callida, syrena, crudelis, acerba, superba,  
Es fellis<sup>3</sup> plena, mel dans latet anguis in herba,  
Sub duce Philippo Valeys, cognomine lippo,  
Amoris nomen famam cognomen et omen.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 121, v<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> This poem bears internal evidence of having been written very soon after the battle of Crécy. I have found it in three manuscripts, MS. Cotton. Titus A. xx., fol. 78, r<sup>o</sup> (A) ; MS. Bodl. 851, fol. 117, v<sup>o</sup> (B) ; and MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 115, v<sup>o</sup> (C) ; in the last of which it is entitled, *Gesta bellicosa excellentissimi principis domini Edwardi Wyndeshore regis Anglorum iij., et primo de bello Crescey et Neyle Crosse*. It is here printed from the first of these manuscripts. There

are considerable variations in the manuscripts, which I have pointed out in the notes ; but I have here, as in other similar cases, intentionally been sparing in transferring the reading of one copy to the other, because I think these readings may often express the particular opinion or sentiment of the individual from whom the copy came. It should be stated that the Rawlinson MS. belongs to the fifteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> fillis, B.

<sup>4</sup> So this line stands in the MS. ; perhaps a line is lost which would make sense of it.

Es nimis erecta, non grata cupidine tecta,  
 Fraudibus infecta, despecta, timore refecta.  
 Quæris Philippum Valeys regem tibi lippum;  
 Pes tuus ad cippum currit, defende calippum.  
 Philip barbareus jus prætoris<sup>1</sup> vitiavit,  
 Philippus gravius sceptrum regni temeravit.  
 Hæredem quæris, Philip non est tuus hæres;  
 Prælia multa seris, vulnera plura<sup>2</sup> feres.  
 Tertius Edwardus, aper Anglicus et leopardus,  
 Rex tuus est verus; veniens tibi dente severus,  
 Cor tibi confregit, tua legit, multa subegit,  
 Bella peregit, fortia fregit, jura redegit.  
 Invasor lippe regni, discede, Philippe;  
 Oblique, lippe vidisti moris Agrippæ.  
 Phy foetet, lippus oculis nocet, ergo Philippus  
 Dux<sup>3</sup> nocet et foetet, sordida fata metet.  
 O<sup>4</sup> Philippe Valeys, Xerxes,<sup>5</sup> Darius, Bituitus;  
 Te faciet *maleys*<sup>6</sup> Edwardus, aper polimitus.  
 Sæpe reges dicti nimis in multis posuerunt;<sup>7</sup>  
 A paucis victi, capti, vineti perierunt.  
 Ex paucis simus, in nos cogitando redimus,  
 Corde superbimus, præsumimus, ergo perimus.  
 Armant injusti se, multis jura recedunt;  
 Armant, se credunt Domino, re, nomine justi.  
 Pacem veracem prætendens fraude latente,  
 Belli fornacem succendis honore ruente.  
 Multos<sup>8</sup> subegisti, non vi sed fraude lupina;  
 Aprum fugisti, tua vis est alba pruina.  
 Te ferus infestat,<sup>9</sup> rex inclitus ense molestat,  
 Fama sibi restat, vecordia te dehonestat.  
 Te timor emollit, aprum probitas manifestat;  
 Jus sibi cor præstat, injuria cor tibi tollit.

<sup>1</sup> *preturis*, B.<sup>2</sup> *pauca*, B.<sup>3</sup> *Hic*, B.<sup>4</sup> *es*, B.<sup>5</sup> *Persis*, A.<sup>6</sup> *malays*, B.<sup>7</sup> This and the five following lines are omitted in B.<sup>8</sup> *multa*, B.<sup>9</sup> *incestat*, A.



Hic aper singularis, silvestris, acumine fortis,  
 Humeris<sup>1</sup> præclaris, infert tibi spicula<sup>2</sup> mortis.  
 Francia, par milvis,<sup>3</sup> demonstrat se fore Scillam ;<sup>4</sup>  
 Rex aper ex silvis veniens exterminat illam.  
 Dentibus aprinis infertur mors Parisinis ;  
 Sunt dentes tuti, mundi, fortes, et acuti.  
 Apro<sup>5</sup> vivente, prudenter regna regente,  
 Anglia dat lumen, dum Deus apri dat acumen.  
 Si paleas valeas, Valeys, depone timorem ;  
 In campo pateas, maneat, ostende vigorem.  
 Flos es, flore cares, in campo viribus ares,  
 Mane tegel<sup>6</sup> phares, lupus<sup>7</sup> et lynx non leo pares.  
 Lynx videt a longe pariter,<sup>8</sup> simulat, machinatur ;  
 Insidiæ longæ sibi sunt, dum nil operatur.  
 Dat<sup>9</sup> tibi lynx visum, sed non donat leo nisum ;<sup>10</sup>  
 Uti quidem nisu prodest regi sine visu.  
 Deponas nisus, fallaces induc visus,  
 Rex visus invisus, cito deficiat tibi visus.<sup>11</sup>  
 Es flos in cameris, in bellis es quasi virgo,  
 In fraudis pargo<sup>12</sup> sperans tutamina quæris.  
 Plene, Valeys, sorde, quæ sint<sup>13</sup> tua bella remorde ;  
 Ut mulier morde, vel scalpas, vir sine corde.  
 Sis cor regis habens, miserans, verax, sive clemens ;  
 Sorde tuo tabens jam dimittit tua te mens.  
 Robur custodes regales coir<sup>14</sup> male prodes ;  
 Illis nudaris, ergo rex non reputaris.<sup>15</sup>  
 Te regem monstra, vel regis desere nomen,  
 Est tibi cognomen Valeys, sunt gens tua monstra.

<sup>1</sup> *Cubnis*, B.

<sup>2</sup> *specula*, A.

<sup>3</sup> *melius*, A.

<sup>4</sup> *cillam*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Et pro*, A. *ex pro*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *techel*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *lepus*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *patitur*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *Sat*, A.

<sup>10</sup> *quid visu . . . n.*, B.

<sup>11</sup> *nisus*, C. This and the preceding line are omitted in B.

<sup>12</sup> This word is glossed in MS. C by *punctus*.

<sup>13</sup> *sunt*, B.

<sup>14</sup> So A and B ; *cur*, C.

<sup>15</sup> This and the three preceding lines are omitted in B.

Æra counasti, peregrinari simulasti,  
 Quæ male legisti sine fructu distribuisti.  
 Impugnans Christi dotem non prævaluisti;  
 Corde tuo tristi reddes mihi quæ tenuisti.  
 Pactum compactum debellando mihi factum,  
 Vecors fregisti, latuisti, terga dedisti.  
 Prælia movisti, loca tempora constituisti,  
 Jus prætendisti, fugisti, victus abisti.  
 Fraudes fecisti, nullas treugas tenuisti;  
 Pontes fregisti, pontes juris repulisti.<sup>1</sup>  
 Es pontis fractor vitæ terroris et actor.  
 Impius exactor, regni tu pseudo subactor.  
 Nomen pontificis renuisti, regis abusus  
 Nomine, confusus, nudis probitatis amicis.  
 Deficit Ogerus, Karolus, Rodland,<sup>2</sup> Oliverus,  
 Cor tibi pes leporis, dat aper tibi facta leporis.  
 In proprio climat<sup>3</sup> tibi dicet<sup>4</sup> aper cito chekmat;  
 Nec dices liveret, lepus es, aper est tibi firet.<sup>5</sup>  
 Apparens aurum purum fingis Minotaurum,  
 Regnum thesaurum, non curas perdere laurum.  
 Cum seon in magnis regnas virtutis in avis,  
 Altus ut Anthiochus, res, vapor, umbra, focus.<sup>6</sup>  
 Cur fugis? assiste, puero, Philippe, resiste,  
 In te subsiste, cur pugnas more sophistæ?  
 Ostendet flores puer iste tibi graviores;  
 Fingis fervores, aper en tibi tollit honores.<sup>7</sup>  
 Francorum vittas<sup>8</sup> aper aufert dando sagittas,  
 Ut Jacob et Jonathas pœnas<sup>9</sup> mittendo probatas.

<sup>1</sup> *remuisti*, B.<sup>2</sup> *Roulond*, B. *Rowlond*, C.<sup>3</sup> *clunat*, B. *clymate*, C.<sup>4</sup> *tibi dicit*, B.<sup>5</sup> *fireth*, B. *firret*, C.<sup>6</sup> This and the three previous lines are omitted in B.<sup>7</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.<sup>8</sup> *vitas*, B.<sup>9</sup> *Gallis*, C. This word is omitted altogether in A, and is supplied in the text from B.

O sua virtutis miranda sagitta salutis,  
 Impetit astuta, metuenda petes et acuta.<sup>1</sup>  
 Spiritus aspirans<sup>2</sup> bonus a te, Saule, recessit,  
 Ad David accessit, felicia praelia spirans.  
 Est David Edwardus, sancto cum crismate<sup>3</sup> clarens,  
 Philip corde carens Saul est ad praelia tardus.  
 Est aper<sup>4</sup> Edwardus, flos regum, pistica nardus,  
 Sol solus lucens, rosa mundi, stella reducens.  
 Est<sup>5</sup> probitas mundi, laus mundi, gloria mundi,  
 Thesaurus mundi, cor mundi, regula mundi.  
 Aurea seu rosea decet illum justa corona,  
 Fimea pellicea cedant, decet aurea zona.<sup>6</sup>  
 Hunc juvat ecce Deus, quia nobilis<sup>7</sup> ut Machabæus,  
 Laudes dando pias, gladium dat ei Jeremias.  
 Limatus gladius, versatilis, aureus, oras  
 Francorum citius vincet, agendo foras.  
 Princeps tantillus, cæsus de monte lapillus,  
 Comminuet, franget, statuam grandem pius<sup>8</sup> anget.  
 Rerum natura modo nescit eo meliorem,  
 Francis terrorem dat et fortuna<sup>9</sup> dura.  
 Hic rex cuncta valet, omni prætiosior auro,  
 Ponitur in stauro, pneumatis igne calet.  
 Portat scuta spei, fidei, pietatis, amoris,  
 Ut cunctis horis cogitet finem requiei.  
 Cum tali scuto, gladio fervoris acuto.  
 Militat in tuto, dejecto dæmone muto.  
 Hostibus immensis offert se non sine pensis,  
 Esuriens, sitiens, frigora, vim patiens.  
 Tuti dormimus cum raro dormiat ipse ;  
 Tuti transimus cum spicula seminet ipse.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.

<sup>2</sup> *inspirans*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *sancto karismate*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *probus*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Es*, B.

<sup>6</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.

<sup>7</sup> *Deus, audax probus est ut*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *bonus*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *infortunia*, B. *et fortuna*, A.

<sup>10</sup> These two lines and the two which follow are transposed in B.

Pro nobis donat sua, se, cor, corpus, et æra;  
 Ut leo voce tonat deterrens corda severa.  
 Ergo pro nobis tantos subeundo labores,  
 Se donans nobis, nostros donamus<sup>1</sup> amores,  
 Ergo demus ei res, æs,<sup>2</sup> cor, corpus, amorem;  
 In virtute Dei tanto faciamus honorem.  
 Est nobis murus, virtus, valor,<sup>3</sup> absque pavore;  
 Rex bonus<sup>4</sup> Arthurus, Francos replendo dolore.  
 Dentes aprini fient clavi Parisini;  
 Rex leopardinus est juste rex Parisinus.  
 Jure dati nati<sup>5</sup> belli meriti probioris,  
 Simus ei grati, solus regnat vir honoris.  
 Alia<sup>6</sup> rubescunt, leopardis lilia crescunt;  
 Per se vanescunt, leopardis vieta quiescunt.  
 Alia miscentur, leopardis regna tremiscunt;  
 Lex, pax servantur, Francorum corda gemiscunt.  
 Quondam seductus juvenis rex trans mare ductus,<sup>7</sup>  
 Fraudibus adductus, Christi virtute reductus,  
 Philippo feci feodum<sup>8</sup> sub lege minorum;  
 Major id infeci cum magna laude meorum.  
 Si minor est læsus, ut lex vult restituetur;  
 Ergo<sup>9</sup> mihi detur quod<sup>10</sup> habet Philippus obesus.<sup>11</sup>  
 Sentio me læsum, Philippe Valeys, fugis æquum;  
 Corde tenendo Jhesum, disceptabo<sup>12</sup> bene tecum.  
 Fraude, dolo ducto pupillo subvenietur,  
 Ægro seducto mihi Francia contribuetur.<sup>13</sup>  
 Me facit hæredem Francis responsio legis,  
 Ergo meam sedem cur fœdas nomine regis?<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *mercatur*, B.<sup>2</sup> *os*, B.<sup>3</sup> *honor et valor*, B.<sup>4</sup> *probus*, B.<sup>5</sup> *nato*, C.<sup>6</sup> *Lilia*, B.<sup>7</sup> *Quondam seductus ultra mare rex male ductus*, B.<sup>8</sup> *fiendum*, B.<sup>9</sup> *Sic*, A.<sup>10</sup> *quia*, A.<sup>11</sup> *abes*, A.<sup>12</sup> *deceptabo*, B.<sup>13</sup> *seducto . . . mox redibetur*, B.<sup>14</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.



In te, cognate, non sunt insignia regis;<sup>1</sup>  
 Ergo resigna te tua mox mihi nomine legis.<sup>2</sup>  
 Morbum non sanas regalem, regna prophanas;<sup>3</sup>  
 Ne tua sit<sup>4</sup> vana gens, cor pavidum tibi sana.  
 Est morbus magnus, cor regis si sit ut agnus,  
 Ergo leoninum cor cum decet ac aquilinum.  
 Rege Cloodovio<sup>5</sup> Francorum primo renato,  
 Ungitur ex oleo de cœli culmine lato.  
 Illo servato rex Francorum solet ungi,  
 Mirando fato Valeys nequit hac vice fungi.  
 Deficiens oleum te monstrat non fore regem,  
 Conscius ergo gregem desere, quære Deum.  
 Nil dabat ampulla, sic unctio fit tua nulla;  
 Est tibi mens pulla, sit vestis stricta cuculla.<sup>6</sup>  
 Rex regum venit, intus pius aspera lenit,  
 Æqualis lancis ergo perit unctio Francis.<sup>7</sup>  
 Francia debetur Edwardo, lippe videte,  
 Compotus ornetur, aper audiet, ergo videte.  
 Vires<sup>8</sup> vi de te puer auferet, ergo videte.  
 Sensus vi de te puer auferet, ergo videte.  
 Sceptrum vi de te puer auferet, ergo videte.  
 Si rex sis verus, Francis defende coronam,  
 Regis personam monstres, nil fingat Homerus.  
 Non facias leporem ne Francia perdat honorem,  
 Amittat florem signi regalis odorem.<sup>9</sup>  
 Tecum gens multa, sed eorum<sup>10</sup> corda sepulta  
 Mollibus arescunt, vehemente timore timescunt.<sup>11</sup>  
 Ignorant mores Martis, sitiendo cruores,  
 Potant cum tiro, victi certamine diro.

<sup>1</sup> *regum*, B.<sup>2</sup> *legum*, B.<sup>3</sup> This line is omitted in B.<sup>4</sup> *sint*, B.<sup>5</sup> *Cleodovio*, B.<sup>6</sup> *cucullo*, A.<sup>7</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.<sup>8</sup> *Virum*, B.<sup>9</sup> This and the three preceding lines are omitted in B.<sup>10</sup> *eorum*, B.<sup>11</sup> *tumore timescunt*, A.

Dux Deus est secum, jus secum, gratia secum ;  
 Fraus, dolus est tecum, non lex tecum, fuga tecum.  
 Nobile cor secum, gratum cor, omnibus æquum ;  
 Cor muris tecum, miserabile, labile, cæcum.  
 Ergo Deo dante, vi viribus auxiliante,  
 Quaerens justitiam, sperat superare Goliam.<sup>1</sup>  
 " Est mecum Dominus, mihi prælia nulla nocebunt,  
 " Pugnando cominus Francorum gaudia flebunt."<sup>2</sup>  
 Multi sunt milites vecordes Francigenarum ;  
 Rex regum pedites, equites regat Angligenarum.  
 Psalle Deo, psalle, Valeys, dux Sardanapalle,  
 Falle duces, falle, Francorum destrues alle.  
 Elephas in monte pugnans cum rhinoceronte,  
 Cor gerit in fronte, cor habes cum camelionte.<sup>3</sup>  
 Vertis ei dorsum, faciem vertendo retrorsum ;  
 Sus gravem morsum patiens descende deorsum.<sup>4</sup>  
 Clericus in studio, tu miles prælia nescis ;  
 Serpens in gremio, mus, igris,<sup>5</sup> glis, requiescis.  
 Apro singlari depasceris et capieris,  
 Ense salutari perimeris et inficieris.  
 Ensem justitiæ, pietatis, vel probitatis,  
 Non geris ex acie, pictor diræ feritatis.  
 Ense columbino ferieris, corde supino ;  
 Corde leonino privaris, tectus ovino.<sup>6</sup>  
 Francorum lege mulieri regna negantur ;  
 A summo rege contraria jura dabantur.  
 Sub duce carnifice Capoth<sup>7</sup> lex illa dabatur,  
 Ergo magnifice modo talis lex<sup>8</sup> reprobatur.  
 Capoth<sup>9</sup> carnificis Hugonis lex fuit illa ;  
 Hæc lex ancilla merito privatur amicis.

<sup>1</sup> This line and the seven preceding are omitted in B.

<sup>2</sup> *corda timebunt*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *camaleonte*, C.

<sup>4</sup> This and the seven preceding lines are omitted in B.

<sup>5</sup> *ignis*, B. *ignis*, C.

<sup>6</sup> This and the three preceding lines are omitted in B.

<sup>7</sup> *Capech*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *rex*, A.

<sup>9</sup> *Capech*, B.

Nomen mutavit, dictus fuit ipse Pipinus,  
 Cautus, vulpinus, legem Domini reprobavit.  
 Hæres Francorum regalis <sup>1</sup> nupta Pipino,  
 Munere divino vixit regina suorum.  
 Vir suus elatus, per eam nimium veneratus,  
 Stultus et ingratus, oblitus et insimulatus,<sup>2</sup>  
 Consentit legi quod fœmina nulla futura  
 Succedat <sup>3</sup> regi, vel ei sit regia cura.  
 Carnifices pecorum componant jura suorum,<sup>4</sup>  
 Reges regnorum vertex non tangat <sup>5</sup> eorum.  
 Carnificis plane lex est contraria sanæ  
 Voci divinæ, donabitur ergo ruinæ.  
 Vox est divina quod Salphays <sup>6</sup> filia quina  
 Juri <sup>7</sup> confesse patris hæres vindicat <sup>8</sup> esse.  
 Postulant rem justam, rectam, ratione venustam,  
 Rem ratam, gratam, divina voce probatam.<sup>9</sup>  
 Lex a rege datur Domino cum quis moriatur,<sup>10</sup>  
 Si tenuit bene jus, est <sup>11</sup> hæres filius ejus.  
 Si mas defuerit, succedit <sup>12</sup> filia patri;  
 Filia si deerit, dabitur possessio fratri.  
 Lex non distinguit, ergo distinguere noli;  
 Fraus non exstinguit debita jura poli.  
 Ergo duces, reges, plebem <sup>13</sup> lex tangere debet;  
 Francorum cor hebet, deficit ampla seges.  
 Mater Ysabella nostri regis, generosa,  
 Prudens, formosa, virtutum lucida stella,  
 Regis Francorum Philippi filia cara,  
 Nupserat Anglorum regi, pacis via clara.

<sup>1</sup> *regales*, A.

<sup>2</sup> *immoderatus*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Succedit*, A.

<sup>4</sup> *duorum*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *tangit*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *Salphad*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *Ad jus*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *vendicat*, B and C.

<sup>9</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.

<sup>10</sup> *Summo rege datur lex quod cum quis moriatur*, B.

<sup>11</sup> *erit*, B.

<sup>12</sup> The word *quia* is added here in A, but it is evidently superfluous.

<sup>13</sup> *omnes*, B.

Ejus<sup>1</sup> tres fratres sine semine morte ruerunt,<sup>2</sup>  
 Lex, Deus, et patres<sup>3</sup> sibi regni jura dederunt.  
 Quicquid juris habet mater proli pia donat;  
 Proles non tabet, sed matris dona coronat.  
 Est Judæorum Christus rex sub vice<sup>4</sup> matris,  
 Ergo Francorum rex fiat<sup>5</sup> aper vice matris.  
 Dux Normannorum regnat vice progenitorum,  
 Victor Scotorum se vincens vita suorum.  
 Karolus imperator, rex patricius, dominator,  
 Coelitus instructus, subito de corpore ductus,  
 Audivit dici per responsum Lodewici,<sup>6</sup>  
 Quod rex regnaret sua filia quam generaret.  
 Nomine materno rexit, sed jure paterno.  
 Ergo magnifico credamus in hoc Lodewico.<sup>7</sup>  
 Ergo, Philippe comes, apro reddas sua jura;  
 Est et<sup>8</sup> ventura dura timenda comes.  
 Plangas in fine, dux, tanta causa ruinæ,  
 Et mundi lucis defere regna ducis.  
 Parce cruori, parce dolori, parce rigori,  
 Parce rubori, parce labori, parcis<sup>9</sup> honori.  
 Sit tua mens<sup>10</sup> pura stricte responsa datura,  
 Cum quali cura dispensasti mea jura.  
 Reddere non poteris, quia copia deficit æris;  
 Ergo dolens venias, invenies venias.  
 Anglia regna, mundi rosa, flos sine spina,  
 Mel sine sentina, vicisti bella marina.  
 Francigenæ naves ut aves in rete ruerunt,  
 Sanguine fluxerunt, lectis caruere suaves.  
 Anglicus ecce rogus Francos facit hogges et koghes,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Eo*, A.<sup>2</sup> *fuert*, A.<sup>3</sup> *ac pueris*, A.<sup>4</sup> *sanguine*, B.<sup>5</sup> *fict*, B and C.<sup>6</sup> *Lodowycki*, B and C.<sup>7</sup> *credamus nos Lodowyco*, B and C.<sup>8</sup> *tibi*, B.<sup>9</sup> *parce*, A.<sup>10</sup> *Sit tibi mens*, B.<sup>11</sup> *ogges in ogus*, B.



Disperiunt, saliunt, dissipiant, fugiunt.<sup>1</sup>  
 Chaan semen Chanaan regem pacis fugientem,<sup>2</sup>  
 Edward Carnarivan dat morti se<sup>3</sup> perimentem.  
 Dic pos ey pes ey<sup>4</sup> fidei, probitatis,<sup>5</sup> honoris;  
 Dic pour est ny<sup>6</sup> tremor, error, et arra doloris;<sup>7</sup>  
 Dic pos ey pes ey,<sup>8</sup> cecidit flos Francigenarum,  
 Demisit nos ey<sup>9</sup> rex inclitus Angligenarum.  
 In Cressi<sup>10</sup> crevit laus Anglica, Francia flevit,  
 Decrevit, sævit, fugiens ut mos<sup>11</sup> inolevit.  
 Tres reges fortes contra nos applicuerunt,  
 De quibus insortes mortis duo mox ceciderunt.  
 Infortunatus cecidit rex male gravatus,<sup>12</sup>  
 Mire fatatus Anglorum sensit hiatus.  
 Tunc aderat fato regis<sup>13</sup> nulla gratia nato;  
 Regis nomen ei, gratia nulla rei.<sup>14</sup>  
 Vir super<sup>15</sup> illustres rex Boemiæ generosus,  
 Providus,<sup>16</sup> annosus, cadit ad<sup>17</sup> Cressi sine lustris.  
 Cæcus erat plene qui prælia cæcus inivit,  
 Laudem quesivit, cessant sibi laudis habenæ.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Desipiunt . . . . diffugeunt, pereunt*, B, which MS. adds after this line the following:—

Unus millena fugat et duo millia dena;

Moribus arserunt ipsi quibus hi caruerunt,

Ipsos conclusit dominos qui vendidit illos,

In se tantillos nos Christus posse reclusit.

Dux Valeys hinnit, Francia grunnit, territa tinnit.

Francia plorat, falsa colorat, se de-honorat.

<sup>2</sup> *pascens regem fugientem*, B. *fugientes*, A.

<sup>3</sup> *Edwardum Carnarvan aquilam dat te*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *poysi pouci*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *virtutis*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *cy*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *Dic gravius est jam pavor et tremor, arra*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *poici poici*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *Devicit nos ci*, B,

<sup>10</sup> *Christi*, A.

<sup>11</sup> *nos*, B.

<sup>12</sup> This line is omitted in A.

<sup>13</sup> *regum*, C.

<sup>14</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.

<sup>15</sup> *Nobilis*, B.

<sup>16</sup> *Vir probus*, B.

<sup>17</sup> *in*, B.

<sup>18</sup> These two lines, omitted in A and C, are supplied from B.

Tertius affugit,<sup>1</sup> pictus rex ut leo rugit.  
 Est leo jactando, lepus a bello<sup>2</sup> remeando.  
 Barones, comites, procures, pedites fugientes  
 Anglorum pedites occidunt terga sequentes.  
 Rex, supra sensus hominis<sup>3</sup> sunt praelia facta,  
 Ergo Deo census tribuas et bella peracta.  
 Rex, Christo corda, rationis te rege corda,  
 Tecum concorda, jungas discordia corda.  
 Esto Deo gratus, qui pro te mira patravit;  
 Non sis elatus, benedic qui cuncta creavit.  
 Reges, magnates triginta duos sociavit  
 Benedal, elatos<sup>4</sup> quos mitis Achab superavit.  
 Senachereb videas, Nabugodenosor, Amasiam,  
 Antheochum doleas, Pharonem, Saul, Oziam.  
 Hi nimis elati contra Dominum fremuerunt,  
 Reges inflati proprio fastu perierunt.  
 Rex, lumbos, oculos, os, cor rege, templa tuere;  
 Te procures populos fac Christi jussa tenere.  
 Christo confidens, in Christi nomine ridens,  
 Te luera, damna videns, sis Francis rumphea stridens.  
 Nobis, Christe, fave, humiles vicere superbos,  
 Pacifici suaves vincunt duos et acerbos.  
 Paupertas devicit opes, et debile forte,  
 Ergo bona sorte proficiant inopes.  
 Pestis, proditio, pavor, præsumptio treugæ  
 Cedant,<sup>5</sup> rex, euge, te rege corde pio.  
 Insidians graviter se Francia tanta retraxit,  
 Se mare subtraxit, dat tibi flumen iter.  
 Transiit illæsus populus noster sine fluctu,  
 Miro conductu fit via nostra Jhesus.  
 Ergo via tali tuti transimus et inus,  
 Conjuncti simus Domino zelo speciali;

<sup>1</sup> *aufugit*, B.<sup>2</sup> *campo*, B.<sup>3</sup> *hominum*, B.<sup>4</sup> *Benadab ingratus*, B.<sup>5</sup> *Cedat*, A.

Unus millena fugat, et duo milia dena.  
 Moribus arserunt ipsi quibus hi caruerunt;  
 Ipsos conclusit Dominus qui vendidit illos,  
 In se tantillos nos Christi posse reclusit.<sup>1</sup>  
 Cessat honos et amor, timor et spes, ergo peribis;  
 Sit tibi verus amor, et tutus in omnibus ibis.  
 Spes, cor, amor jungat, tangat timor, ac honor ungat,  
 Ne nos disjungant pronomina vel mala pungant.  
 Valeys crudelis, piratica, raro fidelis,  
 Es<sup>2</sup> nostris telis sine navibus et sine velis.  
 Navibus infesta, cum nautis sæpe<sup>3</sup> molesta,  
 Quæ tua sunt gesta, quæ vires nunc manifesta?  
 Multos cepisti,<sup>4</sup> destruxisti, rapuisti;  
 Ergo tibi tristi veniat maledictio Christi.  
 Fel, mel in ore geris, patieris, jure<sup>5</sup> mereris;  
 Jam confunderis, incenderis, perimeris.<sup>6</sup>  
 Rex sibi non parcas, thalamos scruteris et arcas,  
 Libras et marcas capias dando sibi parcas.  
 Anglia conqueritur quod honor et amor sepelitur,  
 Vera fides moritur, lex, laus, pax non reperitur.  
 Quod male taxatur, quod divitiis spoliatur,  
 Quod premitur, teritur,<sup>7</sup> oppressa dolore politur.  
 Anglia, languore quondam langues<sup>8</sup> graviore,  
 Pisciculi more fulges majori valore.  
 Quos videt esse graves mercator sæpe labores,  
 Esse putat suaves propter mercedis amores.  
 Regis facta legis, si te regis ordine legis,  
 Suffer damna gregis, qui tria lucra tegis.  
 Nomine quid melius, quid gratius omine<sup>9</sup> caro;  
 Rex tuus eximius te dicat nomine claro.

<sup>1</sup> These four lines are omitted here in MS. B, which has inserted them in another place. See a former note.

<sup>2</sup> *Fit*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *variis et saepe*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Multa peremisti*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *pateris quæ juste*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *occideris, capieris*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *territur*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *languens*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *nomine*, A.

Qui prius infame nomen foetens habuisti.  
 Insignis famæ nomen sub eo meruisti.  
 Est mundo toti notus tuus arcus et omen,  
 Esto pii voti virtus, valor est tibi nomen.  
 Nomine ditaris, veneraris, nobilitaris,  
 Laudis singularis maris et terræ dominaris.  
 Anglicus angelicus Edwardus, juris amicus,  
 Sis rex pacificus, patiens, pius, atque pudicus,  
 Justus, munificus, clemens, moderatus, apricus,  
 Verax, magnificus, affabilis, ut Godericus.<sup>1</sup>  
 In Domino præsto rex lætus, sobrius esto,  
 Christo devotus, populo gratus, tibi notus.<sup>2</sup>  
 Sis plebi largus, sapiens, oculatus ut<sup>3</sup> Argus.  
 In Christo credas, a mundi fraude recedas.  
 Christo confidens, in Christi nomine ridens,  
 Te lucra damna videns, sis Francis rumphea stridens.<sup>4</sup>  
 Treugæ pseudo more veniunt ex lampadis ore;  
 Rex, treugas caveas, ne per eas pereas.  
 Rex mentis mundæ, gentis probitatis abunde;  
 In propria gente Juda confide docente.  
 Gente sua propria victoris honore potitur,  
 Junctus amicitia Romanis more feritur.  
 Fac, duc, dic, et fer, benefac, beneduc, benedicas,  
 Lucifer es, benefer, Francorum collige spicas.  
 Rex exactivus,<sup>5</sup> vecors, injustus oditur,  
 Fortis diligitur, justus, ratione dativus.<sup>6</sup>  
 Serves mandata, timeas et ames bene Christum;  
 Est gens ingrata quæ mundum diligit istum.  
 Sint, sancto more tibi lex, grex, pax, in honore,  
 Laus in dulcore, sermo divinus in ore.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Godoricus*, B.<sup>2</sup> *votus*, B.<sup>3</sup> *et*, A.<sup>4</sup> These two lines are supplied from MS. B.<sup>5</sup> *exacturus*, A.<sup>6</sup> *daturus*, A.<sup>7</sup> These two lines are also supplied from MS. B.



Francigenæ plorent, qui sunt victi<sup>1</sup> quasi picti;  
 Pro nobis orent omnes sancti benedicti.  
 Anglica gens humilis, pia, pauper, et absque vigore,  
 Vicit cum jubilis Francos labente cruore.  
 Ergo Deus dives, pauper rex Anglicus esto,  
 Est casus præsto, Christo stes,<sup>2</sup> Anglia, vives.  
 Nostro præcarus<sup>3</sup> regi fit sanctus Omarus;<sup>4</sup>  
 Sanctus præclarus propriæ genti fit<sup>5</sup> amarus.  
 Rex regum, Christe, placeat tibi rex probus iste;  
 Sis sibi<sup>6</sup> spes vitæ, cum dixeris, ite, venite.  
 Ejus tutamen, moderamen, dux, meditamen,  
 Gloria, solamen, sit Christus in omnibus. Amen.

ON THE BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS.<sup>7</sup>

Oct. 17, 1346.

Si valeas paleas, Valoyes, dimitte timorem;  
 In campis mancas, pareas, ostende vigorem.  
 Flos es, flore cares, in campis viribus ares,  
 Mane techel fares, lepus es, lynx, non leo pares.  
 Francia flos florum, caput olim nobiliorum,  
 Jam contra mores leopardus tollit honores.  
 Subpedito florem, rapio florentis honorem,  
 Flos fueram, formido feram cum jubare veram.  
 In Wyndelesor natus Edwardus ad arma paratus,  
 Rex fortunatus, probus est hucusque vocatus;  
 Miles magnanimus est, et fidus bene securus,  
 Non est ambiguus, per mundi climata purus.

<sup>1</sup> *sitis victi*, B.

<sup>2</sup> *speres*, A.

<sup>3</sup> *nostris præclarus*, A.

<sup>4</sup> *amarus*, A.

<sup>5</sup> *sit*, B. *gentis*, A.

<sup>6</sup> *sit*, B.

<sup>7</sup> This short piece is printed from a MS. in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 13 A. xviii., fol. 211, r<sup>o</sup>. It will be observed that the first four lines are taken from the preceding poem.

Multa libens dura patitur propter sua jura,  
 Sub duce secura tanto sunt oppida, rura.  
 Hic prope Berwyceum populum superans inimicum,  
 Anglis plausificum fore se demonstrat amicum.  
 Admirans gentes Halidonbul ense ruentes,  
 Laudat currentes, pede non lento fugientes.  
 Mœroris plenam subiit illic Scotia pœnam ;  
 Edwardi strenam sibi sentit adhuc fore threnam.  
 Ad Duram fleres, si bellum triste videres ;  
 Occiderant procures, pater occidit, occidit hæres.  
 Multi fugerunt Scoti, multi perierunt,  
 Illi vixerunt qui capti dona dederunt.  
 Hujus conflictus David Brus est memor, ictus  
 Sustinet, et victus capitur ; rex sit benedictus.

ON THE BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS.<sup>1</sup>

Dux Valeys<sup>2</sup> hinnit, Francia grunnit, territa tinnit ;  
 Francia plorat, falsa colorat, se dehonorat.<sup>3</sup>  
 Fortes ecce greges, ventos, contraria fila,  
 Pugnabunt reges, rex leo, rex aquila ;  
 Rex leo vincetur, cor, cauda, caput ferietur ;  
 Vincet rex aquila, regula, flos, simila.  
 Fictus non fortis, leo filius est cito mortis,  
 Se, regnum, gentes leo perdet<sup>4</sup> jure carentes.  
 Anglia gens, jubila, metuit<sup>5</sup> leo nescius an sis ;  
 Est leo rex Francus, Anglicus est aquila.

<sup>1</sup> This poem is taken here from the same three manuscripts which furnished the poem on the French wars, namely, MS. Cotton., Titus A. xx., fol. 82, v<sup>o</sup> (A) ; MS. Bodl. 851, fol. 116, r<sup>o</sup> (B) ; and MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 122, r<sup>o</sup> (C). In the last it has the title, *Incipit bellum Socie apud Duram, ubi David rex Scotorum per excellentissimum principem dominum Edwardum 3<sup>m</sup> regem Angliæ fuit captus cum aliis.*

It was evidently written amid the exultation caused by the important victory it celebrates, and contains curious incidents not found elsewhere. The variations between the different copies are, as will be seen, considerable.

<sup>2</sup> *Waleys*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *dishonorat*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *parde*, A.

<sup>5</sup> *metuus*, A.

Cæcus erat plene, qui prælia cæcus inivit.<sup>1</sup>  
 Laudem quæsit, cessant sibi laudis habentæ.  
 Ecce Deus pro te, rex Edward,<sup>2</sup> pugnat ubique ;  
 Sis tibi sincerus cultor, faciens nil inique.  
 Injustus, cupidus, cecidit veracia nolens ;  
 Elatus, rigidus, se bene non recolens.  
 Rex esto justus, patiens, dans, ore venustus,  
 Mitis et ignoscens, tacitus tua te bene noscens.  
 Contra nos populi multi veniunt, caveamus ;  
 Ad te sunt oculi nostri, Jhesu, ne pereamus.  
 Tu scis quæ cogitant in nos, nos respice, Christe ;  
 Justitiam vitant, cor eorum destrue, Christe.  
 Bella premunt, et corda tremunt, nos respice, Christe ;  
 Mens gemit, arcte premit hostis, da, Christe, tuis te.  
 Non est pro nobis qui pugnet ni Deus unus,  
 Demus ei munus, dat se pro munere nobis.  
 Corda superbiorum Scotorum destrue, Christe ;  
 Hostibus Anglorum Scotis, bone Christe, resiste.  
 Hydrarum capita sunt Scotis,<sup>3</sup> cæsa polita ;  
 Tres uno cæso crescunt<sup>4</sup> sine corpore læso.  
 Tutus Brus care cum<sup>5</sup> Francigenis sociatus,  
 Æstimat elatus Anglorum corda vorare.<sup>6</sup>  
 Res ut mercatur vendendo malum patiat ;  
 Nos sic<sup>7</sup> mercari voluit, nequit inde lucrari.  
 Ecce spei fortis, intendens<sup>8</sup> spicula mortis,  
 Anglos invadit, in mala fata cadit.  
 Scotorum banna surgunt, clamemus osanna ;  
 Scotos subsanna, Deus, ut clamemus osanna.  
 Scoti Leviathan sunt, sint<sup>9</sup> Abiron, Chore, Dathan,  
 Felle nigro<sup>10</sup> pleni, Gabal, Amon,<sup>11</sup> Agareni.

<sup>1</sup> *emit*, A.<sup>2</sup> This word, omitted in the other MSS., is supplied from C.<sup>3</sup> *Scoti*, B.<sup>4</sup> *surgunt*, B.<sup>5</sup> *Turbo David care Brus Fr.*, B.<sup>6</sup> *vocare*, B.<sup>7</sup> *male*, B.<sup>8</sup> *intentans*, B.<sup>9</sup> *fiant*, B.<sup>10</sup> *Fraude nigra*, B.<sup>11</sup> *Gebar, Assur, Amon*, B.

Dum rex longinquas abiit noster<sup>1</sup> regiones,  
 Scoti felones guerras movere propinquas.  
 Falso<sup>2</sup> credentes boream virtute carere,  
 Insurrexere pomposo corde tumentes.  
 Se fore Sampsones, Machabæos, vel<sup>3</sup> Gedeones,  
 Credunt, ratones cito fugiunt velut et struthiones.<sup>4</sup>  
 Sub duce Brus David gens Scotica corda levavit,  
 Pars nobis David fit, reddet quæ spoliavit.<sup>5</sup>  
 Scoti vim faciunt, vastant<sup>6</sup> erraria jura,  
 Occidunt, rapiunt, faciunt incendia plura.  
 Multiplicem nummum quærunt, pacem fugientes;  
 Ergo bonum summum confundantur renuentes.<sup>7</sup>  
 Pro treugis brevibus immensa tributa petebant;  
 Mutatis gradibus treugis vehementer egebant.  
 Treugas felices præsumentes renuebant,  
 Post infelices treugas gratanter emebant.  
 Scotia præpropere treugas habuisset honore,  
 Quas modo summopere petit ac emit acta rubore.<sup>8</sup>  
 Dum pax offertur Scotis motu pietatis,  
 Anglis infertur bellum diræ feritatis.  
 Scoti collecti, serpentum felle refecti,  
 Stultitia tecti, miro conamine refecti,<sup>9</sup>  
 Inveniunt terram<sup>10</sup> boream probitate refertam,  
 Fidam, confertam, probitatis<sup>11</sup> honore disertam.  
 Patria collecta, primate suo duce recta,  
 Concordi secta, probitatis amore resecta,  
 Hymnis insistens, Scotis ex corde resistens,  
 In sulcis cantos fecit divinitus antos.

<sup>1</sup> *proprias abiit*, B.<sup>2</sup> *False*, A.<sup>3</sup> *S. credebant et*, B.<sup>4</sup> *Fiunt ratones, ros, umbra, vapor, struciones*, B.<sup>5</sup> *Nos infestavit, pactum fidei violavit*, B.<sup>6</sup> *spoliant*, B.<sup>7</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.<sup>8</sup> These six lines are only found in MS. B.<sup>9</sup> *Sic MS.* These two lines are also only found in B.<sup>10</sup> *certam*, A.<sup>11</sup> *virtutis*, B.



Terram defendit, et praelia dira rependit.<sup>1</sup>  
 Terrentur Scoti, mira formidine moti;  
 Exacuunt corda viri fidei sine corda.  
 Ruperunt pacta, naturæ lege peracta;  
 Dictant confracta fera corda, timore subacta.  
 Elati cordis fuit auctrix Scotia cordis.<sup>2</sup>  
 Egressi mures ausi sunt bella movere,  
 Nolentes fures a bellis se cohibere.  
 In campo Duram statuunt pugnam subi<sup>3</sup> duram;  
 Nos protecturam dat Christi gratia curam.  
 Confidunt in equis, in curribus, in probitate,<sup>4</sup>  
 Credentes ne quis sit eis par nobilitate.  
 Est Domini nomen nobis fortissima turris,  
 A tantis scurris nos Christi protegat omen.  
 In sancti Lucæ festo, cœli dūce luce,  
 Sub ductrice cruce Scoti periere caduce;  
 Arcu, dente, bruco similes, pleni modo fuco,<sup>5</sup>  
 In Duram luco<sup>6</sup> morbo cecidere caduco.  
 Ut leo venerunt, dispergere<sup>7</sup> nos voluerunt,  
 Errabant ut oves et rediere boves.  
 Anglorum primas docet<sup>8</sup> nos eleyson et ymas;  
 Scotorum primas sedes deduxit ad imas.  
 Cor, caput, ora, pedes fecit deponere sedes;  
 Scotorum sedes Anglorum proteget ædes.<sup>9</sup>  
 Hydropici<sup>10</sup> Scoti sitiunt vertigine moti;  
 Cum sitiit Scotus diros dedit Anglia motus.<sup>11</sup>  
 Scotiæ militia perit, et multi moriuntur,<sup>12</sup>  
 Capti vincuntur, nos defendente Maria.

<sup>1</sup> *reprendit*, A.

<sup>2</sup> This and the nine lines preceding are not found in B.

<sup>3</sup> *sibi*, B and C.

<sup>4</sup> *et æquitate*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *fere suco*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *Indurant luco*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *disperdere*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *dicens*, B.

<sup>9</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.

<sup>10</sup> *Id repeti*, A. *Ydropici*, B.

<sup>11</sup> *potus*, B.

<sup>12</sup> *malitia periit . . . perimuntur*, B.

Rex regum Scotis facit ut servis Olofernīs,<sup>1</sup>  
 Temporibus vernis nostris dulcedine fotis.<sup>2</sup>  
 Irruit immanis, tremor, ars, fuga, terror inanis;

Fugit consilium, dat fuga præsidium.<sup>3</sup>  
 Inclitus Henricus Perci, veræ<sup>4</sup> pacis amicus,  
 Fit Scotis amicus instans,<sup>5</sup> obstans inimicus.  
 Mos girfalconis fuit illi, cor Gedeonis,  
 Virtus Sampsonis, Joab ars, sensus Salomonis;<sup>6</sup>  
 Totus divinus, urbanus, ut ille Gawynus,

Fit sibi dulcori nescia fama mori.  
 Se probus<sup>7</sup> armavit, et agmina<sup>8</sup> fortia stravit.  
 Sæpe reintravit, acies fortes penetravit;  
 Scoti fugerunt, latuerunt, morte ruerunt;  
 Percy persequitur, perimit, rapit,<sup>9</sup> arte potitur.  
 Percy Machabæus fuit, et Brus David Etheus.  
 Percy non pigritat, se claro<sup>10</sup> nomine ditat,<sup>11</sup>  
 Illustris miles, Titus, Hector, Brutus, Achilles.  
 Hunc Deus instilles, Scotos fecit fore viles,  
 Fortis Perci leo, quasi gigas, par Machabæo,  
 Junctus amore Deo, necat hostes cum jubilæo;<sup>12</sup>  
 Mittit ad infernum Scotos multos bene pius,<sup>13</sup>  
 Semper in æternum suus ensis sit benedictus.  
 Et benedicantur generosi Perci parentes;  
 Sed maledicantur Scoti sibi mala<sup>14</sup> volentes.  
 Utens lorica fidei, probitatis amica,  
 Pugnans magnifica vicit nobis inimica.  
 Magnates tales debemus semper amare,

<sup>1</sup> *servis Olefernīs*, B. *Holofernīs*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *Laudibus æternis nostris a crimine lotis*, B.

<sup>3</sup> These two lines are taken from MS. B.

<sup>4</sup> *Percy paro*, B. *Partis borealis amicus*, C. *bere pacis*, A.

<sup>5</sup> *constans*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *Pietas Loth, ars Sal.*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *probet*, A.

<sup>8</sup> *carcia*, A.

<sup>9</sup> *mutus rapit*, C.

<sup>10</sup> *clari*, A.

<sup>11</sup> This and the five preceding lines are omitted in B.

<sup>12</sup> These two lines are also omitted in B.

<sup>13</sup> *suus ictus*, B.

<sup>14</sup> *Sc. mala Percy*, C.

Qui defensare quærent populos, animales.  
 Scotos deludit, et aves post falco recludit,  
 Victos confudit, et eorum viscera fudit.  
 Ut mors non parcit, nec qui marsupia farcit,  
 Christo confidit, Scotorum bella recidit.  
 Quos infestabat aquila velocior omni,  
 Temporibus somni vigilans dormire vetabat.<sup>1</sup>  
 Intrat in eclipse fines ejus David ipse,  
 Virus dans dipsæ frustrabitur<sup>2</sup> apocalipse.  
 Brus serpens dipsas, faciens guerras bibit ipsas.<sup>3</sup>  
 Brus David auffugit, fugiendo contra leo rugit,  
 Coplond attingit fugientem, vulnere cingit;<sup>4</sup>  
 Regem persequitur, David in spinis reperitur,<sup>5</sup>  
 Copland arestat David cito se manifestat.  
 Rex<sup>6</sup> fugiens capitur, et honos<sup>7</sup> regis sepelitur.  
 Regem Scotorum licuit captum<sup>8</sup> retinere,  
 Regem scaccorum jura vetant capere.  
 Copland cognomen, est Johannes<sup>9</sup> sibi nomen,  
 Qui Brus accepit, sibi gratia crescere cœpit.<sup>10</sup>  
 A re nomen habens, cui cognomen cape<sup>11</sup> terram,  
 Capto Brus guerram finit sic Scotia labens.  
 Armiger ipse bonus fugientes exanimavit,  
 Lætum cepit onus Brus capiendo David.  
 Prædæ mane rapax in vespere dividis escas,  
 Epicharis crescas, Bruys, probitate capax.<sup>12</sup>  
 Expers dulcoris fuit, expers est Bruys honoris,<sup>13</sup>  
 Fercula foetoris in primis obtulit horis.  
 Dum puerum David præsul baptismate lavit,  
 Ventrem laxavit, baptisterium maculavit.

<sup>1</sup> This line and the eleven preceding are omitted in B.

<sup>2</sup> *frustabitur*, C.

<sup>3</sup> This line is taken from B.

<sup>4</sup> *tingit*, B.

<sup>5</sup> This line is supplied from MS.  
B.

<sup>6</sup> *Brus*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *honor*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *captum licuit*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *Coplond . . . est gratia John*, B.

<sup>10</sup> *David cepit et munera grata recepit*, B.

<sup>11</sup> *capere*, B.

<sup>12</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.

<sup>13</sup> *David fuit hic et honoris*, B.

Fontem foedavit in quo mingendo cacavit,<sup>1</sup>  
 Sancta prophanavit, olei faeces<sup>2</sup> reseravit.  
 Brus nimis emunxit, cum stercore sacra perunxit,  
 Se male disjunxit, urinæ stercora junxit.  
 Dum baptizatur altare Dei maculatur,<sup>3</sup>  
 Nam<sup>4</sup> super altare fertur mingendo cacare.  
 Fac<sup>5</sup> singularis puer hic cœlestibus aris

Optulit in primis stercora fœda nimis.<sup>6</sup>  
 Discinctus lumbis mirum thimiama refudit,<sup>7</sup>  
 Optulit et fudit<sup>8</sup> pro turture sive columbis.  
 Myrrham, thus, aurum<sup>9</sup> non optulit iste renatus,  
 Sed proprium staurum ventris rumpendo meatus.  
 Stercora concepit, peperit quæ ventre recepit,  
 Qui nondum repit foedare tamen<sup>10</sup> sacra cepit.  
 Sic domus alma Dei fœdo repletus<sup>11</sup> odore,

Anthiochi more fœtor adhæret ei.

Ecclesiæ Christi non competit hostia talis,  
 Laus baptismalis violatur munere tristi.  
 Credo prophetavit quod templa<sup>12</sup> Dei violaret,  
 Facto firmavit quod ei mala gratia flaret.  
 Filius altare mox stercoribus temeravit,<sup>13</sup>  
 Sanguine foedare pater ecclesiam properavit.  
 Ergo prophetarunt<sup>14</sup> quod jus regni vitiarunt,  
 Ex quo sincere cultu<sup>15</sup> Domini caruere.  
 Prave vixerunt Manasses, Amon, duo reges,  
 In sacras leges committere non timuerunt.  
 Rex<sup>16</sup> Bruys Robertus, feritatis mole refertus,  
 Dux homicida ferus, patens, et apertus.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This line is omitted in A.

<sup>2</sup> *oleum mirum*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *baptizatus . . . maculatus*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Brus*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Fati*, C.

<sup>6</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.

<sup>7</sup> *Distentis . . . fetens . . . retudit*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *Stercora diffudit*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *thesaurum*, A.

<sup>10</sup> *Dei*, B.

<sup>11</sup> *repletur*, B.

<sup>12</sup> *sacra*, B.

<sup>13</sup> *cum fonte sacro t.*, B.

<sup>14</sup> *prophanarunt*, B.

<sup>15</sup> *sacrilege vere c.*, B.

<sup>16</sup> *Dux*, B.

<sup>17</sup> *Vi rex insertus homicida patebit apertus*, B.



Filius uxorem<sup>1</sup> contemnit, adulter adultus,  
 Stulte<sup>2</sup> consultus fidei modo perdit<sup>3</sup> amorem.  
 Non est ipse David manibus, vultu venerandus,  
 Ut siba<sup>4</sup> clamavit a rege David superandus.  
 In David forti nullas partes habet ille,  
 Tradendus morti forti privatur<sup>5</sup> Achille.  
 Fit lepra pœna patri, confusio, captio<sup>6</sup> proli,  
 Quæ<sup>7</sup> proli soli superest sibi pœna baratri.  
 Privatur prole quia conjugii bona sprevit,  
 Oppressus mole mala messuit et mala sevit.  
 Scotorum comites, quorum Patrik fuit unus,  
 Præsto fuget,<sup>8</sup> comites sunt nobis nobile munus.<sup>9</sup>  
 Clamabant "*In a day gowe to the tyrie wyth hay.*"<sup>10</sup>  
 Ipsis sit *Waleway*,<sup>11</sup> *meschef* tristissima *woday*.  
 Scoti triphones nos invenire tirones,  
 Hi sunt dolones, et eramus corde leones.<sup>12</sup>  
 Hæc vox fervoris<sup>13</sup> fuit illis arra doloris;  
 Nobis dulcoris fuit illa dies et honoris.<sup>14</sup>  
 Fitque dies Martis Scoto confusio partis.  
 Vincere credebant, Deus, homo,<sup>15</sup> et jura vetabant,  
 Wo propinabant, sua pocula primo bibebant.  
 Quæ cum gustassent, et mortis dona<sup>16</sup> vorassent,  
 Nostri steterunt et pocula tela<sup>17</sup> dederunt.  
 Ibant, gaudebant, deridentes veniebant,  
 Confusi flebant, victi redeundo dolebant.<sup>18</sup>  
 David deductus est, sunt sua gaudia luctus.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Brus David uxorem*, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Stupor*, A.

<sup>3</sup> *perdebat*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Sic MS.* These two lines are wanting in B.

<sup>5</sup> *civili morti datus est privatus*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *vilissima c.*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *Væ*, B. *Sed*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *fugit*, A.

<sup>9</sup> These two lines are omitted in this place in B.

<sup>10</sup> *tyre . . . . hay hay*, C.

<sup>11</sup> *Welaway*, B.

<sup>12</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.

<sup>13</sup> *Quod vox fer.*, B.

<sup>14</sup> This line is taken from MS. B.

<sup>15</sup> *hoc*, B and C.

<sup>16</sup> *tela*, B.

<sup>17</sup> *riserunt . . . plura*, B.

<sup>18</sup> These two lines are omitted in B.

<sup>19</sup> *Brus David abductus fuit, est sua gratia luctus,*

*Infortunatus ut Achab miser est reprobat*, B.

Achab Micheæ non credit, sed Sedechiæ,  
 Præsumens<sup>1</sup> nimias vires sine corde perito,  
 Surgit Amasias, corrui ipse cito.<sup>2</sup>  
 Londonias<sup>3</sup> vere Scoti vovere venire,  
 Hoc votum mire<sup>4</sup> multi meruere tenere.  
 Scoti vicinæ sunt per mala vota ruinæ,  
 Est miser insultus sibi magna causa tumultus.  
 Propter peccata laus est Scotis breviata,  
 Anglia nunc timeat, crimina præcaveat.<sup>5</sup>  
 Christo devotum genus electum sibi notum,  
 Turma<sup>6</sup> sacerdotum facit illos solvere votum.  
 Tales vovere debent qui vota<sup>7</sup> tenere  
 Optant, et jurant, et ad hoc<sup>8</sup> se ponere curant.  
 Cor levitarum Scotis donat cor amarum,  
 Sit cor sanctorum benedictum<sup>9</sup> presbyterorum.  
 Visio magnarum vovetur Londoniarum,

<sup>1</sup> *Post sumens*, B.

<sup>2</sup> MS. B here adds the following lines, made up partly of lines omitted elsewhere :—

Scotorum comites, quorum Patrik  
 fuit unus,

Præsto fugæ comites, sunt nobis  
 nobile munus.

Callidus ipse comes metuens per  
 devia fugit ;

Fraus sibi cara, comes quasi bos  
 cornupeta mugit.

Hic nostræ fidei se falso sæpe subegit,  
 Fraude fidem fregit, hic habet loca  
 nunc requiei.

Willelmus Douglas, sol Scotis, gloria  
 cara,

Fit nostris neu glas, cessant sua  
 lumina clara.

Est cibus absque sale, cocc' absque  
 sapore.

Scotia vive, vale, sine Douglas absque  
 vigore.

Languens ponetur in carcere, nec  
 redimetur.

Duglas marcescit, sua vis ut cera  
 liquescit.

Vires nobilium per vos vicit Deus  
 almus ;

Scotorum psalmus migrat in exilium.  
 Propter peccata laus est Scotis  
 breviata ;

Anglia stas, timeas, crimina præ-  
 caveas.

Inclita præfulges, Scotorum viscera  
 mulges ;

Scotis indulges, probitatis honore  
 refulges.

<sup>3</sup> *Lonodon'*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *dire*, B.

<sup>5</sup> This and the three lines pre-  
 ceding are omitted in B.

<sup>6</sup> *Turba*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *voto*, A.

<sup>8</sup> *et hoc*, A. *sed et hoc*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *benedictio*, C.

Hi vovent vane quos votum perdit inane.<sup>1</sup>  
 Invite solvent, venient,<sup>2</sup> solvendo<sup>3</sup> dolebunt;  
 Vires dissolvent, sibi nil sua vota valebunt.  
 Ibunt et flebunt, nolentes vota tenebunt;  
 Debent, debebunt, se plus non<sup>4</sup> posse tenebunt.  
 Callidus ille comes Patrik per devia fugit;  
 Fraus sibi cara, comes quasi bor<sup>5</sup> cornupeta rugit.  
 Hic nostræ fidei quondam se pseudo subegit,  
 Sæpe fidem fregit, nec habet loca nunc requiei.  
 Mensis contritæ patuere sui trogloditæ,  
 Cæduntur rite quia non fugere perite.  
 Gente reunita redit cum fraude polita,  
 Fraus sibi mentita, confusa fuit sua vita.  
 Willelmus Duglas<sup>6</sup> sal Scotis sit quasi nitrum,<sup>7</sup>  
 In bello Douglas sit nobis ductile vitrum.  
 Laudis honore caret fere Scotia, viribus aret;  
 Convenit tristis tibi sors in partibus istis.  
 Languens ponetur in carcere, nec redimetur.  
 Falsus marcescit, sua vis ut cera liquescit.  
 Vires nobilium vicit per nos Deus almus,  
 Scotorum palmus migrat in exilium.  
 Mentif mentitur, in campo morte feritur,  
 Vivit, perdit vitam modica bonitate potitam.  
 Ecce senescallus Scotorum, falsus Onallus,  
 Festinans fugere non cessat corde pavere.<sup>8</sup>  
 Anglia, lætare, bellum Domini meditare,  
 Clerum præclare collaudando venerare.  
 Ecclesiam, clerum, plebem moderando tuere;<sup>9</sup>  
 Cultum sincerum discas sine fine fovere.  
 Qui bene fecisti bene profice nomine Christi;

<sup>1</sup> This and the three preceding lines are omitted in B.

<sup>2</sup> *veniens*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *solvent solvendo votum d.*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *sed non plus*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *boore*, B. A has, in place of

*quasi*, a contraction, which seems to mean *contra*.

<sup>6</sup> *Dowglas*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *terra falsa*, Gloss in C.

<sup>8</sup> This and the nineteen lines preceding are omitted in B.

<sup>9</sup> This and the following lines to the end are only found in MS. B.

Pugna mente bona, dabitur tibi justa corona.  
 Pugna pro lege, rebus, patria, grege, rege ;  
 Te lege, lege rege, te bene rege, tege.  
 Spem vires pronas, cor me Christum tibi ponas ;  
 Crimina deponas, unicas dabit ergo coronas.  
 Sunt Scoti dicti pro picto corpore Picti ;  
 Cordibus invicti, victi, re, nomine ficti.  
 Sunt parci victus, rictus meditantur et ictus,  
 Optant conflictus, mos talis sit maledictus.  
 Scoti more leves, animi fervore feroces,  
 Sævi, veloces, sint probitate breves.  
 Scotia servire non vult, nec quærit amari,  
 Dire servire semper vult et dominari.  
 Ergo dabit saltum, quia cor sustollit in altum,  
 Scotia perdetur, timor ejus vi reprimetur.  
 Anglia, cor bassum teneas, dicit Deus, assum,  
 Spes tua, conamen, victoriam, lux, relevamen.  
*Explicit de bello Scotiæ, ubi David Brus fuit captus,*  
*qui erat rex eorum, et alii magnates.*

---

*Numerus interfectorum in bello, et dies belli, et conclusio finalis.<sup>1</sup>*

Fastu commotos percussit et Anglia Scotos ;  
 Sub regente David, quatuor ter milia stravit ;  
 Cruxque novem villæ, belli fit testis et ille,  
 Qui verum scivit, quia Scotia victa subivit.  
 Pro festo Judæ lux Anglis dena vacavit,  
 Sed tunc calcavit Scotos sors aspera Judæ.  
 Sanguine stillante necat illos gens borealis,  
 Quos sibi regalis præsumptio duxerat ante.  
*Explicit bellum.*

---

<sup>1</sup> The verses which follow are taken from MS. C, where they form a sort of conclusion to the poem.

It will be seen that they are repeated in the short poem which follows this.



Est omnis Scotus Sampson, Salomon, leo totus.  
 Sampson se necuit, Salomon post tdola travit,  
 Est leo famelicus, sic omnis Scotus iniquus.

ON CRÉCY AND NEVILE'S CROSS.<sup>1</sup>

Annis bis sex c., quater x., bis ter, simul et c.,  
 Carmina pando lyra tunc contingentia<sup>2</sup> mira.  
 Gallia mota nimis declinat forte ruinis,  
 Dum properat vesci bello sub nemore Cressi.<sup>3</sup>  
 Corruit ense per E. subito gens Gallica sub P.,  
 Funeris ex pœna pereunt tria millia dena.  
 Bina dies vere post festum Bartholomæi,  
 Hæc virtute Dei testatur mira patere.  
 Plebs nitet Edwardi de gestu Machabæorum,  
 Laus patet Anglorum sub vexillo leopardi.

Fastu commotos percussit et Anglia Scotos,  
 Sub regente David, quatuor ter milia stravit.  
 Cruxque novem villæ belli sit testis et ille,  
 Qui verum scivit quod Scotia victa subivit.  
 Præ festo Judæ lux Anglis dena vacavit,  
 Sed tunc calcavit Scotos sors aspera rude.  
 Sanguine stillante necat illos gens borealis,  
 Quos ibi regalis præsumptio duxerat ante.

Reges, dux, et comites,

Barones et milites,

Qui tunc bellaverunt,

Prior atque præsules,

Plures viri nobiles,

Nece ceciderunt.

<sup>1</sup> These lines are taken from MS. Cotton., Titus A. xx., fol. 86, r°. The first ten lines are also found in the manuscript in the Bodleian library, MS. Rawlinson, No. 214,

fol. 121, r°, with the title, *Numerus annorum et interfectorum in bello de Crescy.*

<sup>2</sup> *contingentia*, MS. Rawl.

<sup>3</sup> *Crescy*, MS. Rawl.

Mox audaces Angliæ,  
 Tunc majores Scotiæ,  
     Fuga sequebantur,  
 Plures tacti vulnere,  
 Rex et Douglas propere  
     Capti carcerantur.

Subdola Scotorum gens laudem perdit honorum.

*Isti versus sunt de bellis de Cressi et de Nevilecros.*

#### ON THE TRUCE OF 1347.<sup>1</sup>

Cantica lætitiæ mundi flos Anglia promat,  
     Hostes justitiæ fortes ubique domat.  
 Jus vires donat, fortuna favet, Deus astat,  
 Terras rex vastat, quia gratia cara coronat.  
 Turturis exemplo castietur<sup>2</sup> fœda libido,  
 Ære dato templo discedat cæca cupido.  
 Regia sint castra pia, casta, fidelia, justa ;  
 Numine robusta, penetrantia moribus astra.  
 E castris procerum procul omnis fœmina cedat,  
     Ne proceres lædat fœmina, gemma, merum.  
 Anglia devicit, quia jus habet, et mala vicit ;  
 Culpæ mole caret, cœlesti lumine claret.  
 Libera, mundata, premit hostes sanctificata,  
 Ergo vincetur, si culpa sibi dominetur.

---

<sup>1</sup> The allusions in this piece seem to leave little doubt that it was written by some one of the war party at the time when the truce was in negotiation, soon after the surrender of Calais. It is printed from a copy preserved in MS. Cotton. Titus A. xx., fol. 126, v°, compared with another in MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 150, r°. In the margin of the

former a later hand has written "Baston," as an intimation that it was one of the productions of the Latin poet named Robert Baston, whose history, however, is more connected with the Scottish wars of the reign of Edward II., and I think there is no sufficient reason for ascribing the present lines to him.

<sup>2</sup> *castratur*, Rawl.

Anglia peccatum, luxum, fastum, dominatum,  
 Reprimat, et flatum livoris et æris hiatum.  
 Lis, injustitia, dolus, ars, injuria cedant ;  
 Pax, lex, justitia, pietas amen sibi credant.  
 Propter peccata transferri regna leguntur ;  
 Vita juvat grata cum prælia dira geruntur.  
 Anglia dat flores, armatos, eximiores,  
 Inducens mores, virtutes nobiliores.  
 Mansuetos, humiles, cautos, probitate seniles,  
 Fortes, subtiles, claros, agiles dat heriles.  
 In nostra terra dulces flores patuerunt,  
 Advenit guerra florum vires micuerunt.  
 Flores palmarum verni, rosei violarum,  
 Dant annum carum nobis, Francis cor amarum.  
 Anglorum fortes vident varias modo sortes,  
 Non timeant mortes Valoys<sup>1</sup> impugnando cohortes.  
 Felices comites videat tunc inde sequentes.  
 Ad bellum vadunt, Deus est conductor eundo ;  
 Ad mala fata cadunt, Sathan est ductor redeundo.  
 Ad bellum vadunt, et eis contingit honeste ;  
 In redeundo cadunt, contingit eis inhoneste.  
 His mare placare Deus aura placens adeundo,  
 En Deus, aura, mare contraria sunt redeundo.<sup>2</sup>  
 Vadunt et veniunt ad portum præmeditatum ;  
 Sed redeundo sciunt maris et venti cruciatum.  
 Ergo Deo mire placet ire, vetando redire,  
 Usquequo perfecta fiat victoria recta.  
 Ergo magnates adeuntes non redeatis,  
 Donec vincatis, Francorum credite vates.

<sup>1</sup> *Waileys*, Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> Aboute the fest of Seynt Michael (1347), the kyng took the se into Ynglond, and there had he grete tempest, and mervelous wyndes; and thanne he mad swech a com-

plynt onto oure lady, and seide, " O "blessed mayde, what menyth al " this ? Evyr, whan I go to Frauns, " I have fayre weddir ; and whanne " I turne to Ynglond intollerable " tempestes."—*Capgrave's Chronicle*, p. 213.

Flandria ridebit, canet Anglia, Francia flebit,  
 Scotia lugebit, Normannia victa pavebit.  
 Anglia gaudebit, fera Picardia dolebit,  
 Parys ardebit, Aquitannia fama patebit.  
 Francia languescit, viget Anglia, Flandria crescit,  
 Scotia marcescit, Hibernia sæva quiescit.  
 Cressci<sup>1</sup> decrescit, Arthosia pallida cessit,  
 Kaloy<sup>2</sup> arescit, Britannia parva fatescit.  
 Non salvat gladius, non arcubus Anglia speret;  
 Salvat propitius Deus cui dulcis adhæret.  
 Sennacherib arcus, cor, spiritus, vires, tribuebant;  
 Sed cordas arcus mures subito comedebant.  
 Sic rex ut vermis effectus, nudus, inermis,  
 Confusus rediit, turpiter et periit.  
 Ergo Dei flamen, nostris fortissima turris,  
 Illis a scurris et culpis protegat; Amen.  
 In bello miles jacet in lecto moriturus,  
 Ergo sit purus dando preces humiles.  
 Lilia non tacta dulci flatu redolescent;  
 Lilia confracta cito putrescunt et olescunt.  
 Anglia militia quasi lilia, laudis amica,  
 Vincet magnifica stante pudicitia.  
 Subjecti Veneri multi fortes periere,  
 Effecti miseri confusi succubuere.  
 Armis invictum somnus, luxus, gula, victus,  
 Turbant, confundunt, turbant, sua viscera fundunt.  
 Pauci vicere, quia mundi corde fuere;  
 Casti vixere, palmam belli meruere.  
 Sunt agni casti nostri domini generosi,  
 Constantes, casti, largi, mites, animosi,  
 Justi, prudentes, nulli fraudem facientes,  
 In spe gaudentes, et egenis compatiētes.  
 Tempła, Deum, clerum mutuo se semper honorent;  
 Dicentes verum, Dominum devotius orent.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Crescy*, Rawl.

 | <sup>2</sup> *Caleys*, Rawl.



Ars, spes, justitia, bonitas, patientia vincunt,  
 Quando corda pia carnis contagia linquunt.  
 Quid facit in bello mulier? quid pulvis ocello?  
 Impedit et foedat mulier, nocet, ergo recedat.  
 Plures foeminea perimunt, maledicta venena,  
 Quam lynx, pugnalea, lupus, ursa, leo, vel hyena.  
 Bellis Romanis juris periere periti,  
 Bellis Trojanis falsi cecidere mariti.  
 Anglorum proceres, uxoribus ergo fideles,  
 Sancti, sincere pateant, Noe, Job, Danieles.  
 Se sua salvabunt, Dominum prudenter amabunt,  
 Dulciter orabunt, prospera bella dabunt.  
 Sint Loth, Sampsones, Salomones, et Scipiones,<sup>1</sup>  
 Non sint Achitopel, iræ spargendo cito fel.  
 Sint casti, cari, Noe, Job, Daniel modo Zari,<sup>2</sup>  
 Cum contra jura fiant divortia plura.  
 Si sacramenti fidei prolis bona cedunt,  
 Lex, laus discedunt, et causa datur nocumenti.  
 Ergo magnati tria conjugii bona servant;  
 Se bene præservent, quia vident purificati.  
 Sint in amore Dei fixi mites Nazaræi,  
 Ne qua sorde rei victi sunt ut Cananæi.  
 Absolon ingratus lectum patris maculavit,  
 Stultus et elatus Sichem Dynam violavit.  
 Sampson, Adam, David, mulieribus infatuati,  
 Sunt male turbati, quos dulcis amor relevavit.  
 Temporibus veris rex noster castra movebit,  
 Factis austeris Deus illum bella docebit.  
 Rex ergo patiens, largus, mundus, moderatus;  
 Rex ergo sapiens, justus, cordatus, amatus;  
 Rex ergo gratus, verax, clemens, miseratus;  
 Rex ergo plorans, humilis, maturus, et orans.  
 Rex est, ergo regit sapienter, more quieto;  
 Rex est, ergo legit sua de sermone faceto.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sapientes*, Cotton.

| <sup>2</sup> *moderari*, Cotton.

Non a regnando rex est, sed jure regendo ;  
 Ergo rex stando memorat de jure tenendo.  
 Nulla superbia, palpo, pecunia regulet illum,  
 Nulla scientia, nulla potentia deprimat illum.  
 Se, sua dona dedit Christo cui totus obedit,  
 Diligit et credit, et ab omni sorde recedit.  
 Rex, bona bella gerens treugas componere quæris ;  
 Bellans victor eris ; treugas cape, decipieris.  
 Lingua Cornubica designat treuga dolores ;  
 Ergo falsidica cedat, quia tardat honores.  
 Pax, lex sint tecum, facias jus omnibus æquum ;  
 Pacem, justitias, rex, petis, has facias.  
 Si lex, fama, fides, amores,<sup>1</sup> pietas religantur,  
 Clara luce vides quod multa pericla parantur.  
 Fama, fides, pietas, amores,<sup>2</sup> lex, pax habeantur.  
 Regnet sobrietas, ut juste regna regantur.  
 Undenæ stellæ cor habent crudele, rebelle ;  
 Anglorum stellæ subsint vel erunt sine pelle.  
 Præfulgens stella rex inclitus Angligenarum  
 Deponat sella parium modo Francigenarum.  
 Laude, fide pleni servite pares duodeni,  
 Edwardo juveni, nobilitate seni.  
 Tales ergo pares sitis quod clareat ares.  
 Non pereat sua res servite sibi sine phares.  
 Bos dixit Romæ, venerata, cave tibi, Roma,  
 Deficiunt Romæ lex, pax, et amoris aroma.  
 Anglia laudata, caveas tibi ne maculata,  
 Et nimis elata, pereat tua fama beata.  
 Sit tibi rex regum, rex,<sup>3</sup> lex, spes, vis, cor, et arma ;  
 Damnis per te<sup>4</sup> gregum de sanctis moribus arma.  
 Claræ justitiæ,<sup>5</sup> fidei lorica paretur ;  
 Arcum lætitiæ capias, Christus comitetur.  
 Sanctum lex æqua tibi sit Christus cor adæqua.

<sup>1</sup> *amor hes*, Rawl.<sup>2</sup> *amor hes*, Rawl.<sup>3</sup> *grex*, Cotton.<sup>4</sup> *prece*, Rawl.<sup>5</sup> *justitia*, Cotton.

Judicium certum galea signatur apertum,  
 Est fervens gladius, oratio fervida, munda.  
 Te regat eximius Christus cum mente jucunda,  
 Virgo Maria tibi sit rectrix et moderatrix;<sup>1</sup>  
 Spes, consolatrix, da pia vota sibi. Amen.

### SONGS ON KING EDWARD'S WARS.

By Laurence Minot.<sup>2</sup>

*Lithes, and I sall tell ȝow tyll  
 The bataile of Halidon hyll.*

Trew king, that sittes in trone,  
 Unto the I tell my tale,  
 And unto the I bid a bone,  
 For thou ert bute of all my bale.  
 Als thou made midel-erd and the mone,  
 And bestes and fowles grete and smale,  
 Unto me send thi socore sone,  
 And dresce my dedes in this dale.

<sup>1</sup> *mediatrix*, Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> This interesting collection of songs exists, as far as is known, only in one manuscript, MS. Cotton. Galba E., ix., fol. 49, r<sup>o</sup>. Nothing is known of the writer but his name, which he gives us himself. The songs were evidently written separately at the times of the events to which they relate, but the author, for some reason or other, collected them together and united them in one work by adding the metrical titles, which serve as connecting links. We may fix pretty accurately the date at which they were thus collected, from the circumstance that the last of them commemorates the capture of the castle of Guisnes,

which was taken by the English on the 22nd of January, 1352, and must have been written immediately after that event, as it begins by informing us that it was composed before the winter was passed. It is probable, therefore, that Minot published his songs in this collective form in the course of the year 1352. The manuscript which has preserved them belongs to the earlier part of the fifteenth century, probably to the reign of Henry V. The dialect in which they are here written is northern, but this would only prove that the scribe who copied it, and not the original author, was a north-country man.

In this dale I droupe and dare,  
For dern dedes that done me dere ;  
Of Ingland had my hert grete care,  
When Edward founded first to were.  
The Franche men war frck to fare  
Ogaines him, with scheld and spere ;  
Thai turned ogayn with sides sare,  
And al thaire pomp noght worth a pere.

A pere of prise es more sum tyde  
Than all the boste of Normondye.  
Thai sent thaire schippes on ilka side,  
With flesch and wine and whete and rye ;  
With hert and hand, es noght at hide,  
For to help Scotland gan thai hye.  
Thai fled, and durst no dede habide,  
And all thaire fare noght wurth a flye.

For all thaire fare, thai durst noght fight,  
For dedes dint had thai slike dout ;  
Of Scotland had thai never sight,  
Ay whils thai war of wordes stout.  
Thai wald have mend tham at thaire might,  
And besy war thai thareabout.  
Now God help Edward in his right,  
Amen, and all his redy rowt.

His redy rout mot Jhesu spede,  
And save tham both by night and day  
That Lord of Hevyn mot Edward lede,  
And maintene hym als he wele may.  
The Scottes now all wide will sprede,  
For thai have failed of thaire pray ;  
Now er thai dareand all for drede,  
That war bifore so stout and gay.



Gai thai war, and wele thai thocht  
 On the erle Morré and other ma ;  
 Thai said it suld ful dere be boght,  
 The land that thai war flemid fra.  
 Philip Valays wordes wrought,  
 And said he suld thaire enmys sla ;  
 Bot all thaire wordes was for noght,  
 Thai mun be met if thai war ma.

Ma manasinges ; it have thai maked,  
 Mawgré mot thai have to mede !  
 And many nightes als have thai waked  
 To dere all Ingland with thaire dede.  
 But, loved be God ! the pride es slaked  
 Of tham that war so stout on stede ;  
 And sum of tham es levid all naked  
 Noght fer fro Berwik opon Twede.

A litell fro that forsaid toune,  
 Halydon hill that es the name,  
 Thare was crakked many a crowne  
 Of wild Scottes, and alls of tame ;  
 Thare was thaire baner born all doune ;  
 To mak slike boste thai war to blame.  
 Bot nevertheles ay er thai boune  
 To wait Ingland with sorow and schame.

Shame thai have, als I here say ;  
 At Dondé now es done thaire daunce ;  
 And wend thai most another way,  
 Evyn thurgh Flandres into France.  
 On Filip Valas fast cri thai,  
 Thare for to dwell and him avaunce ;  
 And no thing list tham than of play,  
 Sen tham es tide this sary chance.

This sary chaunce tham es bitid,  
 For thai war fals and wonder fell;  
 For cursed caitefes er thai kid,  
 And ful of treson, suth to tell.  
 Sir Jon the Comyn had thai hid,  
 In haly kirk thai did him qwell;  
 And tharfore many a Skottis brid  
 With dole er dight that thai most dwell.

Thare dwelled oure king, the suth to saine,  
 With his menzé, a litell while;  
 He gaf gude confort on that plaine  
 To all his men about a myle.  
 All if his men war mekill of maine,  
 Ever thai douted tham of gile,  
 The Scottes gaudes might no thing gain,  
 For all thai stumbilde at that stile.

Thus in that stowre thai left thaire live,  
 That war bfore so proud in prese;  
 Jhesu, for thi woundes five,  
 In Ingland help us to have pese.

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*Now for to tell zow will I turn  
 Of [the] batayl of Banocburn.*

Skottes out of Berwik and of Abirdene,  
 At the Bannok burn war ze to kene;  
 Thare slogh ze many sakles, als it was sene;  
 And now has king Edward wroken it, I wene.  
 It es wrokin, I wene, wele wurth the while;  
 War zit with the Skottes, for thai er ful of gile.

Whare er 3e, Skottes of Saint Johnes toune ?  
 The boste of 3owre baner es betin all doune ;  
 When 3e bosting will bede, sir Edward es boune  
 For to kindel 3ow care, and crak 3owre crowne.  
 He has crakked 3owre croune, wele worth the while ;  
 Schame bityde the Skottes, for thai er full of gile.

Skottes of Striflin war steren and stout,  
 Of God ne of gude men had thai no dout ;  
 Now have thai the pelers priked about,  
 Bot at the last sir Edward rifild thaire rout.  
 He has rifild thaire rout, wele wurth the while ;  
 Bot ever er thai under, bot gaudes and gile.

Rugh-fute riving, now kindels thi care,  
 Bere-bag, with thi boste, thi biging es bare ;  
 Fals wretche and forsworn, whider wiltou fare ;  
 Busk the unto brig, and abide thare.  
 Thare, wretche, saltou won, and very the while ;  
 Thi dwelling in Dondé es done for thi gile.

The Skottes gase in burghes, and betes the stretes,  
 All thise Inglis men harmes he hetes ;  
 Fast makes he his mone to men that he metes,  
 Bot fone frendes he findes that his bale betes.  
 Fune betes his bale, wele wurth the while ;  
 He uses all threting with gaudes and gile.

Bot many man thretes and spekes ful ill,  
 That sum tyme war better to be stane still ;  
 The Skot in his wordes has wind for to spill,  
 For at the last Edward sall have al his will.  
 He had his will at Berwik, wele wurth the while ;  
 Skottes broght him the kayes, bot get for thaire  
 gile.

---

*How Edward the king come in Braband,  
And toke homage of all the land.*

God, that schope both se and sand,  
Save Edward king of Ingland,  
Both body, saul, and life,  
And grante him joy withowten strif!  
For mani men to him er wroth,  
In Fraunce and in Flandres both;  
For he defendes fast his right,  
And tharto Jhesu grante him might,  
And so to do both night and day,  
That yt may be to Goddes pay.

Oure king was cumen, trely to tell,  
Into Brabant for to dwell;  
The kayser Lowis of Bavere,  
That in that land than had no pere,  
He, and als his sons two,  
And other princes many mo,  
Bisschoppes and prelates war thare fele,  
That had ful mekill werldly wele,  
Princes and pople, ald and ȝong,  
Al that spac with Duche tung,  
All thai come with grete honowre  
Sir Edward to save and socoure,  
And proferd him, with all thayre rede,  
For to hald the kinges stede.

The duke of Braband, first of all,  
Swore, for thing that might bifall,  
That he suld both day and night  
Help sir Edward in his right,  
In toun, in feld, in frith and fen.  
This swore the duke and all his men,  
And al the lordes that with him lend,  
And tharto held thai up thaire hend.  
Than king Edward toke his rest  
At Andwerp, whare him liked best;



And thare he made his moné playne,  
 That no man suld say thare ogayne.  
 His moné, that was gude and lele,  
 Left in Braband ful mekill dele;  
 And all that land, untill this day,  
 Fars the better for that jorney.

When Philip the Valas herd of this,  
 Tharat he was ful wroth iwis;  
 He gert assemble his barounes,  
 Princes and lordes of many tounes,  
 At Pariss toke thai thaire counsaile,  
 Whilk pointes might tham most availe;  
 And in all wise thai tham bithought  
 To stroy Ingland and bring to nought

Schipmen sone war efter sent,  
 To here the kinges cumandment;  
 And the galaies men also,  
 That wist both of wele and wo.  
 He cumand than that men suld fare  
 Till Ingland, and for no thing spare,  
 Bot brin and sla both man and wife,  
 And childe, that none suld pas with life.

The galay men held up thaire handes,  
 And thanked God of thir tithandes.

At Hamton, als I understand,  
 Come the gaylayes unto land,  
 And ful fast thai slogh and brend,  
 Bot noght so makill als sum men wend.  
 For or thai wened war thai mett  
 With men that sone thaire laykes lett.  
 Sum was knocked on the hevyd,  
 That the body thare bilevid;  
 Sum lay stareand on the sternes;  
 And sum lay knocked out thaire hernes.  
 Than with tham was non other gle,  
 Bot ful fain war thai that might fle.  
 The galay men, the suth to say,  
 Most nedes turn another way;

Thai soght the stremis fer and wide,  
In Flandres and in Seland syde.

Than saw thai whare Cristofer stode,  
At Armouth, opon the flude.  
Than wen[t] thai theder all bidene,  
The galayes men, with hertes kene,  
Viiij. and xl. galays, and mo,  
And with tham als war tarettes two,  
And other many of galiotes,  
With grete nounber of smale botes ;  
All thai hoved on the flode  
To stele sir Edward mens gode.

Edwardoure king than was noght there,  
But sone, when it come to his ere,  
He sembled all his men full still,  
And said to tham what was his will.  
Ilk man made him redy then,  
So went the king and all his men  
Unto thaire schippes ful hastily,  
Als men that war in dede doghty.

Thai fand the galay men grete wane,  
A hundereth ever ogaynes ane ;  
The Inglis men put tham to were  
Ful baldly, with bow and spere ;  
Thai slogh thare of the galaies men  
Ever sixty ogaynes ten ;  
That sum ligges zit in that mire  
All hevidles, withowten hire.

The Inglis men war armed wele,  
Both in yren and in stele ;  
Thai faght ful fast, both day and night,  
Als lang as tham lasted might.  
Bot galay men war so many,  
That Inglis men wex all wery ;  
Help thai soght, bot thare come nane,  
Than unto God thai made thaire mane.

Bot sen the time that God was born,  
 Ne a hundreth ȝere biforn,  
 Was never men better in fight  
 Than Ingliss men, whil thai had myght.  
 Bot sone all maistri gan thai mis;  
 God bring thaire saules untill his blis!  
 And God assoyl tham of thaire sin,  
 For the gude will that thai war in! Amen.

Listens now, and leves me,  
 Who so lifes thai sall se  
 That it mun be ful dere boght  
 That thir galay men have wroght.  
 Thai hoved still upon the flode,  
 And reved pover men thaire gude;  
 Thai robbed, and did mekill schame,  
 And ay bare Inglis men the blame.  
 Now Jhesu save all England,  
 And blis it with his holy hand! Amen.

---

Edward, oure cumly king,  
 In Braband has his woning,  
 With mani cumly knight;  
 And in that land, trewly to tell,  
 Ordains he still for to dwell  
 To time he think to fight.

Now God, that es of mightes maste,  
 Grant him grace of the Haly Gaste  
 His heritage to win!  
 And Mary moder, of mercy fre,  
 Save oure king and his menȝé  
 Fro sorow and schame and syn.

Thus in Braband has he bene,  
Whare he bifore was seldom sene,  
For to prove thaire japes ;  
Now no langer wil he spare,  
Bot unto Fraunce fast will he fare,  
To confort hym with grapes.

Furth he ferd into France,  
God save him fro mischance  
And all his cumpany !  
The nobill duc of Braband  
With him went into that land,  
Redy to lif or dy.

Than the riche floure-de-lice  
Wan thare ful litill prise,  
Fast he fled for ferde ;  
The right aire of that cuntré  
Es cumen, with all his knightes fre,  
To schac him by the berd.

Sir Philip the Valayse,  
With his men in tho dayes,  
To batale had he thoght ;  
He bad his men tham purvay  
Withowten lenger delay,  
But he ne held it noght.

He broght folk ful grete wone,  
Ay sevyng ogains one,  
That ful wele wapind were ;  
Bot sone when he herd ascry  
That king Edward was nere tharby,  
Than durst he noght cum nere.



In that morning fell a myst,  
And when oure Ingliss men it wist,  
It changed all thaire chere;  
Oure king unto God made his bone,  
And God sent him gude confort sone,  
The weder wex ful clere.

Oure king and his men held the felde  
Stalwortly, with spere and schelde,  
And thoght to win his right,  
With lordes, and with knightes kene,  
And other doghty men bydene,  
That war ful frek to fight.

When sir Philip of France herd tell  
That king Edward in feld walld dwell,  
Than gayned him no gle;  
He traisted of no better bote,  
Bot both on hors and on fote  
He hasted him to fle.

It semid he was ferd for strokes,  
When he did fell his grete okes  
About his pavilyoune;  
Abated was than all his pride,  
For langer thare durst he noght bide,  
His bost was broght all doune.

The king of Beme had cares colde,  
That was ful<sup>1</sup> hardy and bolde  
A stede to umstride;  
The king als of Naverne  
War faire ferd<sup>2</sup> in the ferene  
Thaire heviddes for to hide.

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<sup>1</sup> *fur* in the MS.

| <sup>2</sup> *feld*, MS.

And leves wele, it es no lye,  
The felde hat Flemangrye  
That king Edward was in,  
With princes that war strif and bolde,  
And dukes that war doghty tolde  
In batayle to bigin.

The princes, that war riche on raw,  
Gert nakers strike and trumpes blaw,  
And made mirth at thaire might;  
Both alblast and many a bow  
War redy railed opon a row,  
And ful frek for to fight.

Gladly thai gaf mete and drink,  
So that thai suld the better swink,  
The wight men that thar ware.  
Sir Philip of Fraunce fled for dout,  
And hies him hame with all his rout;  
Coward, God giff him care!

For thare than had the lely flowre  
Lorn all halely his honowre,  
That sogat fled for ferd;  
Bot oure king Edward come ful still,  
When that he trowed no harm him till,  
And keped him in the berde.

---

*Lithes, and the batail I sal bigyn  
Of Englisch men and Normandes in the Swyn.*

Minot with mowth had menid to make  
Suth sawes and sad for sun mens sake ;  
The wordes of sir Edward makes me to wake,  
Wald he salve us sone, mi sorow suld slake.  
War mi sorow slaked, sune wald I sing ;  
When God will, sir Edward sal us bute bring.

Sir Philip the Valas cast was in care,  
And said sir Hugh Kyret to Flandres suld fare,  
And have Normondes inogh to leve on his lare,  
All Flandres to brin, and mak it all bare.  
Bot, unkind coward, wo was him thare ;  
When he sailed in the Swin it sowed him sare.  
Sare it tham smerted that ferd out of France ;  
Thare lered Inglis men tham a new daunce.

The burjase of Bruge ne war nocht to blame ;  
I pray Jhesu save tham fro sin and fro schame !  
For thai war sone at the Sluse all by a name,  
Whare many of the Normandes tok mekill grame.

When Brug and Ipyre hereof herd tell,  
Thai sent Edward to wit, that was in Arwell ;  
Than had he no liking langer to dwell,  
He hasted him to the Swin, with sergantes snell,  
To mete with the No[r]mandes that fals war and fell,  
That had ment, if thai might, al Flandres to quell.

King Edward unto sail was ful sune dight,  
With erles and barons, and many kene knight ;  
Thai come byfor Blankebergh on Saint Jons night.  
That was to the Normondes a well sary sight ;  
It trumped thai and daunced, with torches ful bright,  
In the wilde waniand was thaire hertes light.

Upon the morn after, if I suth say,  
A mery man, sir Robard out of Morlay,  
A half eb in the Swin soght he the way ;  
Thare lered men the Normandes at bukler to play.

Helpid tham no prayer that thai might pray,  
The wrech es wonnen, thaire wapin es oway.

The erle of Norhamton helpid at that nede,  
Als wise man of wordes, and worthli in wede,  
Sir Walter the Mawnay, God gif him mede !  
Was bold of body in batayl to bede.

The due of Lankaster was dight for to drive,  
With many mody man that thoght for to thrive ;  
Wele and stalworthly stint he that strive,  
That few of the Normandes left thai olive.  
Fone left thai olive, bot did tham to lepe ;  
Men may find by the flode a c. on hepe.

Sir Wiliam of Klington was eth for to know ;  
Mani stout bachilere broght he on raw ;  
It semid with thaire schoting als it war snaw.  
The bost of the Normandes broghte thai ful law.  
Thaire bost was abated, and thaire mekil pride.  
Fer might thai noght fle, bot thaire bud tham bide.

The gude erle of Glowcester, God mot him glade !  
Broght many bold men with bowes ful brade ;  
To biker with the Normandes baldely thai bade,  
And in middes the flode did tham to wade.  
To wade war tho wrech es casten in the brim ;  
The kaitefs come out of France at lere tham to swim.

I prays John Badding als one of the best ;  
Faire come he sayland out of the suth-west ;  
To prove of tha Normandes was he ful prest,  
Till he had foghten his fill, he had never rest.

John of Aile of the Sluys, with scheltron ful schene,  
Was comen into Cagent cantly and kene ;  
But sone was his trumping turned to tene ;  
Of him had sir Edward his will, as I wene.

The schipmen of England sailed ful swith,  
That none of the Normandes fro tham might skriith ;  
Who so kouth wele his craft thare might it kith.  
Of al the gude that thai gat gaf thai no tithe.



Two hundredeth and mo schippes in the sandes  
 Had oure Inglis men won with thaire handes;  
 The kogges of England was broght out of bandes,  
 And also the Cristofir, that in the streme standes.  
 In that stound thai stode with stremers ful still,  
 Till thai wist full wele sir Edwardes will.

Sir Edward, oure gude king, wurthi in wall,  
 Faght wele on that flude, faire mot him fall!  
 Als it es custom of king to confort tham all,  
 So thanked he gudely the grete and the small.  
 He thanked tham gudely, God gif him mede!  
 Thus come oure king in the Swin till that gude dede.

This was the bataile that fell in the Swin,  
 Where many Normandes made mekill din;  
 Wale war thai armed up to the chin;  
 Bot God and sir Edward gert thaire boste blin.  
 Thus blinned thaire boste, als we wele ken;  
 God assoyle thaire sawls! said all. Amen.

*Herkins how king Edward lay  
 With his men bifer Tournay.*

Towrenay, 3ow has tight  
 To timber, trey, and tene;  
 A bore with brems bright  
 Es broght opon 3owre grene.  
 That es a semely sight,  
 With schilterouns faire and schene  
 Thi domes-day es dight,  
 Bot thou be war, I wene.

When all yowre wele es went,  
 3owre wo wakkins ful wide,  
 To sighing er 3e sent  
 With sorow on ilka syde;

Full rewfull es ȝowre rent,  
 All redles may ȝe ride.  
 The harmes that ȝe have hent  
 Now may ȝe hele and hide.

Hides and helis als hende,  
 For ȝe er cast in care ;  
 Ful few find ȝe ȝowre frende,  
 For all ȝowre frankis fare.  
 Sir Philip sall ȝow schende,  
 Whi leve ȝe at his lare ?  
 No bowes now thar ȝow bende ;  
 Of blis ȝe er all bare.

All bare er ȝe of blis,  
 No bost may be ȝowre bote ;  
 All mirthes mun ȝe mis ;  
 Oure men sall with ȝow mote,  
 Who sall ȝow clip and kys,  
 All fall ȝowre folk to fote.  
 A were is wroght iwis,  
 ȝowre walles with to wrote.

Wrote thai sal ȝowre dene,  
 Of dintes ȝe may ȝow dowe ;  
 ȝowre biginges sall men brene,  
 And breke ȝowre walles about.  
 Ful redles may ȝe ren,  
 With all ȝowre rewful rout ;  
 With care men sall ȝow ken  
 Edward ȝowre lord to lout.

To lout ȝow[re] lord in land,  
 With list men sall ȝow lere ;  
 ȝowre harmes cumes at hand,  
 Als ȝe sall hastily here.  
 Now frendship suld ȝe fand  
 Of sir Philip ȝowre fere,  
 To bring ȝow out of band,  
 Or ȝe be broght on bere.

On bere when ȝe er broght,  
 Then cumes Philip to late;  
 He hetes, and haldes ȝow noght;  
 With hert ȝe may him hate.  
 A bare now has him soght  
 Till Turnay the right gate,  
 That es ful wele bithoght  
 To stop Philip the strate,  
 Ful still;  
 Philip was fain he moght  
 Graunt sir Edward his will.  
 If ȝe will trow my tale,  
 A duke tuke leve that tide,  
 A Braban br[e]wed that bale,  
 He bad no langer bide;  
 Giftes grete and smale  
 War sent him on his side.  
 Gold gert all that gale,  
 And made him rapely ride,  
 Till dede.  
 In hert he was unhale,  
 He come thare moste for mede.  
 King Edward, frely fode,  
 In Fraunce he will noght blin  
 To mak his famen wode  
 That er wonand tharein.  
 God, that rest on rode  
 For sake of Adams syn,  
 Strenkith him maine and mode,  
 His reght in France to win,  
 And have.  
 God grante him graces gode,  
 And fro all sins us save! Amen.

---

*How Edward at Hogges unto land wan,  
And rade thurgh France or ever he blan.*

Men may rede in Romance right  
Of a grete clerk that Merlin hight;  
Ful many bokes er of him wreten,  
Als thir clerkes wele may witten;  
And ȝit in many privé nokes  
May men find of Merlin bokes.  
Merlin said thus with his mowth,  
Out of the north into the sowth  
Suld cum a bare over the se,  
That suld mak many man to fle;  
And in these, he said ful right,  
Suld he schew ful mekill might;  
And in France he suld begin,  
To mak tham wrath that er tharein,  
Untill the se his taile reche sale,  
All folk of France to mekill bale.  
Thus have I mater for to make,  
For a nobill prince sake;  
Help me God, my wit es thin;  
Now Laurence Minot will begin.

A bore es broght on bankes bare,  
With ful batail bifor his brest;  
For John of France will he noght spare  
In Normondy to tak his rest,  
With princes that er proper and prest.  
Alweldand God, of mightes maste,  
He be his beld, for he may best,  
Fader, and Sun, and Haly Gaste.

Haly Gaste, thou gif him grace  
That he in gude time may bigin,  
And send to him both might and space  
His heritage wele for to win;



And sone assoyl him of his sin,  
Hende God, that heried hell.

For France now es he entrid in,  
And thare he dightes him for to dwell.

He dwelled thare, the suth to tell,

Opon the coste of Normondy.

At Hoggres fand he famen fell,

That war all ful of felony ;

To him thai makked grete maistri,

And proved to ger the bare abyde.

Thurgh might of God and mild Mari,

The bare abated all thaire pride.

Mekill pride was thare in prese,

Both on pencell and on plate,

When the bare rade withouten rese

Unto Cane the graythest gate.

Thare fand he folk bifor the zate

Thretty thowsand stif on stede.

Sir John of France come al to late ;

The bare has gert thaire sides blede.

He gert blede, if thai war bolde,

For thare was slayne and wounded sore

Thretty thowsand, trewly tolde,

Of pitaile was thare mekill more.

Knightes war thare wele two score

That war new dubbed to that dance.

Helm and hevyd thai have forlore ;

Than misliked John of France.

More misliking was thare then,

For fals treson alway thai wroght ;

But fro thai met with Inglis men,

All thaire bargan dere thai boght.

Inglis men with site tham soght,  
And hastily quit tham thaire hire ;  
And at the last forgat thai noght,  
The toun of Cane thai sett on fire.

That fire ful many folk gan fere,  
When thai se brandes o ferrum flye ;  
This have thai wonen of the were,  
The fals folk of Normundy.  
I sai zow lely now thai lye  
Dongen down all in a daunce ;  
Thaire frendes may ful faire forthi  
Pleyn tham untill John of France.

Franche men put tham to pine  
At Cressy, when thai brak the brig ;  
That saw Edward with both his ine.  
Than likid him no langer to lig ;  
Ilk Inglis man on others rig  
Over that water er thai went,  
To batail er thai baldly big,  
With brade ax and with bowes bent.

With bent bowes thai war ful bolde,  
For to fell of the Frankisch men ;  
Thai gert tham lig with cares colde,  
Ful sari was sir Philip then.  
He saw the toun o ferrum bren,  
And folk for ferd war fast fleand ;  
The teres he lete ful rathly ren  
Out of his eghen, I understand.

Then come Philip, ful redy dight,  
Toward the town with all his rowt,  
With him come mani a kumly knight,  
And all umset the bare about.

The bare made tham ful law to lout,  
 And delt tham knokkes to thaire mede:  
 He gert tham stumbill that war stout,  
 Thair helpid nowther staf ne stede.

Stedes strong bilevid still  
 Biside Cressy upon the grene.  
 Sir Philip wanted all his will,  
 That was wele on his sembland sene.  
 With spere and schelde and helmis schene,  
 The bare than durst thai noght habide.  
 The king of Beme was cant and kene,  
 Bot thare he left both play and pride.

Pride in prese ne prais I noght,  
 Omang thir princes prowld in pall;  
 Princes suld be wele bithoght,  
 When kinges suld tham till<sup>1</sup> counsail call.  
 If he be rightwis king, thai sall  
 Maintene him both night and day;  
 Or els to lat his frendschip fall  
 On faire manere and fare oway.

Oway es all thi wele iwis,  
 Franche man, with all thi fare;  
 Of murni[n]g may thou never mys,  
 For thou ert cumberd all in care.  
 With speche ne moght thou never spare  
 To speke of Ingliss men despite;  
 Now have thai made thi biging bare,  
 Of all thi catell ertou quite.

Quite ertou, that wele we knaw,  
 Of catell and of drewris dere.  
 Tharfore lies thi hert ful law,  
 That are was blith als brid on brere.

---

<sup>1</sup> toll in the MS.

Inglis men sall ȝit to ȝere  
Knok thi palet or thou pas,  
And mak the polled like a frere;  
And ȝit es Ingland als it was.

Was thou noght, Franceis, with thi wapin,  
Bitwixen Cressy and Abvyle;  
Whare thi felaws lien and gapin,  
For all thaire treget and thaire gile?  
Bischoppes war thare in that while  
That songen all withouten stole.  
Philip the Valas was a file,  
He fled, and durst noght tak his dole.

Men delid thare ful mani a dint  
Omang the gentill Genevayse;  
Ful many man thaire lives tint,  
For luf of Philip the Valays.  
Unkind he was and uncurtayse,  
I prais no thing his purviance;  
The best of France and of Artayse  
War al to-dongyn in that daunce.

That daunce with treson was bygun,  
To traies the bare with sum fals gyn.  
The Franche men said, "All es wun,  
" Now es it tyme that we bigin;  
" For here es welth inogh to win,  
" To make us riche for evermore."  
Bot, thurgh thaire armure thick and thin,  
Slaine thai war, and wounded sore.

Sore than sighed sir Philip,  
Now wist he never what him was best;  
For he es cast doun with a trip,  
In John of France es all his trest;



For he was his frend faithfulest,  
 In him was full his affiance.  
 Bot sir Edward wald never rest,  
 Or thai war feld the best of France.

Of France was mekill wo iwis,  
 And in Paris tha high palays;  
 Now had the bare with mekill blis  
 Bigged him bifer Calais.  
 Heres now how the Romance sais,  
 How sir Edward, oure king with croune,  
 Held his sege bi nightes and dais,  
 With his men bifer Calays toune.

*How Edward, als the Romance sais,  
 Held his sege bifer Calais.*

Calais men, now may ye care,  
 And murning mun ze have to mede;  
 Mirth on mold get ze no mare,  
 Sir Edward sall ken zow zowre crede.  
 Whilum war ze wight in wede,  
 To robbing rathly for to ren;  
 Men zow sone of zowre misdelede,  
 Zowre care es cumen, will ze it ken.

Kend it es how ze war kene  
 Al Inglis men with dole to dere;  
 Thaire gudes toke ze al bidene,  
 No man born wald ze forbere;  
 Ze spared noght with swerd ne spere  
 To stik tham, and thaire gudes to stele.  
 With wapin and with ded of were  
 Thus have ze wonnen werldes wele.

Weleful men war 3e iwis ;  
Bot fer on fold sall 3e noght fare.  
A bare sal now abate 3owre blis,  
And wirk 3ow bale on bankes bare.  
He sall 3ow hunt, als hund dose hare,  
That in no hole sall 3e 3ow hide.  
For all 3owre speche will he noght spare,  
Bot bigges him right by 3owre side.

Biside 3ow here the bare bigins  
To big his boure in winter tyde ;  
And all bityme takes he his ines,  
With semly se[r]gantes him biside.  
The word of him walkes ful wide,  
Jesu, save him fro mischance !  
In bataill dar he wele habide  
Sir Philip and sir John of France.

The Franche men er fers and fell,  
And mase grete dray when thai er dight ;  
Of tham men herd slike tales tell,  
With Edward think thai for to fight,  
Him for to hald out of his right,  
And do him treson with thaire tales.  
That was thaire purpos, day and night,  
Bi counsail of the cardinales.

Cardinales, with hattes rede,  
War fro Calays wele thre myle ;  
Thai toke thaire counsail in that stede  
How thai might sir Edward bigile.  
Thai lended thare bot litill while,  
Till Franche men to grante thaire grace.  
Sir Philip was funden a file,  
He fled, and faght noght in that place.

In that place the bare was blith,  
 For all was funden that he soght;  
 Philip the Valas fled ful swith,  
 With the batail that he had broght.  
 For to have Calays had he thoght,  
 All at his ledeing loud or still;  
 Bot all thaire wiles war for noght,  
 Edward wan it at his will.

Lystens now, and ȝe may lere,  
 Als men the suth may understand;  
 The knightes that in Calais were  
 Come to sir Edward sare wepeand,  
 In kirtell one, and swerd in hand,  
 And cried, "Sir Edward, thine [we] are;  
 " Do now, lord, bi law of land,  
 " Thi will with us for evermare."

The nobill burgase and the best  
 Come unto him to have thaire hire;  
 The comun puple war ful prest  
 Rapes to bring about thaire swire.  
 Thai said all, "Sir Philip, oure syre,  
 " And his sun, sir John of France,  
 " Has left us ligand in the mire,  
 " And broght us till this doleful dance.

" Oure horses, that war faire and fat,  
 " Er etin up ilkone bidene;  
 " Have we nowther conig ne cat,  
 " That thai ne er etin, and hundes kene,  
 " All er etin up ful clene,  
 " Es nowther levid biche ne whelp;  
 " That es wele on oure sembland sene;  
 " And thai er fled that suld us help."

A knight that was of grete renowne,  
Sir John de Viene was his name,  
He was wardaine of the toune,  
And had done Ingland mekill schame.  
For all thaire boste thai er to blame,  
Ful stalworthly thare have thai strevyn.  
A bare es cumen to mak tham tame;  
Kayes of the toun to him er gifen.

The kaies er zolden him of the zate,  
Lat him now kepe tham if he kun;  
To Calais cum thai all to late,  
Sir Philip and Sir John his sun.  
Al war ful ferd that thare ware fun,  
Thaire leders may thai barely ban.  
All on this wise was Calais won;  
God save tham that it so gat wan.

---

*Sir David had of his men grete loss,  
With sir Edward, at the Nevil Cross.*

Sir David the Bruse  
Was at distance,  
When Edward the Baliolfe  
Rade with his lance;  
The north end of Ingland  
Tched him to daunce,  
When he was met on the more  
With mekill mischance.  
Sir Philip the Valayse  
May him noght avance;  
The flowres that faire war  
Er fallen in Fraunce.  
The floures er now fallen  
That fers war and fell;  
A bare with his bataille  
Has done tham to dwell.



Sir David the Bruse  
Said he suld fonde  
To ride thurgh all Ingland,  
Wald he noght wonde ;  
At the Westminster hall  
Suld his stedes stonde,  
Whils oure king Edward  
War out of the onde.  
But now has Sir David  
Missed of his merkes,  
And Philip the Valays,  
With all thaire grete clerkes.

Sir Philip the Valais,  
Suth for to say,  
Sent unto sir David  
And faire gan him pray,  
At ride thurgh Ingland  
Thaire fomen to flay,  
And said, none es at home  
To let hym the way.  
None letes him the way,  
To wende whore he will ;  
Bot with schiperd staves  
Fand he his fill.

Fro Philip the Valais  
Was Sir David sent,  
All Ingland to win  
Fro Twede unto Trent.  
He broght mani bere-bag  
With bow redy bent ;  
Thai robbed and thai reved,  
And held that thai hent.  
It was in the waniand  
That thai furth went ;  
Fro covaitise of cataile  
Tho schrewes war schent.

Schent war tho schrewes,  
And ailed unsele ;  
For at the Nevil Cros  
Nedes bud tham knele.

At the ersbisschop of 3ork  
Now will I bigyn,  
For he may with his right hand  
Assoyl us of syn.  
Both Dorem and Carlele  
Thai wald nevir blin  
The wirschip of Ingland  
With wappen to win.  
Mekill wirschip thai wan,  
And wele have thai waken ;  
For syr David the Bruse  
Was in that tyme taken.

When sir David the Bruse  
Satt on his stede,  
He said of all Ingland  
Haved he no drede.  
Bot hinde John of Coupland,  
A wight man in wede,  
Talked to David,  
And kend him his crede.  
Thare was sir David  
So dughty in his dede,  
The faire toure of Londen  
Haved he to mede.

Sone than was sir David  
Brought unto the toure,  
And William the Dowglas,  
With men of honowre.  
Full swith redy servis  
Fand thai thare a schowre ;

For first thai drank of the swete,  
 And senin of the sowre.  
 Than sir David the Bruse  
 Makes his mone,  
 The faire coroun of Scotland  
 Haves he forgone.  
 He loked furth into France,  
 Help had he none  
 Of sir Philip the Valais,  
 Ne zit of sir John.

The pride of sir David  
 Bigon fast to slaken ;  
 For he wakkind the were  
 That held him self waken.  
 For Philyp the Valaise  
 Had he brede baken,  
 And in the toure of Londen  
 His ines er taken.  
 To be both in a place  
 Thaire forward thai nomen ;  
 Bot Philip fayled thare,  
 And David es cumin.

Sir David the Bruse  
 On this manere  
 Said unto sir Philip  
 Al thir sawes thus sere :  
 " Philip the Valais,  
 " Thou made me be here ;  
 " This es noght the forward  
 " We made are to zere.  
 " Fals es thi forward,  
 " And evyll mot thou fare ;  
 " For thou and sir John thi son  
 " Haves kast me in care."

The Scottes, with thaire falshede,  
 Thus went thai about  
 For to win Ingland  
 Whils Edward was out.  
 For Cuthbert of Dorem  
 Haved thai no dout ;  
 Tharfore at Nevel Cros  
 Law gan thai lout.  
 Thare louted thai law,  
 And leved allane.  
 Thus was David the Bruse  
 Into the toure tane.

---

---

*How king Edward and his menzé  
 Met with the Spaniardes in the see.*

I wald noght spare for to speke,  
 Wist I to spede,  
 Of wight men with wapin  
 And worthly in wede,  
 That now er driven to dale,  
 And ded all thaire dede ;  
 Thai sail in the see gronde,  
 Fissches to fede.  
 Fele fissches thai fede,  
 For all thaire grete fare ;  
 It was in the waniand  
 That thai come thare.

Thai sailed furth in the Swin  
 In a somers tyde,  
 With trompes and taburns,  
 And mekill other pride.  
 The word of tho werkmen  
 Walked full wide ;



The gudes that thai robbed,  
 In holl gan thai it hide.  
 In holl than thai hided  
 Grete welthes, als I wene,  
 Of gold and of silver,  
 Of skarlet and grene.

When thai sailed westward,  
 The wight men in were,  
 Thaire hurdis thaire ankers  
 Hanged thai on here.  
 Wight men of the west  
 Neghed tham nerr,  
 And gert tham snaper in the snare,  
 Might thai no ferr.  
 Fer might thai noght flit,  
 Bot thare most thai fine,  
 And that thai bifore reved  
 Than most thai tyne.

Boy, with thi blac berd,  
 I rede that thou blin,  
 And sone set the to schrive  
 With sorow of thi syn.  
 If thou were on England,  
 Noght saltou win;  
 Cum thou more on that coste,  
 Thi bale sall begin.  
 Thare kindels thi care;  
 Kene men sall the kepe,  
 And do the dye on a day,  
 And domp in the depe.

Ȝe broght out of Bretayne  
 Ȝowre custom with care;  
 Ȝe met with the marchandes,  
 And made tham ful bare.

It es gude reson and right  
That 3e evill misfare,  
When 3e wald in Ingland  
Lere of a new lare.  
New lare sall 3e lere,  
Ser Edward to lout;  
For when 3e stode in 3owre strenkith,  
3e war all to stout.

---

*How gentill sir Edward, with his grete engines,  
Wan with his wight men the castell of Gynes.*

War this winter oway,  
Wele wald I wene  
That somer suld schew him  
In schawes ful schene;  
Both the lely and the lipard  
Suld geder on a grene.  
Mari, have minde of thi man,  
Thou whote wham I mene.  
Lady, think what I mene;  
I mak thee my mone;  
Thou wreke gude king Edward  
On wikked syr John.

Of Gynes ful gladly  
Now will I bigin,  
We wote wele that woning  
Was wikked for to win.  
Crist, that swelt on the rode  
For sake of mans syn,  
Hald tham in gude hele  
That now er tharein.  
Ingليس men er tharein,  
The kastell to kepe;  
And John of France es so wroth,  
For wo will he wepe.

Gentill John of Doncaster  
Did a ful balde dede,  
When he come toward Gines  
To ken tham thaire crede.  
He stirt unto the castell  
Withowten any stede,  
Of folk that he fand thare  
Haved he no drede.  
Dred in hert had he none  
Of all he fand thare ;  
Faine war thai to fle,  
For all thaire grete fare.

A letherin ledderr,  
And a lang line,  
A small bote was tharby,  
That put tham fro pine.  
The folk that thai fand thare  
Was faine for to fyne ;  
Sone thaire diner was dight,  
And thare wald thai dine.  
Thare was thaire purpose  
To dine and to dwell,  
For treson of the Franche men  
That fals war and fell.

Say now, sir John of France,  
How saltou fare,  
That both Calays and Gynes  
Has kindeld thi care ?  
If thou be man of mekil might,  
Lepe upon thi mare,  
Take thi gate unto Gines,  
And grete tham wele thare.  
Thare gretes thi gestes,  
And wendes with wo ;  
King Edward has wonen  
The kastell tham fro.

Ze men of Saint Omers,  
 Trus ze this tide,  
 And puttes out zowre paviliownes  
 With zowre mekill pride.  
 Sendes efter sir John of Fraunce  
 To stand by zowre syde;  
 A bore es boun zow to biker,  
 That wele dar habyde.  
 Wel dar he habide  
 Bataile to bede;  
 And of zowre sir John of Fraunce  
 Haves he no drede.

God save sir Edward his right  
 In ever ilka nede;  
 And he that will noght so,  
 Evil mot he spede!  
 And len oure sir Edward  
 His life wele to lede,  
 That he may at his ending  
 Have hevin till his mede. Amen.

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE ENGLISHMAN AND THE  
FRENCHMAN.<sup>1</sup>

Anglia, fæx hominum, pudor orbis, et ultima rerum,  
 Res rea plus aliis, quid facis esse reum?  
 Qua pice verborum premis aera, quo mihi telo  
 Insurgis, vel quod fulmen ab ore jacis?

---

<sup>1</sup> This short poem is preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Titus A. xx., fol. 98, r°. It is chiefly curious

as illustrating the irritation and hatred between the two peoples which had arisen out of the French wars.



Mentem sermo capit, sordes a pectore lingit,  
Contrahit et virus mentis ab ore fluit.  
Pullulat in ramum vitium radiceis, et inde  
Derivat facinus natio tota suum.  
Omnia pervertis, doces, in crimina flectis,  
Signum virtutis in vitiosa trahis.  
Objicitur crinis pexus, gena pallida, sermo  
Mollis, et obsequia deliciosa pedum.  
Si regit ordo comas, et eas docet ordine comi,  
Ne sinat hypocrisis passibus ire vagis.  
Si pallet facies, a Pallade pallor in ora  
Exit, et a Venere non venit iste color.  
Si molles expono sonos, aures primum asper  
Verba reconciliat mollis in ore sonus.  
Si pede subtili passus primum una modestus  
Instruit exterior interiora modus.  
Singula compta nitent, nitor intimus extima jungunt,  
Et color interior exteriora colit.  
Sed quia se vitio modico discrimine nectit,  
Pro vitio virtus crimina sæpe tulit.  
Addis avaritiæ crimen, quia fine modesto  
Unius et proli nolumus esse gulæ.  
Quos præter pecudes alit Anglia? venter eorum  
Est Deus, et ventri sacrificare student.  
Distendit stomachum gula prodiga gutture pleno,  
Turget et est potius belua quam sit homo.  
In potus usum segetis lacus ipse maritat;  
Hæc duo sunt aliqua, et tamen inde nihil.  
Nos alit ipse liquor vitis, fæx venditur Anglis,  
Quæ cum sit liquida creditur esse liquor.  
Vos fæcem bibitis, sed tantum tempore festo  
Paucis et raro distribuendo venit.  
Si tamen hauritis aliquid de more Lyæi,  
Hoc signare decet carmine festa Dei:  
Salve, festa dies, toto venerabilis ævo,  
Qua Deus in venas scandit et extra tenet.

*Anglus loquitur.*

Scire velim quare me Gallicus urget in arma,  
 Cum qua præsumas, Gallice, fronte loqui.  
 Quæ veniunt a fronte minæ, quo murmure pectus  
 Involvis, quid agunt mitibus ora suis?  
 Parce viris, societ mulierem lis mulieri,  
 Impar certamen cum muliere mari.  
 Quicquid agas gestu, quocunque feraris eidem,  
 Semper inest aliquid quod tibi crimen emat.  
 Si caput aspicias compto dum crine superbit,  
 Nescio qua reliquos suspicione trahit.  
 Si capitis motum nunc hac nunc vertitur illac,  
 Discurres tanquam non velit esse tuum.  
 Si faciem Veneris vitio prædante ruborem,  
 Eloquitur vitium pallida forma tuum.  
 Si linguam mollit pulsum, ne forte palatum  
 Obstrepat, et mulier fatur in ore viri.  
 Si gressum tumidas suspendis in aere plantas,  
 Vix pede degustans anteriore vias.  
 Si partes alias muliebrem cedis in usum,  
 Fœmineo gestu dissimulante virum.  
 Si quia fœmineos castravit Gallica Gallos,  
 Gallinæ, Galle, nomen et omen habe.  
 Ne Veneris solus Gallos sibi vendicet usus,  
 Contraxit cupidas cæca cupido manus.  
 Eloquar hoc crimen, sed non eget ore, quid ergo  
 Oris a mensa paupere disce fidem.  
 Servili mense Bacchus de fæce reservat,  
 Et servit pauper paupere mensa cibo.  
 Gallia de vite paleam metit, Anglia granum;  
 Haurimus liquidum, cætera Gallus habet.  
 Cum Gallus talis maculet mentem contagio Galli;  
 Gallice præstat enim parcere, parce loqui.

*Explicit quædam disputatio inter Anglicum et  
 Francum.*

ON PRINCE EDWARD'S EXPEDITION INTO SPAIN.<sup>1</sup>

1367.

Gloria cunctorum detur Domino dominorum,  
 Qui regit astrorum fabricam terræque polorum,  
 Per quem grandescit princeps nosterque valescit,  
 Bellis florescit, laudisque<sup>2</sup> valore virescit.  
 Anglia lætatur, Vasconia jam modulatur;  
 Francia tristatur, Hispania justificatur;  
 Scotia languescit, et Flandria falsa timescit;  
 Dacia decrescit, Hibernia victa quiescit.  
 Res nova, res mira, complentur prælia dira;  
 Omnis in orbe lyra pangat de principis ira.  
 Jam denis annis lapsis post bella Johannis,  
 Ferratis pannis cæsis captisque tyrannis,  
 Francia cum victa fuit, et lis tota relicta,  
 Et pax edicta per fœdera regia stricta,  
 Princeps pergebat, genitor puta præcipiebat,  
 Totam subdebat sibi Vasconiamque regebat.  
 Spurius ingratus tunc surgit ad arma paratus,  
 Quo rex cognatus Hispanus erat superatus.  
 Hic notus Henricus fuit olim regis amicus;  
 Post fit falsidicus ejus latitans inimicus.  
 Rex Petrus dictus doluit languore relictus,  
 Nam metuens ictus fuit Henricus cito victus.  
 Hic nothus infestus fugat, et fugit ille molestus,  
 Hos referens gestus stat coram principe quæstus.  
 Princeps miratur quando Petrus sibi fatur,  
 Et contristatur quia regno sic spoliatur;

<sup>1</sup> From two manuscripts, one in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Titus A. xx., fol. 47, v°, the other in the Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 133, r°, in

which it has the title, *Incipit bellum Hispania per primogenitum dicti domini Edwardi regis Edwardum.*

<sup>2</sup> *Bellum . . . dandisque*, Rawl.

Donec eum decorat mansuete Petrus, et orat,  
 Tam tenere plorat aqua quod facies sibi rorat.  
 Princeps mandabat patrique suo referabat  
 Quæ sibi narrabat rex Petrus, opemque rogabat.  
 Tunc rex Anglorum stupuit ratione novorum,  
 Et fuit illorum motus pietate dolorum.  
 Annuit ergo pater, et transferat illico frater;  
 Bis, ter, sive quater benedixit eis sua mater.  
 Princeps gaudebat sibi pergere quando licebat;  
 Secum ducebat Petrumque viam capiebat.  
 Spurius intendit princeps quod iter sibi prendit,  
 Se minus offendit, et ei pugnare tetendit.  
 Prælia junxerunt, ubi plures morte ruerunt,  
 Multi fugerunt, capti bis mille fuerunt.  
 Dux quos minavit Lancastrensis feriavit,  
 Francos prostravit, Hispanos mortificavit.  
 A dextro latere vires Offord<sup>1</sup> patuere,  
 Hispanos fugere qui fecit eumque timere.  
 Ex reliqua parte Chandos, tali scitus arte,<sup>2</sup>  
 Pugnat pro parte, ferior certamine Marte.  
 Acriter instabat Knollis, qui non dubitabat,  
 Vulnera multa dabat, acies audax penetrabat.  
 Princeps Edwardus stetit in medio puta pardus,  
 Est cui Ricardus sicut Paulo Leonardus.  
 Rure cruentato victor nutat agmine strato,  
 Enseque vibrato percussit millia fato.  
 Francia fraudatur, quoniam Claykyn<sup>3</sup> superatur,  
 Carcere servatur, cui Doudinham sociatur,  
 Et colibertorum rostrum turba stat eorum.  
 Summa ducentorum fit Francorum dominorum.  
 Vera Deo detur laus, perpes honor societur,  
 Quo lis deletur Hispanis jusque tenetur.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Ufford, son of the earl of Suffolk.

<sup>2</sup> *scius arte*, Rawl.

<sup>3</sup> The form into which the English corrupted the name of Bertrand du Guesclin.



Sit benedictus herus, princeps orat utpote clerus,  
Mitis et austerus, qui scit iudex fore verus.  
Sic informavit rex illum qui generavit,  
Armis aptavit, et Christi lege dicavit.  
Nam per sermonem doctum superat Salomonem,  
Per vim Sampsonem, per justitiam Simeonem.  
Tres portant flores gentiles ut meliores;  
Tres sunt victores Judæi lucidiores;  
Tres nostræ fidei sunt ejusdem speciei;  
Compar nullus ei dum extat dux aciei.  
Ut radix Jesse rex Anglorum patet esse;  
Sunt indefessæ cui vires stante necesse.  
Quinque quidem natos genuit rex morigeratos,  
Viribus ornatos, mites, doctos, ope gratos.  
Rex fore jocundus tantis natis quid abundus,  
Nam totus mundus per eos rex fit tremebundus.  
Horum regina genetrix, Anglis<sup>1</sup> medicina,  
Extat digna Sina requiescere cum Katerina.  
Esse valet nata<sup>2</sup> in patre matreque lætificata,  
Taliter ornata tot fratribus et decorata.  
Visitet ergo thorum Deus, et conservet eorum,  
Qui regit Anglorum regnum sine fraude malorum.

*Expliciunt versus de principis bello in Hispania.*

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<sup>1</sup> *Angliæ*, Rawl.

| <sup>2</sup> *extat digne Syna*, Rawl.

PRINCE EDWARD'S EXPEDITION INTO SPAIN, AND THE  
BATTLE OF NAJARA.By Walter of Peterborough.<sup>1</sup>

*Incipit proemium panegyricum in opus sequens de  
victoria belli in Hispania, per principem Ed-  
wardum et Johannem confratrem ejus ducem  
Lancastriae, pro Petro rege Hispaniae.*

Mi Martonensis, pater amplexande, Johannes,

Acceptetis opus hoc breve quæso meum.

Principe pro nostro scripsi quondam <sup>a</sup> Theotecon,

In Pictavensi marte, poeta suus.

Ad decus ecclesiæ super Ovidium vigilavi,

Jam duce pro nostro, proque salute sua,

<sup>a</sup> Id est Mariale suum, continens 5 m<sup>l</sup> versuum, exponendo opus præsens transmissum ad dominum Johannem Marthon thesaurarium domini Johannis ducis Lancastriae, amicum familiarissimum auctoris hujus operis.

<sup>1</sup> This poem, on the Spanish expedition of the Black Prince and the battle of Najara, April 3, 1367, is found in two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Digby, No. 166, fol. 97, r<sup>o</sup>, and MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 188, r<sup>o</sup>. The first of these contains the poem complete, without the Proemium; while the Rawlinson MS., which alone contains the Proemium, has preserved only about one half (the earlier part) of the poem. The Rawlinson MS. contains also a continuous interlinear gloss, which is here printed in each page under the text.

Of the author of this poem, Walter of Peterborough (Gualterus de

Burgo), nothing further appears to be known than that which he here tells us, namely, that he was a monk of Revesby in Lincolnshire, that he was the friend of John Marthon (of Merton?), treasurer to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, to whose service our author was also attached, and that he was the author of some other poems, one of which is found in the same Digby MS., which has preserved his poem on the expedition to Spain. He is mentioned in the Chronicle of Peterborough, MS. Cotton. Claudius A. V, fol. 43. v<sup>o</sup>, where he is called "frater Walterus de Burgo, " quondam monachus de Revesby."

Sacra Jhesu cecini sub carmine clausa poesis,  
 Prodens in lucem quæ latuere prius.  
 Chronica quicquid habet, ab Adam docet ad Julianum,  
 De <sup>b</sup>transformatis in tribus ille libros.  
 Cætera <sup>c</sup>promitto si sors <sup>d</sup>arrideat actis,  
 In præsens tempus enucleabo libros.  
 Porro Narcissum cum toto corde polirem,  
 Mellea de vobis personuere nova.  
 Qua Deus arte ducem magnum prius hic apud An-  
 glos,  
 Nunc apud Hispanos magnificavit ibi.  
 Congaudere decet, quod idem vos nomen habetis  
 Cum duce tam magno, gloria magna manet.  
 Nam nullum nomen magis est memorabile mundo  
 Quam vestrum, vobis gratia tanta Dei.  
 Postquam regna sua tres afflixere Johannes,  
 Viluit hoc nomen plebeiumque fuit.  
 Jam redit ad reges, redit ad papas duce tanto,  
 Tam divum nomen papa nothique timent.  
 Magnus <sup>e</sup>avis, major animis, modo maximus armis,  
 Nomen quodcunque magnificare potest.  
 Tertius Edwardus post conquestum, pater ejus,  
 Carcere tot reges, regna tot ense terens,  
 Sufficit iste pater ad prolem magnificandam,  
 Anglia quo fulget, quo quasi luce micat.  
 Teutonici generis mater regina Philippa,  
 Ergo de divis imperiique dono.  
 Per sex Edwardos pensetur stirps ethelinga,  
 Si dux descendens sit generosus avis.  
 Quis dux, quis dominus, majores progenitores  
 Aut habet, aut habuit? sæcula longa lege.  
 Ipse patris pulcher, Plato prudens, Penda procerus,  
 Ense potens, aris pronus, ubique pius,

<sup>b</sup> Metamorphosios.

<sup>c</sup> Exponere,

<sup>d</sup> Liberæ expositionis.

<sup>e</sup> Progenitoribus.

Fax fidei fortis, fuga fraudis, forma futuris,  
 Flos juvenum, felix conjuge, faustus avis.  
 Turris ad Anglos, Turnus ad hostes, tardus ad iram,  
<sup>f</sup> Turtur anima, <sup>g</sup> Turnus robore, <sup>h</sup> totus homo  
 Noster <sup>i</sup> dux, noster <sup>j</sup> dominus, noster <sup>k</sup> dominator,  
 Nostrum <sup>l</sup> lumen, noster <sup>m</sup> leo, nostra <sup>n</sup> lyra.  
 Lumen <sup>o</sup> conventu, leo <sup>p</sup> conflictu, lyra <sup>q</sup> cantu;  
 Ergo prudens, ergo probus, ergo pius.  
 Per tot <sup>r</sup> signa sacra probat Edwardus genitores,  
 Et plus quo senior prædicat ipse patrem.  
 Arbor aromatica rex Edwardus pater ejus;  
 Splendida progenies, aurea poma sua.  
 Quantumcunque procul currat pomum, probat unde  
 Venit, et vulpes ventilat ejus avos.  
 Quis regum, quamvis repetas ab Adam patriarcha,  
 Par probitate potens, plus pietate placens?  
 Quamvis percurras omnes ab origine reges,  
 De nullo poteris dicere, talis erat.  
 Tam fortis gladio, tam felix prole beata,  
 Si radix sancta, ramus eritque sacer.  
 Novi Romanos et reges Israel omnes,  
 Gallos et Græcos, nemo latens in eis,  
 Nullus Romanus, nullus rex Israel illo  
 Plus probus, immo pius, Numa, nec ipse David.  
 Compositos in compedibus regesque ducesque,  
 Plus prece quam pretio solvit abire sinens.

<sup>f</sup> Constantissime.<sup>g</sup> Fortissime.<sup>h</sup> Integerrime.<sup>i</sup> Lancastriæ.<sup>j</sup> Comes Lincolnia.<sup>k</sup> Castri de Bullyngbroke.<sup>l</sup> Consulendo.<sup>m</sup> Protegendo.<sup>n</sup> Miserando.<sup>o</sup> Consilio.<sup>p</sup> Prælio.<sup>q</sup> Solatio.<sup>r</sup> Virtutum.

Quis nomen scit Cæsaris? libertati dedit hostes,  
 Ille sed iratus, iste misertus eis.  
 Semper enim sanguis vester, de semine divo,  
 Narrat si quid habet, notificatque patres.  
 Semen aromaticum semper dulcem dat odorem,  
 Proxima quæque sua pascit odore sua.  
 At contra faciens digitos urtica perurens,  
 Tangentis tunicam lappa tenaxque ligat.  
 Semen adulterii cupidum, crudele, cruentum;  
 Qualis fons fuerit, proflua prodit aqua.  
 Ramus aromaticus, dominus princeps, dominus dux  
 Lancastriæ item, frater ubique fragrans.  
 A patre rege satis apparet ramus uterque,  
 Pro pietate Petro, pro probitate nothis.  
 Balsama tanta metro mandare monet meus abbas,  
 Ac ex opposito notificare nothos.  
 Tanta metro tali socii constringere cogunt,  
 Si, pater, accipitis, vestrior<sup>1</sup> esse volo.  
 Natus eram Burgi, Petri nutritus in aula,  
 Nomine Walterus, arte poeta ducis.  
 Ordine sum tanti ducis inter sacra sacerdos,  
 Revesbiis monachus, vester ubique puer.  
 Sum simplex vester, mea mors, mea vita vagantur,  
 In manibus vestris vivere quæso queam.  
 Si benedixeritis, vox vestra dabit mihi vitam;  
 Si maledixeritis, mors mihi certa manet.  
 Perfecistis enim tres bellum, dux, Deus, et vos;  
 Dux mucrone, Deus munere, vosque prece.  
 Vos in monte, Deus in cælo, dux in arena;  
 Josue dux, Moyses vos, Deus auctor erat.  
 Vobiscum Moyses in monte, vir almus Helyas,  
 Glorificate Deum, belligerante duce.  
 Ipse<sup>2</sup> Deo debet dux grates, et Deus illi,  
 Quod sic alterutrum glorificare student.

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<sup>1</sup> *errior*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Ipsa*, MS.




Ergo, benigne pater, exoro legatis in aures,  
 Cum ducis ad vultum venerit istud opus.  
 A modo gesta ducis dicam, sed paupere lingua,  
 Heu nimis elinguis bella referre param.

*Explicit proemium panegyricum. Incipit victoria belli in Hispania per tres confratres, scilicet dominos principem Edwardum, Johannem ducem Lancastrie, et Petrum regem Hispanie, contra tres nothos, filios Aldefonsi regis, scilicet Henricum, Thilonem, et Senchium.*

Bella referre paro fratrum de germine <sup>s</sup> claro,  
 Plus claros raro protulit <sup>t</sup> ulla caro.  
<sup>u</sup> Nam tres contra tres inierunt praelia fratres,  
 Per multas matres causa fuere patres.  
<sup>v</sup> Tres stupro geniti, reliqui tres lege mariti,  
 Illicitis liciti tres tribus oppositi.  
 Henricus primus, Thilo, Senchius,<sup>1</sup> ut reperimus;  
 Quartus legitimus est Petrus et minimus.  
<sup>w</sup> Cardo, gith, urtica frumento sunt inimica,  
 In cujus<sup>2</sup> spica jam tria grana plica.  
 Spinæ lethales contra totidem speciales,  
 Spicæ vitales ecce videre vales.

<sup>s</sup> Nobili.

<sup>t</sup> Ullus pater, vel ulla mater.

<sup>u</sup> Princeps E., dux J., et rex P., contra tres bastardos; duo, scilicet, princeps et dux, fratres fuerunt genere, et tertius, scilicet Petrus, frater fuit fœdere eis.

<sup>v</sup> Hoc dicitur pro Aldefonso, qui præter uxorem tenuit concubinas, de quibus genuit Henricum, Thilonem, et Senchium, sed de uxore Petrum hæredem legitimum.

<sup>w</sup> Henricus, Tilo, Senchius, scilicet Petro. Hic ponit auctor <sup>3am</sup> comparisonem contra nothos 3.

Fœtus regalis fragrat, et reficit <sup>x</sup>rosa talis,

Cum<sup>1</sup> sit legalis, est nisi<sup>2</sup> spina malis.

<sup>y</sup>Sic de rege Petro Castellæ, quem dabo metro,

Exilio tetro cogitur ire retro.

<sup>a</sup>Spina malis fuerat, si quis causam bene quærat,

Pravos perdiderat, hinc odiosus erat.<sup>3</sup>

Pulsus ab Henrico, bastardo cedit iniquo.

Rex proprio vico proditur in modico.<sup>4</sup>

Henricum bini firmant fratres venerini,<sup>5</sup>

Plures vicini de patria domini.

<sup>a</sup>Petrum cognati duo restituunt<sup>6</sup> subarrati,

Fratres dignati tanta pericla <sup>b</sup>pati.

Petrus, legitimus hæres, rex nuper <sup>c</sup>opimus,

Fæx modo <sup>d</sup>finitimus,<sup>7</sup> exul ab urbe, fimus.

<sup>e</sup>Aspiciat si quos per cuncta requirit <sup>f</sup>amicos,

<sup>g</sup>Vix sibi pacificos inveniens aliquos.

<sup>h</sup>Sic infelici non inveniuntur <sup>i</sup>amici,

Quondam<sup>8</sup> felici mille fuere vici.

<sup>x</sup> Jam ponit auctor aliam comparisonem ad rosam pro Petro.

<sup>y</sup> Hic pandit auctor causam belli.

<sup>z</sup> i. rigidus.

<sup>a</sup> Genere scilicet princeps Aquitaniæ, et dux Lancastræ.

<sup>b</sup> Pro Petro cognato eorum, filio legitimo Aldefonsi regis, et in testamento ejus signo regio donatus.

<sup>c</sup> i. dives et potens.

<sup>d</sup> i. juxta vel extra fines.

<sup>e</sup> Ut inveniatur aliquos.

<sup>f</sup> Constantes.

<sup>g</sup> Ipse nothus Henricus abiciens regnum et potentia sua fregerat tot.

<sup>h</sup> Petro regi abjecto.

<sup>i</sup> Unde Ovid:—

“Tempore felici multi numerantur amici,  
Tempora cum fuerint nebula solus erit.”<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Si*, Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> *vero*, Rawl.

<sup>3</sup> This line is omitted in the Digby MS.

<sup>4</sup> *i. fero*, Gloss in Digb.

<sup>5</sup> *i. adulterini*, Gloss in Digb.

<sup>6</sup> *subportant*, Rawl.

<sup>7</sup> *infininitus*, Rawl.

<sup>8</sup> *Dudum*, Rawl.

<sup>9</sup> It need, perhaps, hardly be remarked that Ovid's words are not quite correctly quoted.

j Tandem cognatos, procul a regione moratos,  
     <sup>k</sup> Edwardi natos reperit <sup>l</sup> esse <sup>l</sup> ratos.  
<sup>m</sup> Neuter inurbanus <sup>2</sup> dominus, princeps Aquitanus  
     Et Petrus <sup>n</sup> Hispanus conseruere manus.  
<sup>o</sup> Princeps in primis miseretur casibus p imis,  
     Cognati lacrimis compatiendo nimis.  
 Consensere sibi, placuit tamen omnia <sup>q</sup> scribi,  
     Rex Edwarde, tibi quæ gererentur ibi.  
<sup>r</sup> Ut lamenta legis, expulsi nuncia regis,  
     Natorum retegis tristis in aure gregis.  
 In transgressores acuis natos juniores,  
     <sup>s</sup> Præcipis ultores esse quod ipse <sup>t</sup> fores.  
 Si tempus sineret, et non <sup>3</sup> tua terra teneret,  
     Facta nothus fleret, <sup>u</sup> fecit et <sup>v</sup> acta feret,  
 Filius accedit, dux Lancastrensis <sup>w</sup> obedit,  
     Ad mare procedit, se ratibusque dedit.  
 Restitit aura Nothi Borea surgente remoti,  
     Sic duce summoti sunt veniente nothi.

j Dominum principem Aquitaniæ et fratrem ejus ducem Lancastriæ.

<sup>k</sup> Regis Anglorum ambos filios.

<sup>l</sup> Constantes amicos.

<sup>m</sup> Dominus princeps nec rex Petrus.

<sup>n</sup> Castellanus.

<sup>o</sup> Aquitaniæ.

<sup>p</sup> Miseris.

<sup>q</sup> Sub conditione quod si Edwardus patri principis placeret initum fœdus.

<sup>r</sup> Literam principis de expulsionem regis Petri.

<sup>s</sup> Hispanos.

<sup>t</sup> Ultor.

<sup>u</sup> Male.

<sup>v</sup> Male.

<sup>w</sup> Patri suo regi.

<sup>1</sup> comperit, Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> Neuterve urbanus, Rawl.

<sup>3</sup> nisi te tua t., Digb.

Intrat <sup>x</sup> Burdegale portum peritus generale,  
 Nil nisi verbale <sup>y</sup> tinnuit ave, vale.  
 Summe lætatur princeps, ut eum speculatur ;  
 Si complectatur, quæstio vana datur.  
 Firmat eum <sup>z</sup> fratris sermo, benedictio matris,  
 Et <sup>a</sup> ruptis clathris litera lecta patris.  
 Tunc Aquitanorum princeps et dux <sup>b</sup> Ceiiro<sup>1</sup>rum  
 Ac Hispanorum rex iniere chorum.  
 Hæc sacra grana tria jam spica juncta,<sup>2</sup> Maria,  
 Protege propitia, sunt mea vita quia.  
<sup>c</sup> Foedera junxerunt, se fratres composuerunt,  
 Amodo sanxerunt, tres velut unus erunt.  
 Curia densatur, <sup>d</sup> exercitus enumeratur,  
 Castris mandatur miles, <sup>e</sup> ab urbe satur.  
 Qui sint tutores terræ scribunt seniores,  
 Quosdam primores claudere clave <sup>f</sup> fores.  
 Sumunt <sup>g</sup> Fagorum comes et baro Pomeriorum  
 Curam cunctorum principis usque torum.  
 Cætera plebs vadit, gratis sua nomina tradit,  
 Nemo suos radit, mensaque nulla cadit.  
 Castra per <sup>h</sup> umbones numerando <sup>i</sup> duas legiones,  
 Anglos aut Britones, Vasconicosve Sones.  
 Ad bellum properant, divina juvamina sperant,  
 Cum nisi jus quærant, in pia bella gerant.

<sup>x</sup> Metropolis Gasconiæ.

<sup>y</sup> Resonat.

<sup>z</sup> Ducis Lancastræ.

<sup>a</sup> Apertis literis.

<sup>b</sup> Castrensiū.

<sup>c</sup> Princeps et dux cum rege Petro.

<sup>d</sup> Exercitus congregatur.

<sup>e</sup> Fastidiens urbem.

<sup>f</sup> Ad custodiendum civitates.

<sup>g</sup> Le count de Ffoys et le sire de Pomeres.

<sup>h</sup> Pars scuti pro toto scuto est, figura metonymia.

<sup>i</sup> 14 millia armatorum.

<sup>1</sup> *Deirorum*, Rawl.

| <sup>2</sup> *frumenti sancta*, Rawl.

Cum sic armatur exercitus ut gradiatur,  
 Nuntius effatur,<sup>1</sup> i littera vero datur.  
 Princeps admisit quæ scripta nothus sibi misit,  
 Sæpius immisit quid sapiens ibi<sup>2</sup> sit  
 Littera lecta sonat quod princeps arma<sup>k</sup> reponat,  
 Aut iter exponat, sic erit<sup>l</sup> ante tonat.  
 Reddit personæ princeps multa ratione  
 Responsum, prone concipe, <sup>m</sup> scriba bone.<sup>3</sup>  
<sup>n</sup> Fœdera declarat quæ <sup>o</sup> patrum cura patrarat,  
 Postea firmarat ipse patenter arat.  
<sup>p</sup> Casum cognati miseratus habet pietati,  
 Damna <sup>q</sup> relegati de patre rege <sup>r</sup> sati.  
 Ergo nothus donet testata, Petrumque coronet,  
 Sic pacem ponet, littera tota monet;  
 Præco procedit, responsum principis edit,  
 Littera succedit, nuntius ergo redit.  
 Stipati pariter per legem præmoniti ter,  
 Nostri non aliter aggrediuntur iter.  
<sup>s</sup> Per Cæsaræos aditus<sup>4</sup> montes Pirenæos,  
 Campos Navaræos prætereunt per eos.

<sup>j</sup> Littera prima quam bastardus misit ad principem, rogans eum quod vellet sibi certificare per quam viam proponeret intrare regnum Castelli, promittens quod cum auxilio amicorum obviam ei veniret in manu forti.

<sup>k</sup> Bellum deponat.

<sup>l</sup> Nous vous dirròms adevant.

<sup>m</sup> Scriptor.

<sup>n</sup> Litteram tnsalem (*sic*) domini principis.

<sup>o</sup> Fœdera domini Edwardi patris sui et Aldefonsi patris alterius.

<sup>p</sup> Exilium.

<sup>q</sup> Exiliati.

<sup>r</sup> Geniti.

<sup>s</sup> i. transitum montis Pirenæos quem Cæsar fecit, vel Hannibal melius aperiens montes Pirenæos cum aceto et plumbo. Postea Carolus magnus rediens de Hispania amisit ibi Rothelande et cæteros in Rowncivale sepultos.

<sup>1</sup> *affatur*, Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> *sapidum sibi*, Rawl.

<sup>3</sup> *probatione*, Digb.

<sup>4</sup> *prædictus*, Digb.



Affuit in pratis locus amplæ nobilitatis,  
 Omnibus armatis servitiisque satis.  
 Illic<sup>1</sup> sunt positi per tres acies<sup>t</sup> stabiliti,  
 Ne fieret liti causa, famive siti.  
<sup>u</sup> Princeps prælatus medio quasi corde locatus,  
 Cæsar erat gratus, ut petit ille status.  
 Junctos cuneos habuit, multos Machabæos,  
 Omnes<sup>v</sup> Vacceos Angligenasve meos.  
 Quemlibet in numero fortem cognomine vero  
 Ponere non potero, nec tibi fictor ero.  
 Quidam<sup>w</sup> quæstores narrabo notabiliores,  
 Postea<sup>x</sup> prætores accipe si memor es.  
<sup>y</sup> Summus legatus dextro cornu situatus,  
 Dux est præfatus frater ad arma datus.  
<sup>z</sup> Principis ex ore Chaundos quæstor ducis oræ,  
 Noluit ex more tradere bella moræ.  
 O dea<sup>a</sup> Bellona, prætori<sup>b</sup> martia dona  
 De<sup>c</sup> Cosyngtona da moda multa bona.  
 Firmis tutelis, prætor<sup>d</sup> Girarde<sup>2</sup> fidelis,  
<sup>e</sup> Angelus ex cœlis alter adesse velis.

<sup>t</sup> i. distincti inter se et mare.

<sup>u</sup> Dividens exercitum suum juxta Pampiloniam in Navaria,  
 positus est in media custodia, prout moderni vocant.

<sup>v</sup> Vascones.

<sup>w</sup> Senescallos.

<sup>x</sup> Marescallos.

<sup>y</sup> Summus status in exercitu sub consule. Unde Sylla quæstor erat Marii apud Salustium de bello Jugurthino. Apud Vegetium et veteres Romanos anterior custodia dicebatur dextrum cornu, cui dominus dux Lancastriæ præpositus est a principe.

<sup>z</sup> Ex mandato principis dominus Johannes Chaundos senescallus turmæ erat quæ domino duci assignata est, quia mos est domini Johannis Chaundos violenter irruere in hostes.

<sup>a</sup> Dea belli.

<sup>b</sup> Mars est deus belli.

<sup>c</sup> Dominus Stephanus.

<sup>d</sup> Alter marescallus.

<sup>e</sup> Angelyn nomine.

<sup>f</sup> Tota phalanx, vere ferro contexta vel ære,  
 Sub duce venere millia bina fere.  
 Post <sup>g</sup> cornu tale ductor dextræ fuit alæ  
 Rex Petrus, <sup>h</sup> Aspale<sup>1</sup> nec reor isse male.  
<sup>i</sup> Fultus personis est Calverlensis Hugonis,  
 Armigeris pronis militibusque bonis.  
 Alter erat prætor Machutus<sup>2</sup> nomine irhætor,  
<sup>k</sup> Gornaci lætor, dicere plura vetor.  
<sup>l</sup> Ad lævam propero, quæstores dicere<sup>3</sup> quaero,  
 Sunt bini numero, quilibet ense fero.  
 Postea <sup>m</sup> prætores dabo, <sup>n</sup> quæstores potiores,  
 Caudæ tutores, exigit hoc modo res.  
 Quæstor vulgaris rex majoris<sup>o</sup> Balearis,  
 Militibus claris rex erat ille maris.  
 Ne quid ei desit, comes Herminacensis<sup>4</sup> p<sup>r</sup> adhæsit,  
 Ut castris præsit, officium bene scit.

<sup>f</sup> Tota turma domini ducis continebat mille armatos et octingentos.

<sup>g</sup> In alia dextra erat dominus Petrus cum Castellanis suis, sub quo senescallus erat dominus Hugo de Calverle, et marescallus dominus Matheus de Gorney,

<sup>h</sup> Civitas in Hispania.

<sup>i</sup> Dominus princeps.

<sup>j</sup> Officii civilis.

<sup>k</sup> De Gorney.

<sup>l</sup> i. senescallum secundæ custodiæ, quæ apud Vegetium et veteres Romanos vocabatur sinistrum cornu.

<sup>m</sup> Marescallos.

<sup>n</sup> Senescallos.

<sup>o</sup> Rex Majoricarum erat senescallus in sinistro cornu et cum eo confrater ejus.

<sup>p</sup> In mari Adriatico sunt duæ insulæ dictæ Baleares, quarum major dicitur Majorica, et minor dicitur Minorica, et dictæ sunt Baleares, id est Balestro, -tras, quod est jacere, quia ibi primo inventæ sunt fundæ, unde fundibularii dicuntur balestarii.

<sup>1</sup> *Haspale*, Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> *Mathutus*, Rawl.

<sup>3</sup> *ducere*, Digb.

<sup>4</sup> *Blumacensis*, Rawl.

<sup>q</sup> Hi conservabant caudam, dorso vigilabant,  
 Ibant seu stabant, ultima tuta dabant.  
 Ala sinistra modo succedit eam, tibi prodo  
 Quo didici nodo, taliter hanc ego do.  
 Illic hastatus rex <sup>r</sup> Navariæ dominatus,  
<sup>s</sup> Quæstor dictatus cinxerat <sup>1</sup> ense latus.  
 Sub quo <sup>t</sup> prætores duo sunt mundi meliores  
 Debellatores, nomina commemoros.  
 Robert Knollonis, <sup>2</sup> alter dominus <sup>u</sup> Cinisonis, <sup>3</sup>  
 Si palmas ponis, dignus <sup>v</sup> uterque thronis.  
 Sic assignatis castris patribus memoratis,  
<sup>w</sup> Dux præit armatis millibus ante datis.  
<sup>x</sup> Terras hostiles terit armatus modo miles,  
 In scurras viles usquequo, mucro, siles.  
 In villas vade, sed pacem primo suade,  
 Nolentes <sup>y</sup> clade, claude, <sup>z</sup> cruore made.  
<sup>a</sup> Spuria castra vides contra te stare, trucides;  
 Tu non occides, sed sua fracta fides.  
 Nec pietate penes hostes tua fella refrenes, <sup>4</sup>  
 Quin <sup>5</sup> ferias juvenes præpositosque <sup>6</sup> senes.

<sup>q</sup> Erant duces in sinistro cornu.

<sup>r</sup> Erat in alia sinistra.

<sup>s</sup> Senescallus.

<sup>t</sup> Marescalli.

<sup>u</sup> De Britannia.

<sup>v</sup> Eo quod erant fortissimi pugnatores.

<sup>w</sup> Lancastriæ.

<sup>x</sup> Figura apostrophe est hic, cum quis loquitur ad rem irrationalem, ut auctor hic loquitur ad gladium.

<sup>y</sup> Pacem.

<sup>z</sup> Veloncium pacem.

<sup>a</sup> Bastardi.

<sup>1</sup> *cunferat*, Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> *Robard Cnollonis*, Rawl.

<sup>3</sup> *Clenisonis*, Rawl.

<sup>4</sup> *trina fella facta refrenes*, Rawl.

<sup>5</sup> *Quam*, Rawl.

<sup>6</sup> *ve*, Rawl.

<sup>b</sup> Deceperito, <sup>c</sup> pueri <sup>d</sup> cunis omnium, ac <sup>e</sup> mulieri,

Parce prece miseri, porro<sup>1</sup> rebelle <sup>f</sup> feri.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>g</sup> Villæ majoris illis cognomen in oris

Est Salvatoris, nostra steterè foris.

Castra ducis capere villam per vim voluere,

Sed <sup>h</sup> Petro propriæ <sup>i</sup> dissiliere<sup>3</sup> <sup>j</sup> seræ.

Se deplorabant fregisse fidem, renovabant,

Claves portabant, introitumque dabant.

Illic plagatus est <sup>k</sup> miles de Burlee vocatus,

Sed cito curatus <sup>l</sup> est equitare<sup>4</sup> ratus.

Villaque fecit idem <sup>m</sup> Petro Beticensis <sup>n</sup> eidem,

Deplorando quidem se violasse <sup>o</sup> fidem.

Hic nostri quærent ubi spuria castra fuerunt,

Et responderunt montis opaca terunt.<sup>5</sup>

Nostris ignoti montes, hosti bene noti,

Ergo <sup>p</sup> mane <sup>q</sup> Noti more ruere nothi.

<sup>b</sup> Seni.

<sup>c</sup> Teneri.

<sup>d</sup> Infanti.

<sup>e</sup> Fœminæ.

<sup>f</sup> Percute.

<sup>g</sup> Prima villa quæ obvia stetit, dicta est Salvatoris, quæ primo clausis portis præparavit se ad bellum, et vulneratus est ibi dominus Ricardus de Burle, sed tandem gratis aperiebant portas Petro regi.

<sup>h</sup> Scilicet regi.

<sup>i</sup> Aperiebantur.

<sup>j</sup> Portarum.

<sup>k</sup> Dominus Ricardus.

<sup>l</sup> Ita quod potuit.

<sup>m</sup> Regi.

<sup>n</sup> Sicut villa Salvatoris.

<sup>o</sup> Quia nothi ibi cum suis exercitibus erant roborati, et postea fugerunt in montibus.

<sup>p</sup> Summo.

<sup>q</sup> Bastardi descendunt cum impetu venti australis.

<sup>1</sup> quodque, Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> fere, Rawl.

<sup>3</sup> proprie, Digb., dissiliere, Rawl.

<sup>4</sup> equitando, Digb.

<sup>5</sup> optataque ferunt, Rawl.

Nostras invadunt <sup>r</sup> cameras, in vincula tradunt,  
 Multos <sup>s</sup> eradunt ensibus, hique cadunt.  
 Miles ibi cæsus <sup>t</sup> de Felton in <sup>u</sup> ilia læsus,  
 Summus ei Cræsus annuat astra Jhesus.  
 Hastingis ille <sup>v</sup> baro cum fune ligatur amaro,  
 Si plus ignaro conflua <sup>1</sup> litus aro.  
 Captus et extiterat rex <sup>w</sup> Navariæ, quia sperat  
 Quod socius fuerat qui suus hostis erat.  
 Tunc didicit miles quid prosit habere viriles  
 Nocturnos vigiles, sollicitos pugiles.  
 Nos irritarant <sup>2</sup> dum nostros sic tribularant,  
 Multos mactarant, sed <sup>3</sup> sibi flagra parant.  
 Sic <sup>x</sup> ducis armatur, acies campisque locatur,  
 Hostis pulsatur, montibus isse datur.  
<sup>y</sup> Princeps speravit bellum Petrumque sacravit,  
 Collaphizavit, ferret ut arma David.  
 Omnes <sup>z</sup> tyrones narrarem per stationes,  
 Sed tot <sup>a</sup> mucrones, <sup>b</sup> musa, tacere mones.  
 Dux Lancastorum dedit ad <sup>c</sup> bis sex juniorum  
 Ex auro lorum, ducere mille chorum.  
<sup>d</sup> Spurius inventus lux crastina quando revenit,  
 Quod sibi convenit, vespera namque <sup>4</sup> venit.

<sup>r</sup> Ceperunt in lectis.

<sup>s</sup> Necant.

<sup>t</sup> Dominus Willelmus.

<sup>u</sup> Viscera.

<sup>v</sup> Dominus Radulphus.

<sup>w</sup> Per quendam dominum Cliverum.

<sup>x</sup> Dominus dux processit cum exercitu, et hostes videntes re-  
traxerunt se ad montes.

<sup>y</sup> Dominus hoc tempore regem Castelli fecit militem et cum  
gladio percussit in collo.

<sup>z</sup> Novos milites.

<sup>a</sup> Cujuscunque novi militis.

<sup>b</sup> Discretio.

<sup>c</sup> 12 milites.

<sup>d</sup> Die sequenti usque ad vesperam nil agebatur.

<sup>1</sup> *confleo*, Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> *irruerant*, Digby.

<sup>3</sup> *quæ*, Rawl.

<sup>4</sup> *causaque*, Rawl.



Pars nos vexare <sup>e</sup> descendit, ad ima rotare,  
 Prona <sup>1</sup> jactare, tela, duella dare.  
 Ex his <sup>f</sup> ter denis cæsis, totidemque catenis  
 Subdebant pœnis corpora, corda threnis.  
<sup>g</sup> Anglica pars rugit, pars <sup>h</sup> altera subjuga mugit ;  
<sup>i</sup> Pars plagas sugit, pars tremebunda fugit.  
 Nocteq̃ue montana conscendunt, nos sua plana  
 Ope <sup>2</sup> belli vana sumpsimus ex Sathana.  
 Sic <sup>j</sup> traxere dies, Sathanæ fraus cognita fies,  
 Ut nostras acies opprimeret macies.  
<sup>k</sup> Defectu panis erat omnis venter inanis,  
 Usibus humanis defuit ergo canis.  
 Si carnes <sup>l</sup> comedunt, nec in hoc jejunia lædunt,  
 Jus gladii credunt tergere quicquid edunt.  
 Accidit ergo piæ sacra festa venire <sup>m</sup> Mariæ,  
 Veris temperie tricesimaque die.  
 Princeps præfatis <sup>n</sup> patribus præcone citatis,<sup>3</sup>  
 Narrat adunatis passa pericla <sup>o</sup> satis.  
 Concludit fine p̃frumenta deesse coquinæ ;  
 Castris vicinæ sunt, famis ergo minæ.  
 Ad <sup>q</sup> loca munita tulit hostis blada cupita,  
 Unde fame scita prælia tardat ita.

<sup>e</sup> Tunc quidam descenderunt ad sua singula certamina.

<sup>f</sup> 30 cæsi et 30 capti, cæteri fugati et vulnerati.

<sup>g</sup> Victrix ut leo.

<sup>h</sup> Imbecillum jumentorum.

<sup>i</sup> Victa.

<sup>j</sup> Id est, prout nos fame perderent.

<sup>k</sup> Nostri patiebantur magnam famem in terra quod carnes comedebant.

<sup>l</sup> Credebant causam suam esse tam justam quod in comedendo non possunt peccare.

<sup>m</sup> Annunciationis.

<sup>n</sup> Ducibus exercitus sui.

<sup>o</sup> Quanta pericula passus fuerit exercitus.

<sup>p</sup> Panem deficere.

<sup>q</sup> Castella.

<sup>1</sup> *Omnia*, Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> *Spes*, Digb.

<sup>3</sup> *vocatis*, Rawl.

- Hic<sup>1</sup> frustra stamus, dum proxima bella putamus,  
 Nostros vexamus ludibrioque damus.  
<sup>r</sup> Castellum petere per dextram credo valere,  
 Illuc<sup>s</sup> innumeræ sunt sine clave seræ.  
 Illic migremus, hostes post terga trahemus,  
 Tutius intremus, nam caret hoste nemus.  
 Præco præit, sequitur acies, mons dexter aditur,  
<sup>t</sup> Lævus deseritur quo nothus instruitur.  
 Nostri<sup>u</sup> reptabant præruptaque<sup>2</sup> saxa probabant  
 Crebro saltabant, sæpius<sup>3</sup> ergo labant  
 Dum descenderunt, jumenta petris perierunt;  
 Qui bene sciverunt multa fuisse ferunt.  
 Tandem valle freti cœnam sumpsere quieti,  
 Umbram<sup>v</sup> dumeti consulere peti.  
 Fecit bruma trucem noctem, cernunt<sup>w</sup> ubi lucem  
 Format quisque crucem fronte sequendo ducem.  
<sup>x</sup> Transalpinabant, iterum tandem superabant,  
 Vallem<sup>y</sup> calcabant, dorsa jugisque<sup>4</sup> dabant.  
<sup>z</sup> Portum verrinum sic intravere<sup>5</sup> marinum,  
 Cives ad dominum displicuere sinum.<sup>6</sup>  
<sup>a</sup> Illic sudore cessante cibo meliore,  
<sup>b</sup> Pro provisore fit brevis hora moræ.
- <sup>r</sup> Id est, intrare regnum Castellæ per aliam viam, quia montium itinera bastardi obstruxerant.  
<sup>s</sup> Quia ibi est libera copia omnium victualium.  
<sup>t</sup> Sinister.  
<sup>u</sup> Ascendendo montes.  
<sup>v</sup> Requieverunt in parva silva.  
<sup>w</sup> Summo mane.  
<sup>x</sup> Iterum alium montem ascenderunt.  
<sup>y</sup> Descenderunt de montibus.  
<sup>z</sup> Vocatur Le Groyne; est in mare ut rostrum porci, ubi intraverunt terram.  
<sup>a</sup> Et sic aliquantulum ibi post multam penuriam victualium recreati sunt.  
<sup>b</sup> Prima non sufficebat.

<sup>1</sup> Sic, Rawl.<sup>2</sup> promptaque, Digb.<sup>3</sup> crebrius, Rawl.<sup>4</sup> magisque, Rawl.<sup>5</sup> intuere, Rawl.<sup>6</sup> suum, Rawl.

Martius exhibat, et mensis Aprilis inibat,  
 Princeps <sup>c</sup>transibat, vix caro <sup>1</sup>castra cibat.  
 Castris metatis nostris in agris Navaratis,  
 Fertur <sup>d</sup>prælati <sup>e</sup>litera læta satis.  
 Narrat enim <sup>f</sup>Nazore fluvii ripa propiore,  
<sup>g</sup>Belligero more, spuria castra fore.  
 Offert protegere sua castra, <sup>2</sup>locumque placere,  
 Quem volet eligere lanx utriusque mere.  
<sup>h</sup>Dux ut id <sup>3</sup>audierat, acies quem sua præerat  
 Ad bellum properat, is suus ardor <sup>4</sup>erat  
 Princeps festinat, dorso ducis agmina minat,  
 Semper vicinat, ne procul esse sinat.  
<sup>i</sup>Caudæ quæstores succedunt posteriores,  
 Dorsi tutores <sup>j</sup>scorpio ne qua <sup>5</sup>vores.  
 Hinc pansis alis acies volat imperialis,  
 Oro Deum talis turma sit absque malis.  
 Venerat Aprilis lux tertia, quando fabrilis <sup>6</sup>  
 Cos acuit <sup>7</sup>pilis pila stilosque stilis.

<sup>c</sup> Primo die Aprilis.

<sup>d</sup> i. melioribus.

<sup>e</sup> Secunda bastardi.

Tenor erat literæ, quod paratus erat in tali loco ad bellum. Rogat etiam principem quod mitteret duos milites in castra sua, et illi duo cum duobus militibus de suis eligerent locum certaminis pro utraque parte; sed hoc feriebat ut tali tractatu tempus belli differret, et fame nostros perderet inedia dilatione; sed cognita fraude, nostri noluerunt respondere nisi peremptorie.

<sup>f</sup> Nomen fluvii.

<sup>g</sup> Bastardi parati ad bellum.

<sup>h</sup> Lancastriæ.

<sup>i</sup> Rex Majoricarum et comes Herminacensis cum postrema acie.

<sup>j</sup> Id est, aliquis adversarius.

<sup>1</sup> *faba*, Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> *cuncta*, Rawl.

<sup>3</sup> *hoc*, Rawl.

<sup>4</sup> *ignis*, Rawl.

<sup>5</sup> *ne Sathan ulla*, Rawl.

<sup>6</sup> *cum fera vilis*, Rawl.

<sup>7</sup> *opposuit*, Rawl.

\* \* \* \* \*

Cum fera vilis opposuit pilis.<sup>1</sup>  
 Missis auditis nostris sacrisque potitis,  
 Omnibus unitis pugna stat una sitis.  
 Sacra sacerdotum sumpsisse gregem scio totum,  
 Omnibus est notum<sup>2</sup> posse tenere<sup>3</sup> nothum.  
 Princeps affatur fratrem, pensare precatur  
 Quæ res tractatur, quam sacra pugna datur.  
 Addit et, "O frater, moneat nos morbida mater,  
 "Victor terve quater rex magis ipse pater.  
 "Nati credamur, ne degeneres habeamur;<sup>4</sup>  
 "Si captivamur, fabula longa damur.  
 "Juro malo mori quam subdere colla minori  
 "Huic intrusori tam sine lege tori.<sup>5</sup>  
 "Immo trucidemur, calidi zelo capiemur,  
 "Sancti dicemur morte sacrasse femur.  
 "Ridebunt Scoti, Franci, Dani, modo Gothi,  
 "Si fugimus moti jure timore nothi;  
 "Ergo verborum finem favendo meorum,  
 "Mente tene quorum stirps es habesque forum.  
 "Stirps invictorum patrum memor esto tuorum,  
 "Cui Lancastrorum dux dedit ipse torum.  
 "Frater amans, dico tibi, sicut amicus amico,  
 "Non quod eges aliquo dogmate cote frico;  
 "Sed sic me doceo per fratrem, deque trophæo  
 "Certam spem teneo, te duce, dante Deo.  
 "Prosper procede tua cuncta, Deo rogo crede;  
 "Oscula concede, postea perge pede."  
 Post hæc verba precum dux castra trahit sua secum,  
 Usque videat mœchum nemo relinquit equum.  
 Descendunt ab equis nostri consensibus æquis,  
 Sed properet ne quis dux prohibere nequis.

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<sup>1</sup> The hexameter which ought to precede this line is lost; neither line is found in MS. Rawl.

<sup>2</sup> *notum*, omitted in Digby.

<sup>3</sup> *ligare*, Rawl.

<sup>4</sup> *videamur*, Rawl.

<sup>5</sup> The Rawlinson MS. ends here.

Omnes hastati dextris, lævis clypeati,  
 Pergunt ferrati corpore, corde rati.  
 Tota phalanx graditur, levis armatura salitur,  
 Arcus negligitur, nec jaculum jacitur.  
 Jam tuba proloquitur, hastis certamen initur,  
 Punctim percutitur, seria res geritur.  
 Victima bellorum cecidit baro Ferrariorum,  
 Dignus cœlorum martyr inire chorum.  
 Collegæ saliunt, feriores vulnere fiunt,  
 Carnificem feriunt quem temerasse sciunt.  
 Dux etiam stridet, accurrit ut ipse trucidet,  
 Sed stans subridet dum cecidissee videt.  
 Hortatur cuneos, ostendit agros Nazoræos,  
 Ac Rotholandæos affore narrat eos.  
 Cum quidem conspicitur miles, minor hoste præitur,  
 Hostis corripitur, et suus eripitur.  
 A duce sic agitur quotiens vel tiro feritur,  
 Vel cruor egeritur, plagave consuitur.  
 Hostem sæpe ferit, cuneos irrumpere quærit,  
 Ictum nemo gerit quin moriendo perit.  
 Paucos exegit Anglos, et in agmina fregit,  
 Scuto colla tegit, ac iter ante legit.  
 Obstantes dejicit, trajicit, truncat, maledicit;  
 Quis gladius sibi sit, altera pars ibi scit.  
 Ut tigris incedit, fortes terit, agmina cædit;  
 Semper procedit fortior itve redit.  
 Fulminat in spata, resecatque secure levata,  
 Millia truncata membra per arvaque sata.  
 Cum fremit in framea, fit ea satis ampla platea;  
 Nulla venit galea quin quatiatur ea.  
 Nunc salit in denos dux hostes, nunc duodenos,  
 In cuneos plenos ingerit ense threnos.  
 Jam scit pugnare, stabili pede pergere, stare,  
 Ictus ferre, dare, scitve solumve mare.  
 Hostes qui juverat non Portugalia deerat;  
 Regulus affuerat, religiosus erat.  
 Custos calceti venit, tutorque Toleti,  
 Falce ferire læti, dignus uterque meti.



Arma, cibos, cives mandavit Cordiba dives,  
Quos vita prives, Christe, pluendo nives.  
Ex Abulæ stabulo plebs venit equo, pede, mulo,  
Perjuro populo se socians patulo.  
Multos Cartago misit quos monstrat imago,  
Natos de pago Simone patreque mago.  
Ex Arragonia præfectus cum politia  
Venit et Hesperia tota patente via.  
Ac Tripolitani, Libyes, Mauri, Gaditani,  
Sensus insani, quos simulabo cani.  
Terræ pontifices inter lixas, meretrices,  
Martis ibi replices instituisse vices.  
Francorum fures aderant, ne nomina cures,  
Ac alii plures, Teutonici ligures.  
Omnes latrones numerantur sex legiones,  
In tot glutones fulgura, Christe, tones.  
Strages prædira fit in hos omnes ducis ira,  
Tot dat vi mira mortis amara pyra.  
Exemplum promo, perit Adam perpete pomo  
De quacunque domo venerit omnis homo.  
Sic pro peccato bastardi millia fato  
Sunt data, prostrato corpore jure sato.  
Angelus est Domini dux in gladio cherubini,  
Vos Edwardini, si reminiscimini.  
Nulli parcatis, bastardos ejiciatis,  
Si comprehendatis ponite vincla satis.  
Nam nothus exilio reus est, dux fulmine dio  
Urget ejus gladio flammigerante scio.  
Si Sarazenus occurrat, Numida, Pœnus,  
Dux fidit oretenus, oderat omne genus.  
Per plures Pœnos, ceses illic pice plenos,  
Mauros millenos, commemorant bene nos.  
Multos erroneos male credentes, ut Hebræos,  
Dux videt inter eos, et necat ense reos.  
Multos Judæos venisse nothis Nathinæos,  
Monstrat Amorræos hos coluisse deos.  
Omni parte fremit in eos, et ad infera demit,  
Non clamore tremit, dum pede colla premit.

Irruit, occidit, ad humum vexilla relidit,  
 Dixit qui vidit arma virumque fidit.  
 Dux post signiferos super agmina cuncta proceros,  
 Inter scutiferos plebis et inter heros.  
 Præter vulgares illic ceses populares,  
 Quos si summares, sunt et arena pares.  
 Hoc affirmaris, quod erat strages popularis,  
 In campis claris, sicut arena maris.  
 Supra prostratum vulgus populumque necatum,  
 Horum magnatum perdidit ense statum.  
 Dux hos dejecit præfectos, et patefecit  
 Anglica gens quæ sit, quas alapas dare scit.  
 Petrus rex Scoticus ducis ense cadebat iniquus,  
 Tardus adest medicus Persa, Medusve, Licus.  
 Petrus juratus pariter perit excerebratus,  
 Spiritus efflatus est ad Avena datus.  
 Vaccensis Carolus cecidit sine vulnere solus,  
 Ore vomebat olus, hoc dabat ille dolus.  
 Et Jacobus Caroli valefecit hinc ibi soli;  
 Flere virum noli, qui spernit astra poli.  
 Inter turmarum præfectos Rodo Rosarum  
 Ostendit clarum se valuisse parum.  
 Plures occisi periere patres ibi visi,  
 Quosdam præmisi mentiar ista nisi.  
 Sub duce prostrati pendere patres memorati,  
 Saltem prælati succubere crati.  
 Jam stratilates ducis ob multas probitates  
 Promeriti grates ista fuere crates.  
 Clara cohors petere tibi palmam gentis Iberæ,  
 Justo Christofere tu tua bella gere.  
 Millia non plena duo dilacerant in arena,  
 Plena quater dena millia terrigena.  
 Per populum totum dux se faciens ita notum,  
 Cogit ut ægrotum quemlibet ire nothum.  
 Millies in votis cupiit configere totis  
 Viribus ignotis cum tribus ille. nothis.  
 Porro nothi pavitant, configere cum duce vitant,  
 Per turmas equitant, vota precesque beant.

Se retrahunt ab eo quasi muscæ de scarabæo,  
Ense tot et clypeo .....nterit iste leo.  
Omnem tironem jurares esse leonem,  
Si sacra gesta tonem, si nisi nota sonem ;  
Omnes lictores, majores sive minores,  
Agri messorum si prope monte fores ;  
Omnes Angligenas velut athletas per habenas,  
.Per vires plenas hostis arare genas.  
Inter quæstores, Chaundos, præeundo refflores,  
Cum tot agri flores ense metendo vores.  
De Cosyngtona, prætor pretiose, corona  
Ut sacra persona jam potiere bona.  
Calverlensis Hugo, te nulla retraxit ærugo,  
Nullaque ferrugo, liber es absque jugo.  
Omnes prætores furiunt aquilis feriores,  
Jam prope victores, nam properant eo res.  
Propter nostrates, Deus, exsolvo tibi grates,  
Nostros magnates semper amasse pates.  
Laudum materia tibi surgit, sancta Maria,  
Sors stat adhuc varia, perfice cœpta pia.  
O Petre, propria lege pro Christi prælia lege,  
Proque Petro rege prælia nostra rege.  
Omnibus in Roma sanctis sonet istud acroma,  
Spuria castra doma, Cantuarita Thoma.  
Rex Edwarde sacer, pro gente tua pugil acer,  
Funde preces alacer, jam miserande macer.  
Sancta Frideswitha, soror in cœlo stabilita,  
Anglorum capita cerne cruore lita.  
Cælum stellosum, defende ducem generosum,  
Ob scutum rosum corde pavens ego sum.  
Corduba quem misit satrapam dux stando revisit,  
Hæc ait et risit, "Hic clypeus mihi sit."  
Truncat pollutum, trahit, et vellit sibi scutum,  
Suppeditans mutum sicuti molle lutum.  
Colla novo scuto tegit, regimine tuto ;  
Si veniat gluto, stabit ut ante puto.  
Hastam vesanus vibrat quidam Lusitanus,  
Sic jaciens vanus, deficiens ut anus.

Hastam quippe jacit cum sollicitudine qua scit,  
 Trans lentas it, nec plura mala facit.  
 Sentit ut ad linum dux hoc ferrum peregrinum,  
 Mittens ad Dominum, mandat inire sinum.  
 Illa redit sceleri lapsu vix apta videri,  
 Pertransit miseri missile corpus heri.  
 Immo stupenda vi penetrat præcordia pravi,  
 Transilit ignavi fulmine corda gravi.  
 Lancea post equitem perimit quendam Tripolitem,  
 Quem stantem peditem stridula sternit item.  
 Neutrum salvabant sua scuta nec arma juvabant,  
 Quin sicut stabant dorsa supina dabant.  
 Plura paravit ibi dux magnus congrua scribi;  
 Lector, trado tibi talia bella bibi.  
 Clausus ab Hispanis dux noster sæpe profanis  
 Stabat, ut immanis pardus ad ora canis;  
 Sic dux vallatus, capiendus sæpe putatus,  
 Ferro salvatus exit ad omne latus.  
 Hunc premit umbone, petit illum cum pugione,  
 Multos mucrone, grandia cete Jonæ.  
 "Dux ego sum," clamat, prædicta promptissimus hamat,  
 Stultos diffamat, nolle quod omnis amat.  
 Si sibi signata stetit ulla cohors tribulata,  
 Advolat in spata discere damna data.  
 Ipsius affatu reparatur, agitque ducatu  
 Plurima narratu digna ducisque statu.  
 Hostibus impuris jam prædicat Anglia securis,  
 In galeis duris miles ubique furis.  
 Ingens fit cædes, quam vix si dixero credes,  
 Tot super incedes brachia, crura, pedes.  
 Hispani nutant, vitam cum sanguine sputant,  
 Podismus mutant, damna valere putant.  
 Se constipabant, latus ad latus associabant,  
 Tam se densabant, quod neque morte labant.  
 Hinc post mucrones nostri rapiunt pugiones;  
 Dux, in prædones ora ferire mones.  
 Anglus ab hac hora ferit in frontes et in ora,  
 Ut lupus in pecora; mors venit absque mora.

Ora, genas, oculos, nostri fodiendo genulos,  
 Interimunt populos inter agri tribulos.  
 Dux inter primos erat illic, esse cui mos,  
 Post illegitimos oppetit ense minimos.  
 Per medios cuneos quærit post tres Phoroneos,  
 Ad pœnam piceos si daret alpha theos.  
 Respicit in clypeos satraparum, si basileos  
 Inter sanguineos forte videret eos.  
 Dum sic pugnaret dux, et prope palma sonaret,  
 Princeps apparet ac pietate caret.  
 Hostes aggreditur, jam senior aspide scitur,  
 Qui prius aspicitur, agnus ubi loquitur.  
 Anglos instigat, Hispanos vero fatigat,  
 Fundit, fustigat, ac capiendo ligat.  
 Lumina dum præfert, ad fratrem quomodo se fert,

\* \* \* \* \*

Ex hoc innumeri passim perimuntur Iberi,  
 Conspiceres cineri millia multa teri.  
 Multos mortales cæsos, captos, capitales;  
 Sudores tales, dux, agitando cales.  
 Tali sudore palmæ potieris honore;  
 Autumni more prælia credo fore.  
 Mittis in has segetes falcem, monet ecce cometes;  
 Palmam fine metes, præmia sero petes.  
 Laurum nemo legit nisi qui bene bella peregit;  
 Laudes meta tegit, omnia cauda regit.  
 Instes ergo precor, vadas in humum vel in æquor,  
 Dum gero pectore cor, te poliando sequor.  
 Dux satis afflatus salit in turmas galeatus,  
 Instat ut iratus muribus ipse catus.  
 Fortes affligit, ferit, et trans pectora figit,  
 Ad terram redigit si modicum tetigit.  
 Multa cadunt capita truncata secure polita,  
 Privatur vita Barbarus atque Scythæ.  
 Talia cum fierent, et ad Anglos cuncta faverent,  
 Hispani mœrent, nam cito fræna ferent.  
 Veloces veteres, equites veteres, dixere quirites,  
 Hos in equis velites, jam sua gesta cites.



Quingenti tales se constituere sodales,  
 Currus nostrales perdere resque sales.  
 Illis opponis te, Calverlensis Hugonis  
 Virtus mucronis ictibus apta bonis.  
 Præstas ense trucid pulsi statuere caducis,  
 Telis, sol, tu scis dorsa ferire ducis.  
 Turma sagittifera volat obvia cum nive vera,  
 Turba fugit temera, peste pluyente fera.  
 Dum velites fugiunt, et ubique cadavera fiunt,  
 Jam quo res abeunt spuria corda sciunt.  
 Abvolat Henricus, Tilo frater adhæret amicus,  
 Totus mœstificus huic populus reliquus.  
 Dux celer insequitur, jam cædes plebis oritur,  
 Creber homo moritur, creber homo capitur.  
 Vix locus in rure caruit cubito, pede, crure,  
 De Franco fure, Teutone vel ligure.  
 Loricis laceris, ruptis, galeisve galeris,  
 Mars, omnis generis arma per arva seris.  
 Per sata, per prata discurrunt agmina lata ;  
 Est fuga temptata palma meisque data.  
 Sunt Hispanorum sex millia cæsa virorum,  
 Præter mersorum quem tulit unda chorum.  
 Propter tot spolia tibi proprie sonet melodia,  
 Nam sunt indubia millia capta tria.  
 Summa ducentorum sit Francorum dominorum  
 Illic captorum, narro virumque sporum.  
 Ac colibertorum rostrum fuit unus eorum,  
 Cleykyn, et illorum qui repulere chorum.  
 Sanccius exorat, laxari vincla laborat,  
 Petri laborat se temerasse Chorath.  
 Henrici soboles, Alfonse, tenerrima proles,  
 Dicere magna soles, jam tua dicta doles.  
 Magni prælati Jacobique Johannis amati,  
 Flagra catenati dorsa dedere pati.  
 Custos militiæ Christi, baro Caletropiæ,  
 Captus in hac acie nocte flet acta die.  
 Sanius indubie servasset claustra Mariæ,  
 Quam sic justitiæ fræna parasse viæ.

Scripsi captivos, et quos novi fugitivos,  
 Rumor plus divos exposuit mihi vos.  
 Jam patris in sede resides, Petre, non sine cæde,  
 Justitiæ cede, sic sine fine sede.  
 Princeps ecce redit, sua dux ad agenda recedit;  
 Terra tibi credit, sceptrâ fidemque dedit.  
 Quadra virtute pro te populi que salute,  
 Regnabis tute, nil trepidante cute.  
 Omnes tres domini, valeatis, opus dabo fini,  
 Si male quid cecini lector id ore lini.  
 Henricus pone properat, cum fratre Tilone,  
 Ad te, patrone publice, papa bone.  
 Te sanctum flamen justî jubet esse juvamen,  
 Petri tutamen, Petre, precamur. Amen.

Metra malas grates fero pro vobis ego vates,  
 Inter primates sic modo, musa, scates.  
 Laudes sperabam, seu præmia danda putabam;  
 Frustra sudabam, vos metra quando dabam.  
 Sed margarita nunquam fuit ulla cupita,  
 Porco plus placita stercora dentur ita.  
 Ergo, libelle, vale; nomen cape non libro quale  
 Munerat igne male te cocus absque sale.

*Explicit bellum Nasorense gestum, et sic digestum,  
 anno Domini M<sup>mo</sup>ccc<sup>mo</sup>lxxj<sup>o</sup>, habens versus quin-  
 gentos sexaginta, per W. Burgensem.*

JOHN OF BRIDLINGTON.<sup>1</sup>

Venerabili domino et mira magnitudine extollendo, temporali prædito potestate, scrutinio etiam excellenti, Humfredo de Bohun, comiti Herefordiæ, Essexiæ, Norhamtoniæ, et constabulario Angliæ, et domino, de Breighnok, Dei gratia humilitatis servus, si super consequentiæ notam caput miserationis velitis adjungere, nomen obscurum et obsequium salutare. Cum vestrum, domine, intel-

<sup>1</sup> The following very curious piece is a political retrospect of the reign of Edward III., compiled in a form which is by no means unknown in modern literature, namely, that of a supposed old text and of a recent commentary. It is here printed from MS. Cotton. Domitian ix., fol. 17, r<sup>o</sup>, compared with MS. Reg. 8, C. xvii., both in a handwriting of the latter half of the fourteenth century. In the former it is given anonymously, but in the other, as well as in a copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Digby, No. 89, the text is said to be the prophecy of John of Bridlington, and in the Digby MS. the commentary is ascribed, in a hand only of the sixteenth century, to John Ergome. The old bibliographers suppose the author of the prophecy to have been John, prior of Bridlington, who died early in the reign of Richard II., which, however, is very improbable; and it is much more likely that the prophet, John of Bridlington, is a mere invention. He is said in the beginning of the commentary here printed to have been a *canonicus*, but in a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, No. 1804, fol. 42, v<sup>o</sup>, he is called *laicus*, a layman. It is hardly necessary to remark that the text of the prophecy must have been written at the same date as the commentary,

and that they are evidently by the same writer. The text of the pretended prophecies of John of Bridlington is, however, of rather common occurrence in manuscripts, sometimes with the name, and at others anonymously, so that it had evidently become very popular. It is quoted by the writers of the fifteenth century. As will be seen above, in the beginning of the commentary, the author states that he has concealed his name, and tells us his reasons for this concealment, and it is only in the Bodleian MS. just referred to that we are told that it was Ergome. Who he was is not very clear, for he cannot have been, as stated by the old biographers, the John Erghom, a friar of York, who flourished in the year 1490. See Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, p. 263. The date of this political tract is, indeed, fixed within sufficiently narrow limits, for the Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and constable of England, to whom it is dedicated, succeeded to the title and honours in 1361, and died in 1372, in his thirty-second year. As the third book of the so-called prophecy and its commentary relates entirely to events which took place, or which the writer imagined would take place, subsequently to the first of these years, it is probable that it was written towards the year 1370.

lectum ad subtilitates quasdam video declinare, cupiens secundum meam scientiam vestrum quietare appetitum, hæc scripta et annotationes super versus prophetiales in honore vestri a me collectas vestræ reverentiæ destinare celeriter non omisi, nomen quoque meum, quod triplici de causa inferius notanda exprimere non audebam vestro intellectui, sub salutationis stylo est insertum. Verebar namque linguas invidorum et dominorum timui potestates, discretorum etiam cognovi indignationem, i. qui contra juvenem insurgerent talia interpretantem. Quapropter subfugiendo ne opus propter auctorem eclipsim patiatur, sub silentio nominis mei a triplici me occultavi inimico. Ut evidentius, domine, intelligantur quæ prætendo, non audeo opponere aperte nomen meum in epistola hac vobis destinata, primo propter linguas invidorum, secundum propter potestates dominorum, et tertio propter indignationem sapientum et discretorum; quia invidi auctorem detraherent, et domini propter aliqua mala de eis inscripta odirent, discreti etiam suo ingenio confidentes totum opus tanquam fatuum deriderent. Sed vestræ, domine, voluntati confidens et benevolentia, quod merui super literam prophetiæ imaginando conjectuari vestro dignemini occultare solatio, alienis dentibus corrosioni non tradendum, quia laudem non quæro ulteriorem, si vestræ placeat voluntati. Valete in futurorum cognitione, ut a superveniente pressura in domino consequamini effectum salutarem.

*Incipiunt tria præambula ante expositionem literæ intra.*

Comes reverende et domine mihi perpetuis temporibus venerande, ad evidentiam hujus prophetiæ quam ob reverentiam vestram suscepi declarandum, tria sunt præambula præmittenda, in quibus plura patebunt ad hujus prophetiæ expositionem requisita. In primo præambulo, quatuor causas hujus prophetiæ declarabo. In secundo, modos occultandi prophetiæ reserabo. In tertio, divisionem libri totalem ordinabo. Circa primum præambulum, in quo declarabo quatuor causas hujus prophetiæ, sunt iiij<sup>or</sup> notabilia pertractanda. Primum notabile est circa causam materialem hujus prophetiæ, pro quo est notandum quod accidentia a principio hujus prophetiæ usque ad ejus finem concernentia regnum Angliæ sunt materia hujus prophetiæ, quæ accidentia in quatuor principaliter consistunt. Primo in accidentibus bellorum, scilicet a quibus fient, et quando fient, et in quo loco, et ad quem finem devenient talia bella. Secundo, in accidentibus mores regni, sicut de eorum justitia, audacia, luxuria, avaritia, et cæteris hujusmodi vitiis vel virtutibus. Tertio, in accidentibus quæ concernunt mores dominorum et consiliariorum regis et totius populi. Quarto, de accidentibus quæ conveniunt



populo in communi, sicut mutatio vestium, mutatio monetæ, pestilentia, et fames, et cætera hujusmodi, quæ omnia patebunt clare in expositione prophetiæ loco competenti. Secundum notabile est circa causam formalem hujus libri; pro quo est notandum quod modus procedendi, auctor est forma hujus libri qui in tribus consistit. Primo in modo scribendi, qui est metricus, videlicet in versu, et non in prosa, propter triplicem causam quam super prologum assignabo. Secundo in modo intelligendi, qui est obscurus et prophetialis, quia dat alia intelligere quam termini secundum communem usum loquenti significant. Tertio in modo ordinandi partes hujus prophetiæ, quia ordinat partes secundum ordinem gestorum quæ facta sunt et fiendorum quæ futura sunt, sicut declarabitur in tertio præambulo et in processu expositionis. Tertium notabile est circa causam efficientem, scilicet, quis fuit auctor et compositor hujus prophetiæ, pro quo est sciendum, quod principalis auctor fuit Spiritus Sanctus, qui inspiravit omnia secundum ordinem, sicut sunt scripta a secundario auctore, videlicet a canonico regulari secundum communem opinionem vulgi, qui febribus infirmatus istum librum composuit, sicut in prologo declarabitur. Quartum notabile est circa causam finalem, pro quo est notandum quod finis rei est id propter quod aliqua res fit, vel propter quod illa res est appetenda, pro quo est notandum quod scientia hujus prophetiæ propter tria est appetenda, ad quæ omnes fines sunt deducendi. Primo est appetenda, propter utile vel utilitatem quæ potest sequi ex cognitione hujus prophetiæ, pro quo est notandum quod ille qui cognoscit istam prophetiam a periculis imminetibus potest se custodire quando ignorantes præoccupati gravabuntur. Secundo, potest præmunire amicos a periculis imminetibus, ut se custodiant. Tertio potest sibi ordinare ut sit particeps in bonis quæ hic notantur futura, et etiam amici sui per consilium suum. Secundo cognitio istius prophetiæ est appetenda propter dilectionem quam cognoscens ex scientia consequetur. Primo quod sciet aliqua dicere quæ sui compares nesciunt. Secundo, quia sciet per consimilem modum reserare alias prophetias quando sibi adducentur. Tertio, multum delectabitur in Domino quando videt eum tantum curare de vita nostra quod occulta sua velit hominibus reserare, ut de futuris periculis possint præcavere. Tertio, ista prophetia est appetenda propter honestum quod sequetur scientiam ejus; valde enim honestum est dominis et viris generosis qui habent ingenium bonum circa talia occupari quæ non proveniunt ad cognitionem vulgi, et ideo a populo reputabuntur ingeniosi et habiles ad regimen, unde laudem sibi adquirent et favorem populi et timorem, quæ dominis maxime conveniunt. Et sic patent quatuor causæ hujus prophetiæ, scilicet causa materialis, causa formalis, causa efficiens, et causa finalis; et primum præambulum sic finitur.



*Sequitur præambulum secundum.*

Circa secundum præambulum, in quo reserabo modos occultandi hujus prophetiæ, est notandum quod occultatio ejus in decem principaliter consistit. Prima occultatio est in extranea nominatione propter aliquam convenientiam nominati cum illa re cui nomen proprie convenit; verbi gratia, rex Angliæ nominatur *taurus*, rex Franciæ *gallus*, et rex Scotiæ *cancer*, et hoc propter certas convenientias in quibus concordant cum animalibus habentibus talia nomina. Secunda occultatio est in accidentali designatione propter aliquod accidens competens alicui in moribus vel dispositione corporali, vel ex nomine vel cognomine, vel ex armis sibi convenientibus. Exemplum in moribus: aliquis designatur per blesum propter pulchra verba et fasta quibus utitur. Exemplum in dispositione corporali: aliquis dicitur genitalia læsus, propter infirmitatem seu læsuram quam sustinet in genitalibus suis. Exemplum in nomine vel cognomine: Willelmus la Zouche et Percy designantur per *suspikor* et *penetrans* in isto versu:

“Suspikor et clerus penetrans cognomine verus.”

Exemplum de armis: per glaucos leones designatur comes Herefordiæ, quos portat in armis suis in versu:

“Currunt multones fulvi glaucique leones.”

Et similiter rex Scotiæ per unum leonem aliquando designatur, quia tantum unum portat in scuto suo, in versu:

“Sternet equos ligni, medio latitat leo signi.”

Tertia occultatio consistit in aperta æquivocatione, quando aliquod nomen ponitur ad supponendum pro pluribus et ignoratur pro quo supponit; sicut iste terminus *cancer* ponitur ad significandum piscem maris, signum cœli, et regem Scotiæ, sicut clare patebit in processu. Quarta occultatio consistit in transumptiva locutione; verbi gratia, vocat naves equos ligni, quia deferunt homines in mari sicut equi in terra. Similiter vocat funes et cordas, qui retinent naves in portu, lora canabi, quia retinent naves sicut lora retinent equos, ut infra patebit. Quinta occultatio consistit in numerorum designatione propter aliquas literas numerum significantes in aliqua dictione positas; verbi gratia in isto versu:

“Milvi cædentur, cuculi silvis capientur.”

Intelligit quod tot occidentur quot significantur in isto termino *milvi*, i. mille lvij., et tot capientur in silvis quot signantur in isto termino *cuculi*, scilicet, cc.lxj. Similiter in isto versu:

“Milvi sex lustra, cuculi vim non cape frustra.”

Et in multis aliis locis ista occultatio invenitur, sicut infra patebit. Sexta occultatio consistit in dictionum expositione quando ex dictione vel dictionibus expositis aliquod nomen constituitur, quod in eis secundum communem modum loquendi non intelligitur; verbi gratia, per expositionem istorum terminorum, *terra vada*, signatur hoc nomen, Herthford; similiter per expositionem istorum terminorum *carus vicus*, signatur istud nomen, Derby; et sic de multis aliis. Septima occultatio consistit in nominis diversa acceptatione; nam aliquando tenetur materialiter, aliquando significative, sicut in isto versu:

“ Si quis habet taurum, caput amputat, inde fit aurum.”

Ibi iste terminus, *taurum*, non accipitur pro animali, sed tantum pro isto termino, *aurum*, quasi diceret deponere primam literam hujus dictionis, *taurum*, et remanet tunc ista dictio, *aurum*. Et ista occultatione multotiens utitur in ista prophetia. Octava occultatio consistit in dictionum divisione. Ponit enim aliquas syllabas unius dictionis primo, postea ponit aliam dictionem inter illas syllabas et alias syllabas ejusdem dictionis; verbi gratia, in isto versu:

“ Cantu cantabit ariæ plebs et jubilabit.”

Vult dicere quod plebs Cantuariæ cantabit et jubilabit, et tamen iste terminus, cantabit, mediat inter istas syllabas, cantu et ariæ. Et isto modo pluries utitur in ista prophetia. Nona occultatio consistit in ambigua locutione, quando una propositio æquivoca potest habere duplicem expositionem vel triplicem, et hoc contingit multis modis stante eadem significatione terminorum, sicut infra clare patebit. Decima occultatio consistit in syllabica positione; ponit enim aliquando unam syllabam ad designandum unum nomen; ut ibi:

“ Ca. cadet in portis, ca. confundetur in ortis.”

i. civitas Caan. Similiter ibi, Pa. pariet pacem, etc., i. Papa faciet pacem. Similiter ibi, Phi. falsus fugiet, i. Philippus rex Franciæ fugiet. Et in multis aliis locis ista occultatio invenitur. Et sic finitur istud secundum præambulum in reseratione occultationum hujus prophetiæ.

*Sequitur iiij<sup>m</sup> præambulum.*

Circa tertium præambulum, in quo ordinata est divisio totius libri, est notandum quod ista prophetia primo dividitur in tres distinctiones, secundum quod auctor iste tres pausationes facit et excusationes de infirmitate capitis sui; unde credo quod tribus

diversis temporibus ista prophetia auctori fuit revelata seu ostensa. Prima distinctio continet accidentia Angliæ a principio hujus prophetiæ pro tempore regis E. de Carnarvan usque ad præparationem belli de Crecy, commissi anno Christo M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>mo</sup>xlvj<sup>to</sup>. Secunda distinctio continet accidentia Angliæ ab anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>mo</sup>xlvj<sup>to</sup> usque ad secundam mortalitatem factam anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>mo</sup>lxj<sup>o</sup>. Tertia distinctio continet accidentia Angliæ ab anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>mo</sup>lxj<sup>o</sup> usque ad finem prophetiæ. Notandum etiam quod quælibet istarum trium distinctionum habet capitula in principio sui designata propter facultatem inveniendi quæ inspector videre desiderat in ista prophetia. Unde prima distinctio continet vij. capitula.

Capitulum primum continet proemium, in quo ostenditur quomodo auctor dispositus recepit prophetiam, et qualiter est exponenda.

Capitulum secundum determinat mores regis E. de Carnarvan et accidentia regni Angliæ usque ad mortem ejus.

Capitulum iiij<sup>m</sup> docet mores regis E. de Wyndesore et accidentia regni tempore juventutis suæ.

Capitulum iiij<sup>m</sup> ostendit accidentia inter regnum Angliæ et Scotiæ illo tempore usque ad inceptionem guerræ de Francia.

Capitulum v<sup>m</sup> declarat quæ acciderunt inter regnum Angliæ et Franciæ priusquam rex Angliæ transivit mare contra Gallicos.

Capitulum vj<sup>m</sup> determinat de bellis et de dispositione bellorum contra Gallicos usque ad primam pacem.

Capitulum vij<sup>m</sup> continet pacem inter Anglicos et Gallicos et cætera accidentia usque ad præparationem belli de Crecy.

*Capitulum j<sup>m</sup> continet proemium, in quo ostenditur quomodo auctor dispositus recepit istam prophetiam, et qualiter est exponenda.*

Febribus infectus, requies fuerat mihi lectus,  
Vexatus mente dormivi nocte repente ;  
Noscere futura facta fuerat mihi cura.  
Scribere cum pennis docuit me scriba perennis ;  
Me masticare jussit librumque vorare.  
Intus erat plene scriptus, redolens, et amœne.  
Jussit de bellis me metrificare novellis  
Qui sedet in stellis, dat cui vult carmina mellis.

Si verum scribam, verum crede me fore scribam;  
 Scripsero si vanum, caput est quia non mihi sanum.  
 Non mihi detractes, sed falsa per omnia mactes.  
 Nullus deliro credat pro carmine miro.

*Sequitur expositio istorum versuum.* Istis igitur præambulis præmissis, ad expositionem literæ est procedendum; et primo de prologo, in quo auctor tria docet. Primo, quomodo se habuit ante receptionem prophetiæ in corporali dispositione; pro quo est notandum quod communiter qui vident tales visiones sunt quasi exinaniti per infirmitates corporales, ne caro fortis spiritum repugnet prophetiæ; unde Daniel propheta antequam recepit spiritum prophetiæ se abstinuit a cibis regiis, et legumina comedebat et aquam bibebat. Danielis primo. Et postea meruit esse propheta. Et Johannes evangelista scripsit Apocalypsim in exilio in insula de Patmos, quando sustinuit persecutionem. Apoc. secundo. Et sic de multis fuit prophetis, quos prætereo causa brevitatis, qui post tales infirmitates ponunt se ad requiem, ubi Spiritus Sancti gratia visitantur multotiens, et futurorum recipiunt cognitionem. Et sic dicit de ista prophetia; unde dicit, *febris infectus*, i. infirmatus per febres, *requies fuerat mihi lectus*, in quo me posui ad requiescendum, et *vexatus mente* per infirmitates prædictas, *dormivi nocte repente*, in qua dormitione *facta fuerat mihi cura noscere futura*, i. cognoscere quæ ventura sunt curavi, vel Deus non aliter ordinavit mihi curam et salutem de mea infirmitate nisi ostendendo mihi futura ut ea cognoscerem; et sic patet dispositio corporalis hujus auctoris ante receptionem prophetiæ. Secundo ostendit auctor quomodo recepit prophetiam per perennem scribam cum spirituali instructione, ubi sunt quatuor notabilia. Primum notabile est a quo doctore habuit istam prophetiam, et quomodo illam addidicit, pro quo dicit, *Scriba perennis docuit me*, i. Spiritus Sanctus fuit doctor meus in ista prophetia, ita quod ex me non finxi, nec ab nomine corporali didici, nec a spiritu recepi maligno, quibus modis solet prophetia falsari. Sed Spiritus Sanctus *docuit me scribere*, quasi diceret, Spiritus Sanctus voluit quod ego scriberem istam prophetiam mihi ostensam, et non alius, qui stylum meum vel sermones meos mutaret in scribendo, *cum pennis*, i. scribendo materialiter, sicut faciunt scriptores, vel cum lingua mea, quæ penna est et calamus scribæ prænominati, scilicet Spiritus Sancti, sicut dicit Psalmista: "Lingua mea calamus scribæ velociter scribentis." Secundum notabile est, scire ad quem finem scripsit istam prophetiam, et qualis fuit liber quem scripsit; et ista ostendit clare in litera patenti, et primo ostendit ad quem finem ordinatur, dicens, *Me masticare jussit librumque vorare*, quasi diceret, jussit me disponere sententias prophetiæ



hujus in mente mea, sicut homo disponit per masticationem cibum quem post in alimentum recipiet, et vorare veras sententias cognoscendo, et eas occultare ab hominibus, sicut vorata in ventre a visu occultantur corporali. Secundo quale scriptum erat ostendit, et qualis fuit liber, dicens, *Intus erat plene scriptus*; et dicit *intus scriptus*, eo quod illæ sententiæ tunc tantomodo erant in anima quæ interius est, vel quia illæ sententiæ erant occultæ quæ dicuntur esse intus, quasi in interioribus claudantur, vel ad denotandum quod ista prophetia tantum fuit in occultis quæ perintus notantur, et non ad extra per planam scilicet significationem verborum. Et dicit *intus plene scriptus*, ad denotandum quod anima gratia Spiritus Sancti repleta in nulla parte vacua est, vel quod nullum verbum hujus prophetiæ caret mysterio, sed est plena sentiis; vel ad designandum quod quamvis foris erat scriptum, scilicet in aliquibus locis ad communem intellectum, non fuit plene scriptum foris sicut intus. Et dicit, *Redolens et amœne*, quia talia inspirata per Spiritum Sanctum intellectui humano sunt valde placita et amœna, vel quia ista prophetia fuit valde redolens eam intelligentibus propter mysteria futurorum quæ importat, vel quia ista prophetia, eo quod metricè scribitur, delectationem et amœnitatem facit audientibus. Tertium notabile est, scire de qua materia sit iste liber, et quomodo illa sit interius masticata, et ad communem hominum intellectum devenerunt. Unde pro isto sunt tria primitus notanda. Primo est notandum quod iste terminus metrificare idem significat quod versificare, vel versus facere; unde nota quod duplex est modus scribendi, videlicet metricus, qui numero et pede mensuratur, et prosaicus, qui consistit in plano dictamine, sicut literæ scribuntur et epistolæ. Secundo est notandum quod triplex potest assignari ratio quare iste auctor potius scripsit in metra quam in prosa; prima, quia metra bene retinentur in mente; secunda, quia plurima continent in verbis paucis; tertia, quia multum sunt delectabilia audientibus et placita, unde versus:

“Metra juvant animos, componunt plurima paucis.”

Tertio, notandum est quod in isto versu notantur tres causæ hujus prophetiæ. Primo, causa efficiens, i. *jussit me*, i. Spiritus Sanctus jussit me esse factorem hujus libri; secundo, causa formalis, quando dicit *metrificare*, i. scribere per metrum, quia est forma hujus libri; tertio, causa materialis, qui dicit *de bellis novellis*, de quibus tanquam de causa materiali in isto libro tractatur. Dicit ergo, *jussit me metrificare*, i. scribere per metra seu per versus *de bellis novellis*, futuris in brevi tempore sequenti, ut homines a malis futuris et bellis se pterint custodire. Tertio declarat auctor quomodo ista prophetia est recipienda ab auditore seu exponenda, et pro isto dicto quatuor tradit regulas. Prima



regula est ista, quod si aliqua vera dicta sunt in ista prophetia Spiritui Sancto referendi sunt; unde dicit, *Si verum scribam, verum crede me fore scribam*. Et in hoc vitat arrogantiam, quod sibi non attribuit quod Deo est attribuendum. Secunda regula est, quod si qua vana et falsa scripta sunt, attribuenda sunt scriptori propter capitis insanitatem; unde dicit, *Scripsero si vanum, caput est quia non mihi sanum*. Et hic incurrit humilitatem, quia sibi assumit defectus eos a Deo removendo in quo nulla mala vel imperfecta inveniuntur. Tertia regula est, quod auctor non debet auctorem detrahere nec facta sua, sed potius corrigere vel mala delere; unde dicit, *Non mihi detractes, sed falsa per omnia mactes*. Et ibi excludit præsumptiones auditorum, qui proniores sunt ad detrahendum quam ad laudandum facta aliorum vel corrigendum. Quarta regula est, quod nullus debet eum credere errare, delirare, propter modum mirum scribendi; unde dicit, *Nullus deliro credat pro carmine miro*; ubi sapientum mundi excludit astutias, qui capiunt verba sicut sonant secundum communem expositionem, et sic in proposito non sunt accipienda. Et sic terminatur prologi hujus expositio.

*Capitulum ij. determinat mores regis E. de Carnarvan et accidentia Anglice tempore suo usque ad mortem ejus.*

Rex insensatus est bellis undique stratus;  
 Nobilis est natus, qui dicitur infatuatus.  
 Nam perdet gentem regni pro jure loquentem,  
 Ac optimates nullus reddet sibi grates.  
 Perdet cognatos, pendere sinet veneratos.  
 Rex pietate carens Christo non fit bene parens;  
 Regnans perdetur, quia gentis non miseretur.  
 Mors infecta malis consumet tempora talis;  
 Summus contritum tandem faciet redimitum.  
 Sole sagittante, frigidus Boreæ remeante,  
 Ex hirco taurum gignet redimita per aurum,  
 Ex auris aurum ventis componitur aurum.  
 Exiet et rediet firmatus nomine patris;  
 Ejus et interiet genitor terebratus in atris.  
 Arte suæ matris regnum rapiet sui patris,  
 Funera post fratris quæret regalia matris.

*Sequitur expositio.*—*Rex insensatus.* Hoc capitulum, in quo determinat auctor mores regis E. de Carnarvan et accidentia regni Angliæ in tempore suo, continet quinque dicta; sed ante expositionem istius capituli sunt tria notanda. Primo est notandum quod iste rex E., a quo iste auctor incipit prophetiam suam, natus fuit apud Carnarvan in North-Wallia anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup> octogesimo iii<sup>o</sup>, anno regni patris ejus E. xj<sup>o</sup>, in die Sancti Marci evangelistæ, cujus pater moriebatur anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>.vij<sup>o</sup>, in die translationis Sancti Thomæ, et ipse eodem anno xiiij. kl. Sept. apud Westmonasterium coronabatur in regni successorem. Secundo est notandum quod, sicut apparet, iste auctor scripsit istam prophetiam intra primum annum regni regis E. de Carnarvan et xiiij. annum ejusdem in quo inceperunt bella baronum contra eum pro jure regni tuendo, omnia enim narrat cum verbo de præsentī, ac si facta sint tempore suo usque ad illa bella, et accidentia quæ tunc contingebant et consequenter narrat cum verbo de futuro, tanquam in suo tempore non facta sed fienda, dicens, *Nam perdet gentem*, etc. Tertio est notandum, secundum Randulphum in Policronica sua, quod fuit vir corpore elegans, viribus præstans, sed moribus, si vulgo creditur, multum discrepans, sicut infra patebit. His præmissis sequitur expositio hujus capituli, in quo ostendit auctor primo iii<sup>or</sup> conditiones prædicti regis E. de C. principaliter sibi convenientes. Primam conditionem regis ostendit, dicens, *Rex insensatus*, i. sine scientia et sapientia naturali quibus regnum et seipsum regere debuisset. Et istud bene patet per mores suos, quos Randulphus in sua Policronica sic describit, quod parvipenso procerum contubernio, adhæsit scurris, cantoribus, tragicædis, aurigis, navigiis, et cæteris artis mechanicæ officiis, potibus indulgens, secreta facile prodens, in dando prodigus, in convivando splendidis, ore promptus, opere varius, unde propter istas conditiones merito rex insensatus dicebatur. Secundam conditionem ejus ostendit auctor, dicens, *Est bellis undique stratus*, i. devictus in omni bello quod temptabat. Unde dicitur de eo in Policronica quod fuit contra hostes infortunatus, et in domesticos effrenatus, qui anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>.xiiij<sup>o</sup>, regni sui anno vij<sup>o</sup>, processit cum proceribus regni, excepto Thoma Lancastriæ, ad Scotiam cum pretioso suppellectili pompaticæ, et apud castrum Striveliniæ die Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, confligentes Anglici, imo potius fugientes, tanta ignominia sunt detriti, ut, occisis nobilibus, amissis thesauris, residui projectis armis sola sibi fuga consularent. Dehinc per xij. annos continuos regnante hoc rege Scoti partes Angliæ boreales jugiter prostraverunt, unde propter ista et consimilia dicit auctor de eo quod est *bellis undique stratus*. Tertiam conditionem ostendit auctor de isto rege, dicens quod *nobilis est natus*, i. de genere nobili, patre scilicet rege et matre regina. Et nota quod in isto dicto tollitur error aliquorum qui credebant

eum fuisse filium aurigæ, proper dictum unius fatui tempore suo. Surrexit enim unus fatuus et vendicabat sibi regnum Angliæ, dicens quod fuit primogenitus regis, et ob negligentiam nutricis, dum fuerat in cunabulis, quædam sus intrans delacerabat eum, et nutrix non audens illud manifestare, accepit filium juvenem unius aurigæ, et custodiebat loco ejus, ponens eum in curam aliorum ad nutriendum, et sic fuit ipse privatus regno, et Edwardus assumptus; et ad hujus rei manifestationem ostendebat vestigium vulneris a porca impressi. Etiam dicebat mores regis E. cum moribus progeniti sui concordare, eo quod opera rusticorum nimis diligebat, et propter talia dicta plures sibi adhærebant, et dictis suis credebant, qui tandem tanquam falsus adjudicatus est suspensio Norhamptoniæ. Ad tollendum igitur istam suspicionem et errorem, dicit auctor de isto rege quod *nobilis est natus*. Quartan conditionem hujus regis ostendit, dicens, *qui dicitur infatuatus*. Pro quo est notandum quod ille proprie dicitur infatuatus qui, propter amorem alicujus viri vel mulieris cui adhæret, non curat quid faciat ad eis complacendum; et talem modum habuit iste rex, sicut dicitur in Policronica, quod ad unum aliquem familiarem ardentem adhæsit, quem summe coleret, ditaret, præferret, præ cæteris honoraret, ex quo utique impetu provenit amanti opprobrium, amasio obloquium, plebi scandalum, et regno detrimentum. Unde suis primordiis taliter Petrum de Gavastone dilexerat, cujus consortium Edwardus iste paterno jussu abjuraverat, sed post patris obitum de partibus revocavit transmarinis, cujus contemplatione reginam suam Isabellam neglexit et proceres suos parvipendit. Sed et Petro extincto per magnates regni ob hanc causam, rex ut prius aliis adhæsit, unde per istam conditionem dicebatur *infatuatus*. Secundo ostendit auctor quanta mala fecit iste rex contra gentem et dominos regni jura tueri et custodire volentes; pro quo est notandum quod post mortem prædicti Petri rex adhæsit duobus Dispensatoribus, Hugoni patri et filio ejusdem nominis, quorum consiliis cuncta passim agebat, et multa contra statuta quibus juratus fuerat. Ob hoc Thomas comes Lancastriæ et multi nobiles mutuo sibi confæderati regis vires adeo attenuarunt, quod regis assensu saltem verbotenus adhibito, præfatos milites exilio damnaverunt. Sed cito post hæc ipse rex cæteris inconsultis utrumque revocavit. Exinde crescunt odia et schismata, parantur lites et bella, sed inter hæc duo magnates de Mortuomari, priusquam comes Lancastriæ parari posset perpere agentes, urbes quasdam in Marchia capiunt, regis milites profligunt, donec ipse rex cum inspirata peditum multitudine Salopiam veniret, ubi magnates illi de Mortuomari ad deditionem sunt coacti. Quibus incarcerationis rex ipse ad orientem tendens versus villam de Burtone sub nivibus hyemalibus comitem Lancastriæ cum suis complicitibus mirabiliter dispersit, atque inde

usque ad castrum suum de Pontefracto fugere coegit. Inde comes divertens versus Boream, captus est cum multis nobilibus apud pontem de Burghbrigge, indeque ad castrum suum de Pontefracto adductus, multisque conviciis lacessitus, cum consilio dominorum Dispensatorum decapitatus est, anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>o</sup>xx<sup>o</sup>, et optimates regni qui secum erant sunt distracti et suspensi; et hoc est quod dicit iste auctor quod *perdet gentem pro regni jure loquentem, ac optimates*, dominos regni, *nullus reddet sibi grates* pro illo maleficio, et tunc *perdet cognatos*, scilicet dominum de Clifford et alios, et *pendere sinet veneratos* in illo conflictu captos cum comite. Circa prædicta sunt tria notabilia. Primum notabile quanta mala accidunt regno cujus rex fatuus est et insipiens. Primo enim regnum tempore suo est bellis prostratum et devictum; secundo, loquentes pro jure regni perduntur et occiduntur; tertio, magnates regni et sapientes perduntur, et insipientes ei similes foventur, sicut patet in versibus prædictis. Secundum notabile est quod sapiens et discretus debet ordinari ductor belli, et non fatuus, licet fuerit multum generosus et fortis, quia sub talibus populus communiter prosternitur et devincitur. Tertium notabile, quod sub rege fatuo, vel sub domino insipiente, nullus potest esse securus de vita sua nec de divitiis suis, quia nec loquentes pro jure regni seu communitatis, nec habentes cognationem regiam, nec optimates regni, sicut patet in versibus prædictis. Tertio ostendit auctor quomodo Deus punivit istum regem pro maleficiis suis, dicens, *Rex pietate carens*, quia non habuit pietatem de populo suo, sed posuit eos ad destructionem, *Christo non fit bene parens*, i. non est obediens sive placens Christo. *Regnans perdetur*, i. dum est in regnando talis destruetur, *quia gentis non miseretur*. *Mors infecta malis*, i. mors cum magnis miseriis, *Consumet tempora talis*, i. destruet tempora talis regis; quæ omnia completa sunt cum iste rex, dum adhuc viveret, in regno sustinuit multa opprobria, et tandem miserabiliter occisus est, sicut postea patebit; unde dicit, *Summus faciet redimitum*, i. regem coronatum, *tandem contritum*, i. humiliatum et destructum in regno suo. Sed aliter potest iste versus exponi sic: *Summus contritum*, i. Deus post contritionem regis de peccato suo *faciet eum redimitum*, i. coronatum in cælis. Hic sunt tria notabilia. Primum notabile, quod rex qui caret pietate, et qui non miseretur gentis suæ, perdetur de regno suo. Secundum notabile, quod talis rex non morietur bona morte, quia vel occidetur in prælio, vel morietur in carcere, vel interficietur persecutione regni sui. Tertium notabile, quod Deus multotiens tales persecutiones bonorum in vita sua permittit contriri de peccatis, ut in cælis coronentur; unde dicit, *Summus contritum*, etc. Quarto ostendit auctor generationem hujus regis qui ei succedit in regno. Nota, quod oportet amodo ponere majorem diligentiam ad intelligendum,



procedit enim subtilius quam prius, ostendens in quatuor versibus quatuor concernentia generationem Edwardi de Wyndesore. In primo versu ostendit tempus anni in quo genitus fuit, dicens, *Sole sagittante*, i. dum sol fuit in signo sagittarii, vel tendens ad sagittarium, quod magis videtur verum, quia natus fuit anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>ccc.xij<sup>mo</sup> in festo Sancti Bricii, quo die sol non est in sagittario, sed distat per tres gradus tendens ad eum, sicut patet per tabulas astronomiæ. *Frigido Boreæ remeante*, i. dum frigiditas venti borealis revertitur, quod est illo tempore scilicet mense Novembr. In secundo versu nominat auctor genitum et progenitores suos figurative, dicens, *Redimita per aurum*, i. regina cum auro coronata, *gignet taurum*, i. filium suum tauro assimilatum, *ex hirco*, i. ex rege patre suo hirco comparato propter aliquas conditiones suas. In tertio versu ostendit locum in quo fuit genitus, a quo cognomen recepit, dicens, *ex auris aurum*, i. genitus qui erit auro coronatus, fuit *ex auris*, i. ex rege et regina coronatis auro, *ventis componitur aurum*, i. nomen loci in quo genitus est componitur ex significatione istorum duorum terminorum, *ventis aurum*, Anglice Wyndesor. Aliter exponitur iste versus propter eos qui dicunt quod hoc nomen aurum non habet pluralem numerum, sic *ex auris ventis*, i. ex significatione istius termini aura, quando accipitur pro vento, Gallice *or*, quibus junctis faciunt Wyndesor. Et nota quod auctor utitur hic sexta occultatione et tertia, quia iste terminus aura est terminus æquivocus, et plura significat, unde versus:

“Aura, favor, splendor, flatus dicatur, et aer.”

Ideo notabiliter designat eum significare hic ventos, unde dicit, *ex auris ventis*. In iij<sup>to</sup> versu ostendit quod erit nomen geniti, dicens, *Exiet*, scilicet de utero ad baptismum, *et rediet* de baptismo *firmatus nomine patris*, i. habens nomen patris sui, scilicet Edwardi, vel firmatus nomine patris, i. baptizatus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Aliter tamen exponitur iste versus in isto dicto sequenti. Quinto ostendit iste auctor in quatuor versibus qualia accident juveni Edwardo de Wyndesor, et quomodo recipiet regnum Angliæ patre suo vivente; unde in primo versu nota quomodo Edwardus juvenis missus fuit ad Franciam pro pace reformanda inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ patrem suum, quem rex Franciæ pro homagio Vasconiæ non exhibita multum vexaverat, ob quam causam regina prius transmissa fuerat ad fratrem suum pacificandum. Ideo dicit auctor, *Exiet*, scilicet de Anglia ad Franciam, pro pace reformanda, sed matre et filio in partibus transmarinis sic demorantibus, nec redire volentibus, aut certe propter metum Dispensatorum non audentibus, Dispensatoribus id audientibus, Dispensatorum consilio in foro Londoniæ publice banniti sunt. Anno tamen Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>mo</sup>xxvj<sup>to</sup>, cum parva manu Hanaldorum



circa festum Sancti Michaelis Angliam in Essexia apud Horwythe applicuerunt, et ideo dicit auctor, *et rediet*, scilicet ad Angliam de Francia. Qui in auxilio regni Edwardum de C. capiunt, et custodibus demandant, Dispensatores etiam detrahunt et suspendunt. Et in festo Purificationis proximo sequenti juvenis Edwardus de Wyndesor xv. circiter annorum, patre viventi adhuc sub custodia, apud Westmonasterium coronatus est, et ideo dicit auctor quod est *firmatus nomine patris*, scilicet in regno pro patre suo cum eodem nomine quo pater ejus prius vocabatur, scilicet Edwardus rex. In secundo versu ostendit quomodo Edwardus de Carnarvan, genitor Edwardi prædicti, post filii sui coronationem interiit. Pro quo est notandum quod tempore prædictæ coronationis, Edwardus ille servabatur in custodia seu carcere. Custodes autem sui scientes quod sibi vendicaret regnum si de carcere evaderet, et palam non audentes eum occidere, mortem occultam sibi ordinabant; unde dicebatur quod eum occiderant in locis occultis, scilicet in ano vel in locis genitalibus cum quodam instrumento, corneo vel ferreo, et hoc est quod dicit auctor, *Ejus et interiet genitor*, i. pater Edwardi de Wyndesor morietur, *terebratus in atris*, i. in locis nigris et obscuris cum prædicto instrumento. In tertio versu ostendit quod E. de Wyndesor devenit ad regnum Angliæ per artem matris suæ, pro quo est notandum quod regina graviter sustinebat prædictam bannitionem sibi factam per consilium Dispensatorum, quia ab anno decapitationis Thomæ de Lancastria usque ad sextum annum quo occisi sunt, cæpit sors invalescere apud regem, et reginæ conditio ancillari. Ob hoc regina post adventum suum ad Angliam per annos conspirabat ad depositionem mariti sui de regno, et ad filii sui elevationem, quem tenerrime diligebat, quia sibi comes fuerat itineris et laboris; ideo dicit auctor de eo quod *rapiet regnum patris sui*, i. accipiet violente regnum Angliæ, *arte suæ matris*, i. per artem et consilium matris suæ; et ita factum est. In quarto versu ostendit quomodo prædictus Edwardus de Wyndesor vendicabat sibi regnum Franciæ ante mortem suam. Pro quo est notandum quod Isabella regina Angliæ fuit soror regis Francorum tunc viventis, proximum jus habens in regno Franciæ si suus frater sine filiis moreretur; quod contigit, unde Edwardus filius sive promogenitus, post mortem illius regis, sibi regnum Franciæ vendicabat, tanquam hæreditatem sibi pertinentem ex parte matris suæ. Hic sunt tria notabilia. Primum notabile est de morte miserabili Edwardi de Carnarvan, quod ille qui sanguinem innocentem effudit injuste morte interiit abominabili et prius inaudita, quia moriebatur *terebratus in atris*. Secundum notabile est de acceptione regnorum penes Edwardum de Wyndesor. Dicit enim auctor quod rapiet regnum Angliæ, et de regno Franciæ tantum dicit quod quæret illud, ad denotandum forte quod tempore suo non recipiet regnum Franciæ,

et tantummodo laborabit in quærendo, quia si reciperet regnum Franciæ, ita faciliter potuit dixisse *recipiet* sicut *quæret*. Tertium notabile est quod iste Edwardus potest dici taurus propter tres conditiones in quibus videtur concordare cum tauro. Primo proprietas est ista, secundum Plinium libro vij<sup>o</sup>: certum est quod ejus maxima fortitudo est in collo et in cornibus ejus, sic fortitudo istius regis est in dominis Angliæ et populo suo, qui per cornua designantur ibi, *Taurus cornutus stauro fultus bene tutus*. Secunda proprietas tauri est ista, secundum Aristotelem, quod cligit sibi pascua pingua, in quibus se depascit, sic iste eligit sibi pingua pascua Franciæ sibi de jure convenientia, ut infra dicitur:

“Tunc taurus gregem ducet per pingua prata.”

Tertia proprietas tauri, secundum Aristotelem, est quod taurus non relinquit pascua nisi tempore coitus, et tunc vaccis se associat, sic credo quod iste rex impediatur per amorem mulierum a regno Franciæ et pascuis suis. Unde auctor dicit infra:

“Hoc dico plane vulvam non laudo Dianæ,

“Quæ taurum mane mulcet verbum per inane.”

Et hic terminatur secundum capitulum, continens accidentia regni Angliæ tempore Edwardi de Carnarvan.

*Capitulum tertium docet mores Edwardi de Wyndesore, et accidentia regni Angliæ tempore juvenutis suæ, unde versus sequuntur.*

Taurus erit fortis, metuens nil tristia mortis;  
 Sobrius et castus, justus, sine crimine fastus;  
 Ad bona non tardus, audax veluti leopardus.  
 Semper erit taurus viridescens utpote laurus;  
 Fertilis et plenus, nummorum semper egenus.  
 Agmina vaccarum defendet vi propriarum.  
 Hic subjugabit hostes, reges superabit;  
 Vix mundi talis stauri ductor liberalis.  
 Rex erit et custos, et diliget undique justos.  
 Temporibus tauri scutum portabitur auri;  
 Tunc erit argentum per terras undique lentum.  
 Occultis portis lustris capiet mare mortis;  
 Illicitis scortis solitum cameris et in hortis.  
 Qui fuerat fortis, morietur turbine sortis.  
 Inter silvestres leges pennis volitabunt;  
 Inter campestris dolus et pax se sociabunt.

Inter scutiferos legis vires dominantur ;  
 Jura per armigeros subjectis dum reserantur.  
 Fraus mercatorum nummis pandetur eorum,  
 Dum pugnatorum cupiunt deducere lorum.  
 Ecce Simon veniet cum militibus sociatus ;  
 Ecclesias rapiet, cum muneribus laqueatus.

*Taurus erit fortis.* Istud tertium capitulum, docens mores regis Edwardi de Wyndesore et accidentia regni tempore juventutis suæ, continet octo dicta. Primo ostendit mores regis Edwardi tempore juventutis suæ, quorum aliquos credo mutabit tempore medio vitæ suæ, aliquos circa finem ; et circa istud dictum sunt tria notanda. Primo est notandum quod auctor istius prophetiæ in tribus locis ejusdem narrat diffuse de moribus istius regis, primo de moribus juventutis suæ in isto capitulo, secundo de moribus quos habebit in media ætate in quinto capitulo secundæ distinctionis ; unde in tempore obsidionis de Caleys narrat mores ejus, et ibi aliquos mores omittit quos sibi hic attribuit, sicut sobrietatem, castitatem, humilitatem, agilitatem operandi, innuens quod tunc illas omittet conditiones. Tertio notat iste auctor de bonis moribus quos habebit taurus circa finem suum, capitulo quinto distinctione tertia. Secundo est notandum quod hic describit mores mutabiles juventutis tauri in primo dicto hujus capituli, et in secundo ostendit aliquos mores quos per totam vitam suam continuabit, et in tertio ostendit mores et accidentia sibi diversis temporibus ætatis suæ contingentia. Tertio est notandum quod attribuit sibi in isto dicto septem conditiones bonas pertinentes regi. Primo fortitudinem mentis et corporis qua se in bello et populum potest defendere, dicens, *Taurus erit fortis*, in virtute corporali, *metuens nil tristitia mortis*, scilicet in anima ; ubi removet ab eo pusillanimitatem spiritus et timorem, quia sine ista stante fortitudine prima nil valeret. Secundo attribuit sibi sobrietatem contra gulam et ebrietatem, quæ magnum vitium in rege æstimatur, dicens, *Sobrius*. Tertio attribuit sibi castitatem contra luxuriam, dicens, *et castus*. Quarto attribuit regi justitiam contra injuriam, dicens quod erit *et justus*. Quinto attribuit regi humilitatem contra superbiam, dicens quod erit *sine crimine fastus*. Sexto attribuit huic regi agilitatem in bonis operibus, dicens, *Ad bona non tardus*. Septimo attribuit sibi audaciam contra inimicos et malefactores regni, dicens quod erit *audax veluti leopardus*, qui est animal magnæ audaciæ et fortitudinis. Et nota quod comparat audaciam regis armis suis, quia tres leopardos portat in scuto suo, et non sine causa, veluti imaginari poterit. Secundo ostendit iste auctor mores regis E. quos per totam vitam suam continuabit. Prima conditio est quod

ejus honor et virtus non marcescent in tempore suo, sed semper augmentabuntur et crescent, unde dicit quod est *taurus viridescens*. Et nota quod hic addit istum terminum semper quem in versibus præcedentibus non addebat ad designandum hujus honoris permanentiam, quia sicut viriditas lauri non marcescit hyeme vel æstate, sic nec honor hujus regis juventute vel senectute peribit; ideo dicit auctor, *viridescens utpote laurus*. Secunda quæ consequetur, in regno toto tempore suo est fertilitas terræ et plenitudo bonorum, quia terra erit fertilis in tempore suo et dabit fructum suum, unde magna plenitudo bonorum regno evenit; unde dicit auctor quod est *fertilis et plenus*. Tertia conditio consequens eum continue est egestas nummorum, quia toto tempore vitæ suæ vel indigebit nummis et pecunia propter guerras suas, vel propter avaritiam suam; quando enim cessabit a guerris erit valde avarus pecuniæ, et aliquando magis pecuniæ quam honorum, quod est contra modum generosorum, unde dicit auctor quod erit *nummorum semper egenus*. Quarta conditio consequens eum continue erit bona defensio et conservatio regni Angliæ, quod sibi datur quasi regnum proprium, et ipse conservabit populum illius sicut bonus taurus conservat agmina vaccarum. Ideo dicit auctor, *Agmina vaccarum defendet vi propriarum*, i. defendet populum suum de Anglia contra alia regna vi et fortitudine sua. Et sic patent quatuor conditiones hujus regis semper ipsum comitantes. Tertio ponit iste auctor conditiones regis in diversis temporibus vitæ suæ sibi contingentes. Et nota quod omnes istæ conditiones sunt de facto in rege, ut in expositione sequenti clare patebunt. Dicit enim, *Hic subjugabit hostes*, quod impletum est in Scotia et Francia; *reges superabit*, quod factum fuit in bello de Crecy, ubi rex Beomiæ fuit occisus et rex Franciæ fugatus. *Vix erit ductor talis in mundo*, quia in tempore suo reputabitur unus de optimis ducibus mundi, et vix aliquis reputabitur ei æqualis, nec ita *liberalis stauri*, quia non concedet populum suum, quem hic vocat staurum suum, ad plura regna, scilicet ad Hiberniam, ad Scotiam, ad Britanniam, ad Franciam, ad magnas guerras et prælia. *Rex erit et custos*, scilicet de regno Angliæ, et *diliget undique justos*, quod fecit omni tempore suo, quos scilicet scivit et credidit esse justos. Quarto ostendit imitationem et innovationem monetæ tempore hujus regis. Pro quo est notandum quod tempore suo incepit moneta de auro, scilicet nobile seu scutum auri, propter cujus multiplicationem argentum illo tempore erat valde rarum in terra, eo quod domini et mercatores in alios usus varios illud transmutabat. Ideo dicit auctor, *scutum portabitur*, scilicet nobile, *portabitur tempore tauri*, quia tunc incepit, *tunc erit argentum lentum* et rarum *undique per terras*, quia in alios usus tunc mutabitur. Quinto ostendit auctor captivonem et mortem domini Rogeri Mortimer tempore illo. Pro quo est notabile quod iste dominus Rogerus concubuit cum regina



ipse rege vivente, etiam post mortem ejus multo tempore, unde omnia negotia regni per reginam et ipsum Rogerum terminabantur, ita quod ipsa fuit quasi rex, et secundum opinionem aliquorum ipse aspiravit ad regnum et ad destructionem regis E. occulte, sicut poterat, ob quam causam prædictus Edwardus amicorum consilio illum accepit in scortis cum regina, quem distraxit et suspendit; et hoc est quod dicit auctor. Rex Edwardus *capiet mare mortis*, i. mortuum, et hic utitur sexta occultatione. *Occultis portis*, quia intraverunt ad eum per portas occultas. *Lustris*, i. in speluncis vel cavernis terræ, vel in locis occultis. *Illicitis scortis solitum*, quia solebat facere illicita scorta cum regina in *cameris et in hortis*, et *qui fuerat fortis*, scilicet ille Mortimer, qui fortis miles et pulcher fuerat, *moriatur turbine sortis*. Unde nota quod turbo est ventus circumflexus, qui primo percutit terram et postea elevat se in aera, et ibi finitur. Sic iste primo fuit tractus per terram, inde elevatus in aera, et ibi finivit vitam suam per suspendium. Sexto ostendit auctor iste variationem legis et debilitationem in diverso statu tempore suo; pro quo est notandum quod auctor ostendit status tres hominum in quibus illo tempore debilitabuntur, primo inter silvestres et homines in montibus et silvis manentes, secundo inter campestres et rurales, tertio inter scutiferos et dominos, dicens, *Inter silvestres*, i. habitantes in silvis, *leges pennis volitant*, i. cum sagittis, quia tales homines non expectabant alias leges illo tempore nisi quod potentior inimicum suum opprimat cum sagittis, qui est modus pugnandi inter tales. *Inter campestres*, i. villanos qui habitant campos. *Dolus et pax se sociabunt*, i. firmabunt inter se pacem cum dolo, unde magis pacifici, si possent, vicinum suum vellent destruere cum quo pacem simulant. *Inter scutiferos*, scilicet milites, *legis vires dominantur*, ut qui potentior est in viribus habebit legem. *Dum jura reserantur subjectis per armigeros*, i. dum domini non aliud faciunt de jure nisi mittunt subjectis suis et armigeris ut vadant et destruant quem dominus destruere nititur. Septimo ostendit quamdem fraudem mercatorum illo tempore exortam de falsa moneta. Pro quo est notandum quod illo tempore venit de transmarinis per mercatores falsa moneta de cupro, quæ dicebatur lusscheburne, habens formam denarii Anglicani, et de ista moneta dicit auctor *fraus mercatorum* pandetur seu ostendetur *nummis eorum*, sicut de lusscheburun, *Dum capiunt deducere lorum pugnatorum*, i. facere monetam de loris pugnatorum, i. de cupro, de quo illo tempore fuerunt lora pugnatorum. Octavo ostendit simoniam regnantem illo tempore, dicens, *Ecce Simon veniet*, i. Simonia, *cum militibus sociatus*, quia milites, qui olim jurati fuerunt ad conservandum justitias ecclesiæ, jam propter munera et amicitias suos promovent clericos simoniace. *Ecclesias rapiet*, scilicet Simonia seu Simon. *Laqueatus cum muneribus*, quia sicut laqueus retinet avem ne posset evolare, ita munera retinent



ecclesias simoniace quod nullus jam sine munere ad aliquam vix promoveatur dignitatem. Sed beati qui possent dicere cum propheta, "Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus." Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum iiij. ostendit accidentia inter regna Angliæ et Scotiæ illo tempore usque ad inceptionem guerræ de Francia.*

Taurus regnabit, et mater confœderabit,  
 Cum Scotis nata Dyna cancro copulata.  
 Pax erit in terra, rediet sed Scotica guerra.  
 Quidam ballivus, armis jam nominativus,  
 Voce vocativus tauri, tauroque dativus,  
 Sternet equos ligni, medio latitat leo signi.  
 Ipsos ascendet, ad Scotica cornua tendet,  
 Militiæ gyrum Angli facient bene mirum,  
 Temporibus gentis cum pennatis ferientis:  
 Nam loco læto non sunt Scoti sine letho;  
 Scotorum gentes terebrabunt arcitenentes,  
 Et viduæ flentes sponso quærent morientes.  
 Sponsus cœlestis taxatur, et incola restis,  
 Dum Scotis mœstis regnant reges duo pestis.  
 In sacro monte pugnans gens Scotica sponte,  
 Ursina fronte cadent, Angli nam sine ponte.  
 Psalletur gestis David luxuria festis,  
 Qui tenet uxores uxore sua meliores.  
 Deficient mores regales, perdet honores.  
 Pignus amoris, pacta sororis non solidabunt,  
 Anterioris facta doloris nam reboabunt,  
 Sanguine Scotorum spoliatorum sociorum.

*Sequitur expositio istorum versuum.—Taurus regnabit.* In isto iiij<sup>o</sup> capitulo ostendit auctor accidentaliter inter regnum Angliæ et Scotiæ, et continet quinque dicta. In primo ostendit pacem factam per filiam regis Angliæ copulatam regi Scotiæ, quæ pax non durabit. Pro quo est notandum quod Scoti ab anno Christi millesimo cc<sup>mo</sup> nonagesimo octavo, in quo Edwardus primus post conquestum occidit 60,000 Scotorum apud Fawkyrke in

festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, per xxx. continuos annos usque ad tempora Edwardi de Wyndesore, Anglicos et Angliæ loca vicina jugiter pertriverunt, secundum Radulphum, ita quod in principio prædicti Edwardi quasi per tres annos fuerunt contra Anglicos. Tunc mater sua ipso regnante copulavit filiam suam regi Scotiæ in fredere pacis, quam postea Scoti fregerunt. Unde dicit auctor, *Taurus regnabit*, scilicet in Anglia, *et mater confederabit*, scilicet regina faciet fœdus *cum Scotis nata Dyna*, i. filia sua domina, *copulata*, per conjugium, *cancro*, scilicet regi Scotiæ, qui per aliquas conditiones cum quibus concordat cum cancro dicitur cancer. *Pax erit in terra*, scilicet Angliæ, *rediet sed Scotica guerra*, quia pax illa diu non durabit. Secundo ostendit quomodo et per quem pax inter Scotiam et Angliam frangebatur. Pro quo est notandum quod isto tempore aliqui domini Scotorum miserunt occulte Edwardo de Balliolf quod veniret ad vendicandum sibi regnum Scotiæ, cujus ipse erat verus hæres, et ipsum libenter in recto suo juvarent. At ille dictis eorum commotus, primo venit ad Angliam, ubi meruit auxilium contra Scotos per regis promissionem, licet aperte non consentiebat propter pacem prædictam inter Angliam et Scotiam factam per conjugium, et tunc le Balliolle cum classe sua adivit Scotiam et apud Kynkhorn applicuit, qui postea infra breves dies maximam Scotorum stragem fecit apud Dipelingmore; et hoc dicit iste auctor, *Quidam ballivus nominativus jam in armis*, i. E. de Balliolle, quia tunc nominativus in armis fuit, et bellicosus reputabatur. *Vocativus voce tauri*, quia taurus eum forte vocavit contra Scotiam, vel quia voce tauri seu ejus nomine vocatus, scilicet Edwardus. *Tauroque dativus*, vel quia aliqua dona præbuit regi Angliæ, vel forte sibi concessit subjectionem Scotiæ et pacem inter regna postquam eam adquisiverit. *Sternet equos ligni*, i. naves; et hic utitur tertia occultatione. *Medio latitat leo signi*, i. leo scuti Scotiæ latitabat in medio navium, quem secum assumpsit tanquam verus hæres; et hic utitur secunda occultatione. *Ipsos ascendet*, scilicet naves. *Ad Scotica cornua tendet*, i. ad locum in Scotia ubi applicuit, qui dicitur lingua eorum Kynkhorn, et lingua Latina Scotica cornua; et hic utitur sexta occultatione. Tertio ostendit de loco belli et modo ejus, et fine; dicit enim, *Angli facient militiæ gyrum*, scilicet in terra Scotiæ, vel in exercitu, quando congregati sunt domini Scotorum, sagittarii facient gyrum *cum pennatis*, scilicet sagittis. *Temporibus gentis flentis*, i. in capitibus Scotorum, qui flendo pugnabant. *Nam loco leto*, in loco scilicet belli ad quem venerunt Scoti cum magna lætitia et gaudio. *Non sunt Scoti sine letho*, i. morte, quia ibi occisi fuerant. Aliter post iste versus exponitur. Istud bellum fuit commissum in loco qui dicitur Dipelyngmore, et in illo est locus ubi fuit ingressio belli, et vocatur Gladeleye, quod lin-

gua eorum locus lætus interpretatur, unde in illo loco non fuerunt Scoti sine letho et morte; unde nota hic quod lætus, -ta, -tum, Anglice dicitur *glad*, et hoc lethum, lethi, Anglice *deth*, unde hic utitur auctor tertia occultatione. *Arcitenentes*, in illo bello, *terebabant gentes Scotiæ*, i. perforabant cum sagittis suis, *Et viduæ flentes*, post occisionem maritorum, *quærent sponsores morientes*, qui in illo bello occidebantur. Quarto ostendit de bello de Halidone et miseria Scotorum tempore quo duo reges regnabant. Pro quo est notandum quod, post bellum prædictum, E. de Balliolle tenuit se in Scotia tanquam rex, et fecit magnam destructionem de populo, ita quod illud regnum illo tempore fuit valde mæstum et dolorosum propter mala ab illis duobus regibus inflictæ; tum Scoti fugaverunt Edwardum usque Carleolum, qui postea auxilio regis Angliæ bellum apud Halidone contra Scotos commisit, et hujus mentionem facit auctor, dicens, *Sponsus cælestis taxatur*, i. sacræ ecclesiæ rectores et gubernatores, episcopi scilicet et abbates, qui sponsi cælestes dicuntur eo quod sacræ sponsantur ecclesiæ, ab illis regibus tunc multum per taxam et injustas exactiones gravabantur. *Est incola restis*, i. communitas terræ taxabatur per arestationes, vel per restas, i. per funes et cordas, eo quod aliqui incolæ tunc temporis forte fuerunt suspensi. *Dum duo reges pestis*, scilicet David et Edwardus de Balliolle, qui fuerunt causa pestis, i. mortis Scotorum, *regnant Scotis mæstis*, et doloris propter stragem et destructionem eis inflictam, nec habuerunt regem unde poterant juvari, quia David adhuc fuerat juvenis non valens arma portare bellica. Unde illo tempore Scoti disposuerunt se sponte ad pugnandum contra regem Angliæ venientem pro E. de Balliolle apud Halydone, unde auctor, *gens Scotica pugnans in sacro monte*, scilicet Halydone, ubi bellum commissum fuit, *sponte*, i. propria voluntate, et Angli illo tempore *cadebant ursina fronte*, Anglice Berwyke, vel Berefrount, *sine ponte*, quando enim credebant transire per pontem, fuit destructus, et ibi plures occisi sunt. Quinto ostendit mores David regis Scotorum, dicens, *luxuria David psalletur festis* et conviviis, quia sic solebant ministralli dicere opera strenua et bellicosa bonorum militum, ita de isto David facient gesta luxuriosa. *Qui tenet uxores uxore sua meliores*, non quia concubinæ quibus utebatur fuerunt meliores quam regina, sed quia ministralli Scotorum volentes regi favere in peccato suo dicebant eas meliores, vel quia voluerunt vituperare reginam in despectu regis Angliæ, cujus soror ipsa fuerat, vel quia regi aliæ uxores videbantur meliores quia magis sibi placebant, et in hoc *deficient mores regales*, in eo, et propterea *perdet honores* qui regi pertinerent, quia homines sui eum non honoraverunt ut regem, sed tanquam parem eum tractaverunt, et sapientes eorum reputaverunt eum stultum et fatuum. Etiam *pacta sororum*, scilicet regis Angliæ, quam David accepit in uxorem pacto pacis.

*Non solidabunt pignus amoris, et pacem inter regna, quia fata anterioris doloris, scilicet in fortuna bellorum præcedentium, et quomodo rex Angliæ concessit Edwardo de Bailliolle adjutorium contra Scotos et contra David, jam reboabunt, i. iterum sonabunt et revertentur pro sanguine Scotorum spoliatorum sociorum, in bellis præcedentibus effuso. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.*

*Capitulum v<sup>um</sup> ostendit accidentia inter regem Angliæ et Franciæ priusquam rex Angliæ transivit mare contra Gallicos.*

Fastus Francorum facinus faciet fatuorum.  
 Incipient guerras Anglorum perdere terras;  
 Subvertent castra tollentes se super astra,  
 Nec prece nec pretio cessabunt bella parare,  
 Anglos servitio credentes illaqueare.  
 Orabunt gentes Messiam bella verentes,  
 Ut det maternum jus, salvet et ipse paternum.  
 Galli cessare non curant, vel renovare  
 Pacem cum tauro, quia confidunt nimis auro.  
 Franci juridici tauro fient inimici,  
 Falsi schismatici, quia vera negant bene dici.  
 Legifer instituit terras habuisse sorores,  
 Quando mors rapuit sine natis progenitores.  
 Nunquam natura mutavit adhuc sua jura,  
 Fœmina quod cura priorum sit caritura.  
 Jure sui matris summi natus quoque patris,  
 Rex Judæorum vocabatur miserorum.  
 Taurus adhuc crescit, miror quod Gallia nescit.  
 Matre sua dante rectum sibi quod fuit ante,  
 Regnum Gallorum sibi vendicat esse suorum,  
 Proximus extat hæres dum Gallica germina quæres;  
 Clangunt rumores quod matris quærit honores.

*Sequitur expositio inde.—Fastus Francorum.* In isto v<sup>o</sup> capitulo, ubi dicit auctor quæ acciderunt inter regem Angliæ et Franciæ antequam rex Angliæ disposuit se ad bellandum Franciam, sunt quatuor dicta. Primo ostendit iniquitatem Gallicorum contra regem Angliæ ex eorum superbia procedentem, dicens, *Fastus Fran-*



*corum fatuorum*, i. superbia, *faciet facinus*, i. injustitiam et malitiam, quia *incipient guerras* contra regem Anglorum. *Anglorum perdere terras*, quas sibi voluerunt per injurias subjugare. *Subvertent castra*, i. pertinentia regi Angliæ. *Tollens super astra*, per laudes quas per talia facinora credebant se mereri. Unde, *nec prece nec pretic cessabunt bella parare*, contra regem Angliæ, *Anglicos servitio credentes illaqueare*, quia credebant fecisse Anglicos et qui tenebant de rege Angliæ sibi tributarios. Secundo ostendit auctor innocentiam Anglicorum contra omnia ista mala, dicens quod *gentes verentes bella*, scilicet religiosi et clerici sæculares et multi domini de Anglia, qui timuerunt potentiam Galliæ, quia reputabatur unum de potentioribus regnis mundi, *orabant Messiam*, idem Christum qui fuit Messias promissus in lege, ut *det maternum*, i. regnum Franciæ, *salvet et ipse paternum*, scilicet regnum Angliæ, quod jure hæreditario post patrem suum possidebat; sed propter omnia ista *Galli non curant cessare* ab injustitia sua, *nec revocare pacem cum tauro*, sed semper continuabant malitiam suam, quia *confidunt nimis in auro*, credebant enim se habuisse sufficiens auxilium contra regnum Angliæ cum auro suo, sed fuerunt decepti, quia plus valet auxilium Dei cum justitia quam multi thesauri. Tertio ostendit iste auctor quomodo juristæ Francorum dixerunt regem Angliæ non habere jus in regnum Franciæ, et contra eos arguit per duo argumenta, dicens, *Franci juridici*, i. professores juris de Francia, *fient tauro inimici*, quia excludebant eum de regno per falsitates; et ideo, *sunt falsi schismatici*, i. facientes divisionem et discordiam inter regna, *quia vera negant bene dici*, contradicentes veris allegatis pro rege Angliæ. Sed contra istos adducit auctor duas leges probantes quod filia debet succedere in regno si pater vel frater moriatur sine filio vel hærede; quod si isti Franci negant contra regem Angliæ. Pro prima historia est notandum, Num. xxvij<sup>o</sup> dicitur de quatuor filiabus Saphat, quæ "steterunt coram Moyse et Eliazoro sacerdote  
 " et cunctis principibus populi ad ostium tabernaculi fœderis,  
 " atque dixerunt, Pater noster mortuus est in deserto, nec fuit  
 " in seditionem quæ concitata est contra Dominum sub Chore,  
 " sed in peccatis suis mortuus est. Hic non habuit mares filios.  
 " Cur tollitur nomen illius de familia sua quia non habuit  
 " filium? Date nobis possessionem inter cognatos patris nostri.  
 " Retulit Moysis causam earum ad judicium Domini, qui dixit  
 " ad eum, Justam rem postulant filiæ Saphat, da eis possessionem  
 " inter cognatos patris sui, et ei in hæreditate succedant; ad  
 " filios autem Israel loqueris hæc. Homo cum mortuus fuerit  
 " absque filio, ad filiam ejus transibit hæreditas; si filiam non  
 " habuit, habebit successores fratres suos; quod si fratrem non  
 " habuerit, dabit hæreditatem fratribus patris sui; si autem  
 " patruos non habuerit, dabitur hæreditas his qui proximi ejus  
 " fuerint. Erit hoc filiis Israel sua lege perpetua, sicut præcepit



“ Dominus Moysi.” Istam historiam allegat auctor pro rege Angliæ, dicens, *Legifer instituit*, i. Moyses ordinavit, *terras habuisse sorores*, sicut patet in historia prædicta. *Quando mors rapuit sine natis progenitores*, scilicet patrem cum filiis, sed *nunquam natura mutavit adhuc sua jura*, quod *fœmina sit caritura cura propriorum*; quare patet de jure matris quod rex Angliæ est verus hæres Franciæ secundum istam historiam. Secunda historia qua iste auctor idem probat est ista quod *natus summi patris*, scilicet Christus, *vocitabatur rex miserorum Judæorum*, et hoc jure matris suæ. Quarto ostendit iste auctor quomodo iste rex vendicabat sibi regnum Franciæ et jus maternum, dicens, *Taurus adhuc crescit*, i. inter omnia ista mala et adversa prosperatur in honore et reverentia. *Miror quod Gallia nescit* quæ sua fuerat superbia obcæcata, credens eum timore suo decrescere; sed ipso non obstante, *vendicat sibi regnum Gallorum esse suorum*, *matre sua dante rectum sibi quod fuit ante*; quia forte mater ejus tunc concessit sibi executionem justitiæ quam prius forte ei prohibuit, et ipse *proximus extat hæres Franciæ*, *dum Gallica germina quæres*, i. si lineam perscrutaveris regalem. *Clangunt ergo rumores*, in diversis terris, *quod matris querit honores*, scilicet regnum Franciæ, quod sibi ex matre contingebat.

*Capitulum vj<sup>tum</sup> determinat de bellis et de dispositione bellorum contra Gallicos usque ad primam pacem factam.*

Jam reboant bella, fit causa movens Isabella;  
 Strident Germani nummorum tempore sani,  
 Frendent Barbani ambo nummis sine vani,  
 Et genus uxoris signum similabit amoris.  
 Vellere Flandrenses tunc fient Angligenenses,  
 Non per tres menses, nisi pro lucro, bene penses.  
 Fraude sua tandem fraudem patientur eandem.  
 Insurgent Galli metuentes grandine falli,  
 Ad sua confugient, victi formidine fient.  
 Jam redit ad staurum taurus, quia deficit aurum;  
 Dum livor candet Gallorum vellera mandet.  
 Cancro regnante Phœbo, calido geminante,  
 Ascendet proras, Gallorum tendet ad oras,  
 Bino cornutus stauro fultus bene tutus.  
 In canabi loris equitans Flandrensibus oris,  
 Gallorum proris assumet nomen honoris.

Hic ter centena sternet castellaque dena ;  
 Baptistæ testis fiet quassatio pestis.  
 Conjunget flores leopardis deliciarum,  
 Per pugnatores dum regnum quæret avarum.  
 Coniuncti flores leopardis deliciarum,  
 Annos guerrarum tibi monstrat posteriores.

*Sequitur expositio inde.—Jam reboant bella.* In isto sexto capitulo quatuor dicta continentur. Primo ostendit de transitu regis in Franciam, et quales fuerunt in exercitu suo, dicens, *Jam reboant bella*, i. incipiunt sonare sive manifestantur inter Angliam et Franciam. *Fit causa movens Isabella*, mater regis, unde jus regni movebatur, et ad illa bella, *strident Germani*, i. homines de Germania, *nummorum tempore sani*, quia dum rex eis conferebat nummos et stipendia, steterunt cum eo. *Frendent Barbani*, i. homines de Brabanna, sed ambo sunt vani sine nummis, quia non remanebunt cum rege in bello nisi cum receperint nummos et pecuniam ab eo. *Ac genus uxoris*, homines scilicet de Hannald, *similabit signum amoris*, i. apparebunt amici cum tauro in illis bellis. *Et Flandrenses tunc fient Angligenenses vellere*, i. pro lana Angliæ erunt cum rege. *Sed penses bene*, et cognoscas quod illud *per tres menses* non facerent, *nisi pro lucro*, quod habent de lanis Angliæ. *Tandem*, tamen, *patientur eandem fraudem* ab Anglicis *pro fraude sua*. Secundo ostendit auctor quomodo Gallici se habuerunt in adventu regis ad Franciam. *Galli metuentes grandine falli*, quasi diceret, Gallici metuebant regem Angliæ propter suam magnam multitudinem, quæ grandinem assimilatur, putantes se falli ab eis, vel vinci, *ad sua confugient*, scilicet castella vel oppida, non audentes arestare bellum contra eum, in tantum quod rex tunc posuit obsidionem de Turnay, quia Gallici *victi formidine fient*. Sed propter defectum auri et argenti dimisit illam obsidionem, et ad Angliam rediit; unde dicit auctor, *Jam redit ad staurum taurus*, i. ad Angliam, quæ semper tanquam in stauro remanebat, *quia deficit aurum* unde militibus stipendia reddere deberet. Et in illo tempore, *dum livor Gallorum candet*, i. dum ira eorum accenditur, et fervescit taurus, *mandet vellera*, i. comedet in expensis bona quæ recepta sunt pro lanis Angliæ, et mercatoribus suis, scilicet Willelmo atte Pole et sociis suis. Tertio ostendit præparationem regis versus Franciam, et bellum navale apud Sclus commissum, dicens primo de tempore quo rex se disposuit ad bellum, sic, *Phæbo regnante in cancro*, i. dum sol fuit regnans in signo cancri, quod per octo dies ante illud bellum ingrediebatur, et *calido geminante*, illo enim tempore concaloret, quia sol tunc est in sua maxima elevatione quantum ad nos. *Tunc taurus cornutus bino*

*stauro*, i. de hominibus, et argento et auro, qui cornua tauri dicuntur, quia sicut taurus defendit se de inimicis cum cornibus suis, ita iste rex defendit se cum hominibus suis, et auro et argento, cum quibus illo tempore erat *fultus bene tutus*. Unde sic dispositus, *ascendet proras*, i. classem. *Gallorum tendet ad oras*, i. ad fines Franciæ se disposuerit. Et nota quod hic utitur tertia occultatione in isto termino hora, quæ triplicem habet significationem. Primo signat xij<sup>mam</sup> partem diei artificialis; secundo signat extremam partem vestimenti, sicut dicitur hora [ora] clamidis; tertio dicitur signare finem seu terminum alicujus terræ, et sic accipitur hic. Sed iste taurus *equitans Flandrensibus oris*, scilicet apud Selus, ubi rex fuit cum classe sua equitans *in loris canabi*, i. in funibus et cordis, qui fuerunt de canabo, et dicuntur lora quia sicut lora ferri retinent equos in terra, ita funes retinent naves in portu; et hic utitur quarta occultatione. Et ibi *assumet nomen honoris*, scilicet victoriam, quod est nomen maxime honorificum post bellum. De *proris Gallorum*, scilicet de navigio et classe Franciæ, quia in illo conflictu belli navalis *sternet castella tercentena et dena*, i. navium, et *quassatio hujus pestis*, sive belli, *fiet Baptista testis*, scilicet in nativitate beati Johannis Baptistæ, qui testis Christi fuit; unde istud bellum apud Selus commissum fuit anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>o</sup>xl<sup>o</sup>, vij<sup>o</sup> kl. Julii, sole existente in octavo gradu cancri, in die nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptistæ, ubi rex Angliæ devicit Gallicos in bello navali sternendo naves trecentenas decem, et obtinuit victoriam cum triumpho. Quarto ostendit auctor quod rex illo tempore mutavit arma sua, dicens, *Conjunget flores deliciarum*, scilicet armorum Franciæ, *cum leopardis* regni Angliæ. *Dum quæret regnum avarum*, scilicet regnum Franciæ, quod avarum dicitur quia desiderat illud injuste quod suum non est, *per propugnatores*, sicut patet in bellis præcedentibus. Et illi *flores deliciarum conjuncti cum leopardis* demonstrant annos posteriores guerrarum, scilicet quod erunt magna bella et multa annis sequentibus inter Anglicos et Gallicos. Hic in isto capitula sunt aliqua notabilia. Primum notabile est quod stipendiarii regum in bello non amplius valent nisi in tempore lucri. Secundum notabile est quod Flandrenses non diligunt Anglicos nisi pro lucro de lanis Angliæ, qui tandem patientur eandem fraudem ab Anglis pro fraude sua. Tertium notabile est quod qui primo victi sunt formidine et terrore sine ictu, postea ut communiter non prævalent, sicut patet de istis Gallicis. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum vij. docet de pace inter Anglicos et Gallicos,  
et de cæteris accidentibus usque ad præparatio-  
nem belli de Crecy.*

Mandatis patris residentis culmine matris,  
Treugas astringent Galli, vix dummodo mingent  
Pacem servabunt, Britones sed fraude necabunt.  
Æquorei pestis fiet Britannia testis,  
Nautis quassatis, sed Messias pietatis  
Taurum salvabit, ad staurum qui remeabit.  
Tristia post fata succedent tempora grata.  
Festa rotundabit, segetes regni decimabit.  
Qui vendet staurum capiet tunc temporis aurum.  
Marcescent flores, fatuos dum quærit honores,  
Linquens errores, mutat sine crimine mores.  
Omnia transibunt, et gaudia vana peribunt.  
Perdent Flandrenses ductorem nocte per enses.  
Pacificos menses vi reddent Angligenenses.  
Tunc Aquitanenses vibrabunt ictibus enses ;  
Partes burgenses non cædent Angligenenses.  
Francus fraude reus mulctabitur ut Cananæus ;  
Diceturque Deus Anglus quondam Nazaræus.  
Arcus habentes, tela ferentes, se sociabunt,  
Arma gerentes, regna regentes, qui penetrabunt.  
Clemens mente ferus, proprio non nomine merus,  
Dum ruet Angerus veniet benedicere serus.  
Alis Clementis volitat benedictio lentis,  
Dum carus vicus fit cognatis inimicus.  
Me jam cessare capitis dolor urget amare ;  
Templis vesanis sensus vacillat inanis.  
Gratia divina capiti fiet medicina.

*Mandatis patris.* Istud capitulum septimum, continens pacem inter Anglicos et Gallicos et cætera accidentia usque ad præparationem belli de Crecy, habet viij. dicta. Primo ostendit pacem factam inter regna ex mandato papæ, quo tempore Gallici Britanniam minorem expugnabant, dicens, *Galli astringent treugas,*



et pacem inter eos et Anglicos, *mandatis patris*, scilicet papæ, qui pater est omnium Christianorum, *residentis culmine matris*, residet enim papæ in culmine et honore sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, ibi occupans locum Christi; sed ista pax fuit brevis, ideo dicit quod *via dummodo mingent*, astringent pacem, et tunc *pacem servabunt* inter Franciam et Angliam. *Britones sed fraude necabunt*, scilicet illos qui sunt contra Karulum de Bloys cum comite de Montheфорde. Secundo ostendit auctor naufragium regis in mare circa Britanniam, de quo tamen ipse salvabatur. Pro quo est notandum quod rex, videns Gallicos insurgere contra comitem de Mountforthe, ordinavit cum navigio suo eum juvare, et posuit obsidionem apud civitatem de Vanes, et tunc in reditu suo accidit sibi magna tempestas ita quod tota classis sua fuit dispersa ad plures partes mundi. Unde dicit auctor, *Britannia erit testis*, scilicet homines de Britannia, quia præsentés fuerant, vel ad cujus aures rumores hujus naufragii devenerunt, *aquorei pestis*, destructionis seu pestis maris. *Nautis quassatis*, quia nautæ in illa tempestate quassabantur per mare. *Sed Messias pietatis*, i. Christus, *salvabit taurum*, i. regem Angliæ, in illa tempestate. *Ad staurum qui remeabit*, i. revertitur ad Angliam, quæ post omnem conflictum sibi remaneret pro stauro. Tertio ostendit auctor actus tauri tempore pacis dum fuerat quietus a bello, dicens quod *tempora grata*, i. tempora læta, *succedent post tristia fata*, i. post istas tribulationes maris. Pro quo est notandum quod rex illo tempore posuit se ad otium et quietem, et ordinavit festum Sancti Georgii, congregans sibi bonos milites Angliæ, ut essent in illa societate propter opera sua strenua et bellicosa, sicut narratur quod rex Arthurus fecit in tempore suo, et vocavit milites illos milites de rotunda tabula; unde dicit auctor quod *festum rotundabit*, i. faciet festum ad modum rotundæ tabulæ, scilicet festum Sancti Georgii apud Wyndesore. *Segetes regni decimabit*, i. expendet decimam partem segetis, vel accipiet valorem decem segetum vel ab ecclesia, et *qui tunc vendet staurum*, videlicet de segete vel aliis rebus, *capiet tunc temporis aurum*, i. monetam de auro quæ tunc regnabit in terra. Quarto ostendit auctor quod ista quietatio tauri multum impeditur honorem suum, quem potuit adquisivisse tempore illo in Francia, dicens, *Marcescent flores*, scilicet lilia Franciæ quæ sibi assumpsit in armis, *dum fatuos quærit honores*, festi Sancti Georgii, qui fatui sunt, et stultum fuit et vanum circa occupari dum regnum Franciæ sibi fuit vendicandum. Sed illa omnia transibunt, et gaudia vana peribunt, circa quæ illo tempore fuerant occupati. Quinto ostendit quomodo Flandrenses illo tempore contra comitem et ducem eorum resurrexerunt, dicens, *Perdent Flandrenses ductorem*, i. comitem seu ducem eorum, non quia eum occiderunt, sed quia voluerunt eum occidisce, et fugaverunt eum *nocte per enses*, i. in gladiis suis. *Sed Angligi-nenses*, tunc in Flandria manentes, *reddent vi*, et fortitudine sua,



*pacificos menses*, inter ducem et populum. *Sed tunc Aquitanenses*, i. homines de Aquitania, *vibrabunt ictibus enses*, i. facient bellum cum gladiis pro fuga illius ducis ad eum restituendum. *Sed partes illius belli non cædent burgenses Angligenenses*, quia Anglicis parcebant, in illo conflictu non eis occiderunt. Sexto ostendit auctor unam destructionem Francorum propter fraudem suam eis illo tempore ab Anglis inflictam, dicens, *Francus fraude reus*, i. Gallicus propter fraudem, *mulctabitur ut Cananæus*, i. calcabitur seu destruetur admodum Cananæi quem destruxerunt filii Israel. *Dicetur quod illo tempore*, quod *Deus Nazareus fuit* quondam in Anglia, propter bonam fortunam et prosperitatem quem Anglicis tunc concedet. *Arcus habentes*, i. sagittarii, et *tela ferentes*, homines cum lanceis et clypeis, *se sociabunt* contra Gallicos, et *arma gerentes*, scilicet milites Franciæ. *Regna regentes et penetrabunt*, i. percutient rectores Franciæ. Septimo ostendit quod benedictio papæ Clementis nimis tarde Gallicis illo tempore devenit. Pro quo est notandum quod papa Clemens semper fuit Gallicis affectuosus et non Anglicis, et in hoc a proprio nomine declinavit, quod Clementia sonat; unde dicit auctor, *Clemens mente ferus*, i. papa habens nomen Clementis, sed in mente et voluntate est ferox, seu ferus. *Proprio non nomine merus*, i. non habens conditionem et proprietatem cum proprio nomine suo, quod sonat clementiam. *Dum ruet Angerus*, i. aliquis magnus ex parte Gallorum. *Veniet benedicere serus*, quia ejus benedictio veniet nimis tarde super eum. *Et benedictio Clementis*, papæ, *volitat alis lentis*, et tardis, quia Gallis in nullo proficiebat. *Dum carus vicus*, Anglice Derby, *fit cognatis inimicus*, scilicet cognatis papæ, qui Gallicus natione fuerat; unde hic notat auctor quod comes Derby fuit auctor principalis illius conflictus. Octavo iste auctor excusando se de infirmitate capitis sui hic primam facit quietationem, dicens, *Me jam cessare*, a prophetia, *urget dolor capitis amare*, i. cogit me dolor capitis. *Sensus enim vacillat inanis*, et stultus. *Templis vesanis*, i. in tali parte capitis mei propter insanitatem. Sed *gratia divina*, idem post istam quietationem *fiet capiti medicina*, ut postmodum resum et prophetiam. Et sic terminatur prima distinctio in prima quietatione auctoris.

### *Incipit secunda distinctio hujus prophetiæ.*

Post primam quietationum hujus auctoris, ubi terminatur prima distinctio, resumit iste auctor prophetiam suam, continentem accidentia Angliæ a primo tempore dispositionis versus bellum de Crecy, scilicet anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>o</sup>xlvi<sup>o</sup>, per sexdecim annos usque ad secundam mortalitatem factam anno Christi millesimo lxi<sup>o</sup>; et ista est secunda distinctio, continens decem capitula.

Capitulum primum ostendit accidentia et facta regis Edwardi de Wyndesore a prima dispositione versus Crecy usque ad belli commissionem.

Capitulum secundum ostendit accidentia et eventum bellorum de Crecy et Dunolmia, quæ eodem anno fuerant commissa.

Capitulum tertium ostendit quomodo rex obsedit villam de Caleys, et qualia sibi acciderunt in principio obsidionis.

Capitulum quartum ostendit conditiones tauri illo tempore, et quomodo a dominis Angliæ in illa obsidione recepit auxilium.

Capitulum quintum continet captionem Karoli de Bloys, et falsitatem papæ Clementis contra Anglicos in causa Franciæ.

Capitulum sextum pertractat de uno bello disposito contra regem Angliæ dum fuerat in obsidione de Caleys, et quomodo bellum frustrabitur.

Capitulum septimum ostendit accidentia in principio regis Johannis, quæ acciderunt in Anglia et Francia.

Capitulum octavum ostendit quomodo rex Angliæ tardatur a proposito de Francia propter peccata sua.

Capitulum nonum ostendit quanta mala Gallici sustinuerunt propter peccata sua.

Capitulum decimum continet bella et facta Anglorum ab anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc.liiij. usque ad annum Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>um</sup>lxi<sup>m</sup>.

*Capitulum primum ostendit accidentia et facta regis  
E. de Wyndesore a prima dispositione versus  
Crecy usque ad belli commissionem.*

Jus cum justitia me cogit versificare,  
Sunt mihi materia de tauro plura notare.  
Gradibus inspectis, aliis causis bene lectis,  
Tauri sunt bella per singula justa novella.  
David eructavit, et psalterio modulavit,  
Est justus Dominus, hic justitias adamavit;  
Qui Deus est trinus, ac unus cuncta creavit,  
Falsos prostravit, justis cælumque paravit.  
Armis robustos facit omnipotens fore justos,  
Sub cauda tauri dum frondet virgula lauri.  
Taurus cornutus stauro fultus bene tutus.  
Ligni sternet equos, Messias diligit æquos,  
Plangere vult mœchos sua lubrica linquere cæcos.

Curva retrocedens dum fert vestigia cancer,  
 Grex curret cædens, taurus volitabit ut anser,  
 Ascendet proras, Gallorum tendet ad oras.  
 Qui tonat in cœlis det prospera flamina velis!  
 Plebs infidelis, sine suffultu Michaelis,  
 Transilient pontes, catapultæ sunt quia sontes,  
 Et ruet in fontes mallens transcurrere montes.  
 Arcubus utentes viduas facient fore flentes.  
 Tunc propter falsum gustabit Neustria salsum,  
 Bastardi natos non invenient sibi gratos.  
 Ca. cadet in portis, Ca. confundetur in hortis;  
 Gallorum portæ displodentur sibi sorte.  
 Gallica plebsque cadet, dum taurus trans vada vadet.  
 Flumina non lædent, cui Christi munera cedent,  
 Missis Clementis, cathedra Petri residentis.  
 Gallorum ficta gens, subdola, gens maledicta,  
 Cum fuerint stricta prætendent munera picta.  
 Cum fuerit victa, spondebit morte relicta,  
 Sic erit astricta, quod vim capient sua dicta.  
 Nil prodest fastus dum deficit undique pastus.  
 Nam propter fastum patietur Gallia vastum;  
 Gallorum lastum vix perquiret sibi pastum.

*Sequitur expositio istorum versuum.*—*Jus cum justitia.* Istud capitulum, continens præparationem ad bellum de Crecy, continet decem dicta. Primo ostendit iste auctor quod resumit suam prophetiam iterum de tauro, propter justitiam quam habet taurus in regno Franciæ, dicens, *Jus cum justitia*, quas scilicet habet taurus in regno Franciæ, *cogit me versificare* iterum de tauro et prophetiam resumere, quia illa *sunt mihi* materia de quibus volo *de tauro plura notare*, et ampliora describere, quia *bella novella tauri*, quæ faciet, *sunt per singula justa*, et sine scrupulo conscientiæ. *Gradibus inspectis*, i. si gradus consanguinitatis bene inspicias, *et aliis causis bene lectis*, i. bene legas alias causas, et cognoscas quomodo Gallici sibi resistebant, nolentes permittere eum habere regnum sibi debitum ex hæreditate. Secundo ostendit iste auctor ex auctoritate psalmistæ quod Deus roboravit taurum in ista justa causa, et prostravit falsos sibi resistentes, dicens, *David eructavit*, i. prophetando scripsit, *psalterio modulavit*, istam auctoritatem sequentem quod *justus est Dominus*. Hic justitias et amaverit, qui est Deus trinus et unus, ac *cuncta creavit* in prin-

cipio, *falsos prostravit* in bellis et operibus suis justus, cœlumque paravit post finem vitæ suæ; et ille Deus vult Anglicos habere illam fortitudinem in armis et bellis contra Gallicos propter justitiam quam habent in regno Franciæ. Tertio ostendit auctor tempus quo rex ordinavit navigium suum ad transeundum versus Franciam. Pro quo est notandum quod in mense Maii, quando sol est quasi in fine tauri, fecit rex navigium suum congregari et præparari versus Franciam; ideo dicit auctor, *Dum frondet virgula lauri*, i. dum laurus facit frondes et folia, *sub cauda tauri*, i. in mense Maii, quando sol est in fine, sive in cauda signi tauri, quo tempore arbores frondes emittunt. Tunc *taurus cornutus*, i. rex Angliæ cum hominibus suis et fortitudine sua, *bene fultus tauro*, et victualibus in navibus suis, et *tutus*, auxilio divino contra inimicos suos. *Sternet equos ligni*, i. ordinavit naves et classem suam pro justitia sua vendicanda in Franciam; quia *Messias diligit æquos*, i. rectos et justos; et hic utitur tertia occultatione. Et *plangere vult mæchos*, et luxuriosos Gallicos, propter peccata sua, et *sua lubrica linquere cæcos*, i. Gallicos, qui cæcos sunt in malitiis et luxuriis suis, vult linquere luxuriosa sua lubrica carnis per bellum et strages eis ab Anglicis infligenda; et hic est notandum qualem punitionem receperunt isti Gallici pro luxuria sua. Quarto ostendit tempus quo rex transivit mare ad partes Gallorum. Pro quo est notandum quod posuit se ad mare in mense Julii, quo tempore sol est in cancro, et dies incipiunt abbreviari; unde dicit auctor, *Dum cancer retrocedens*, i. dum sol est in signo cancri in quo retrocedit a capitibus nostris, *fert vestigia curva*, i. abbreviat dies qui sunt vestigia solis super terram, *tunc curret grex cædens*, i. populus Angliæ qui cædem et stragem magnam facient in Francia; *curret* ad naves, et *taurus volitabit ut anser*, i. per aquam per quam anser multum desiderat volutare; et sic iste rex *ascendet proras*, i. naves, *Gallorum tendet ad oras*, i. ad fines Franciæ. Et auctor hic rogat proris prosperos ventos, dicens, qui *tonat in cælis*, i. Deus, cui est proprium tonare, *det prospera flamina velis*, i. concedat prosperum ventum in illo navigio. Quinto ostendit quomodo gens Gallica, seu Normandiæ, frugerunt pontes in adventu Anglorum, quos tamen Anglici pertransibant eos occidendo. Pro quo est notandum quod frugerunt Gallici pontem quæ est super Secanam et vocatur Pontlarge, ut Anglici ibi non pertransirent, ubi tamen Gallicos cum sagittis debellabant et transierunt; unde dicit auctor, *Plebs infidelis*, i. gens Franciæ, quæ infidelis contra regem Angliæ fuerat, et *sine suffultu Michaelis*, i. sine auxilio sancti cujus die prædictum pontem forte frugerunt ne Anglici transirent, *tamen transibunt pontes*, per auxilium sagittariorum. *Catapultæ sunt quia sontes*, i. quia sagittæ Gallicis sunt nocivæ, quæ catapultæ dicuntur, et *ruet in fontes*, gens Franciæ resistens, *mallens transire montes*, et loca



altiora illo tempore occupasse. Sexto ostendit auctor quantam stragem et destructionem facient sagittarii per Normanniam in transitu suo, dicens, *Arcubus utentes*, i. sagittarii, *facient viduas fore flentes*, propter occisionem maritorum in illo transitu; et tunc *Neustria*, i. Normandia, *gustabit salsum*, i. amaritudinem et dolorem, *propter falsum*, quia falsi fuerint contra regem Angliæ, qui fuit de genere Willelmi Bastardi, quondam ducis illius patriæ; ideo dicit auctor, *quia non inueniet natos bastardi sibi gratos*, sed ingratos et resistentes sibi in illo transitu. Septimo ostendit captionem de Caam in illo transitu. Pro quo est notandum quod exercitus regis Angliæ posuit se ad accipiendum civitatem Caam in transitu per Normanniam, quæ civitas habet unum pontem introitu suo ante portas, ubi fecerunt magnum conflictum ante captionem civitatis. Tandem tamen Anglici per illam portam potiti sunt victoria et ceperunt civitatem; unde dicit auctor, *Ca. cadet in portis*, quia ibi incipient civitatem debellare. *Ca. confundetur in hortis*, i. illa civitas de Caam recipiet confusionem in hortis post suam captionem, *et portæ Gallorum*, i. illius civitatis Franciæ, *displodentur sibi sorte*, i. aperientur tauro per fortunam post magnam stragem et conflictum. Octavo ostendit auctor destructionem Francorum in transitu regis super unum fluvium, dicens, *Gallia plebsque cadet*, per bellum, *dum taurus trans vada vadet*, i. dum transivit vadum illius fluvii, ubi Gallici in quodam castello sibi resistebant, quod castellum ab Anglicis tunc captum fuit. Sed *flumina non lædent*, in illo transitu cui *Christi munera cedent*, i. cui gratia Christi dat locum ad transeundum. *Missis Clementis*, i. orationibus domini papæ, *residentis in cathedra Petri*, seu dignitate papali. Unde hic notat auctor quod aliqui de Francia in transitu illius fluminis erant salvati per missas et orationes papæ Clementis, qui in ista causa semper fuit pro Gallicis contra Anglicos favorabilis. Nono ostendit falsitates Gallorum in promissionibus suis dum fuerant in necessitate, quas postea noluerunt implere, dicens, *Gallorum ficta gens, subdola, gens maledicta*. Hic ponit tres malas condiciones de Gallicis. *Cum fuerint stricta*, potestate Anglicorum, *prætendent munera picta*, i. promittent magna dona et multa. *Cum fuerit victa spondebit morte relicta*, i. spondebit redemptionem pro vita sua ut mortem relinquat, et tunc *sic erit astricta* et coacta per Anglicos, *qui vim capient sua dicta*, quia reddent quantum promittebant vel amplius. Decimo ostendit auctor quod fastus et superbia Gallorum nihil illo tempore eis proficiebat, et propter eam multa mala patiebantur, dicens, *Nil prodest fastus* et superbia Gallorum, *dum deficit undique pastus*, quia cibus et pastus eorum tunc undique per Anglicos destruebantur. *Nam propter fastum*, et superbiam, *patiatur Gallia vastum*, ab Anglicis illo tempore et destructionem, quia si non fuisset superbia eorum reddidissent regi Angliæ regnum suum in prima



petitione, et ideo *Gallorum lastum*, i. lacinia vel superbia, *via perquiret sibi pastum*, tanta erit penuria victualium illo tempore propter guerram. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum ij. ostendit accidentia et eventum bellorum de Crecy et Dunolmia, etc., eodem anno commissorum*

Jam crescunt bella, crescunt ter trina duella,  
 Alma maris stella, fer nunc vexilla, puella.  
 Bis dux vix feriet cum trecentis sociatis;  
 Phi. falsus fugiet, non succurret nece stratis.  
 Rex, dux, et miles fient post funera viles.  
 Frangentur capita ducum geminis redimita;  
 Non margarita salvabitur a nece vita.  
 Gaviso monte nullus transit sine sonte;  
 Pro nulla marcha salvabitur ille hierarcha.  
 Exaltabuntur in Gallos cornua justi,  
 Lætificabuntur Angli pinguedine musti.  
 Nitens per guerras Anglorum perdere terras,  
 Testis erit culter, David perdetur adulter.  
 Suspikor et clerus, penetrans cognomine verus,  
 Viscera Scotorum penetrabunt belligerorum.  
 Angusta spata ferientur vulnera lata;  
 Nam Lucas medicus Scotis non fiet amicus.  
 Dæmone namque duce vincentur vespere Lucæ,  
 Teste novæ cruce villæ latitant sine luce.  
 Cum pauca gente Christo vexilla ferente,  
 Mundata mente, non fit victoria lente.  
 Sacri cornuti divino dogmate tuti,  
 Sub signo scuti fient hoc tempore tuti.  
 Non erit et mutum Scotos solvisse tributum.

*Sequitur expositio versuum.*—*Jam crescunt bella.* Hoc capitulum, continens accidentia bellorum de Crecy et Dunolmia, continet octo dicta. Unde pro istis bellis est notandum quod illa fuerunt commissa anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>mo</sup>xlvj<sup>to</sup>, bellum de Crecy septimo kal. Octobr., et bellum Dunolmiæ xvj. kal. Novembr. In primo dicto ostendit auctor multitudinem bellorum futurorum implo-

rando auxilium beatæ Mariæ virginis pro rege Edwardo, dicens, *Jam crescunt bella*, quæ inferius ostenduntur, *crescunt ter trina duella*, i. novem conflictus, qui forte ab illo bello de Crecy fient inter homines duorum regnorum, vel forte tot erunt conflictus singulares inter milites Angliæ et Franciæ; quia duellum dicitur proprie duorum bellum, unde pro istis bellis auctor invocatur auxilium beatæ Virginis sicut prius solebat, dicens, *Alma maris stella*, scilicet virgo Maria, *puella Christi, fer nunc vexilla*, regis Edwardi contra inimicos suos. Secundo ostendit auctor annum Christi in quo ista duo bella fuerunt commissa, et quomodo Philippus rex Franciæ fugiebat a bello de Crecy, dicens, *Bis dux*, i. M<sup>o</sup>xxx., qui est numerus signatus per literas hujus dictionis dux duplicatus, *vix feriet*, i. copulat sexdecim, qui est numerus signatus per literas hujus dictionis vix, *cum trecentis sociatis*, quia trecenta sociata seu copulata cum numeris prædictis ostendunt numerum annorum Christi quo bellum fuit commissum, scilicet annum Christi M.ccc.xlvj. Et tunc *Phi. falsus fugiet*, i. Philippus rex Franciæ de illo bello, *et non succurret nece stratis*, nec juvabit populum in illo bello occisum et prostratum, sed eum derelinquet; et ita factus est. Tertio ostendit qui occiduntur in illo bello de magnis dominis. Pro quo est notandum quod fuerunt ex parte regis Franciæ rex Boemiæ, dux vel comes Flandriæ, et magister hospitalariorum, qui omnes in illo bello occisi sunt cum multis aliis valentibus; unde dicit auctor, *Rex*, scilicet Boemiæ, *dux*, sive comes Flandriæ, et *miles*, sive milites, *fient post funera viles*, eo quod in illo bello occisi sunt, et *capita ducum*, i. virorum fortium vel tot militum quod signantur per istum terminum ducum, i. M<sup>o</sup>lxx., *frangentur*, licet gemmis fuerant redimita et lapidibus pretiosis in galeis, quia *vita non salvabitur* in illo a nece, seu morte, *pro margarita*, i. lapidibus suis pretiosis. Et *nullus transibit sine fonte*, i. dolore, *gaviso monte*, pro Mountjoye, quod fuit verbum Gallicum quo utebantur Franci; vel nomen loci in quo bellum fuit commissum. Et *ipse hierarcha*, i. magister hospitalariorum, *pro nulla marcha salvabitur*, quia in illo bello fuit occisus. Quarto ostendit finem belli, et gaudium Anglicorum post bellum, dicens, *Exaltabuntur in Gallos cernua justi*, i. potestas et exercitus justi Edwardi dominabuntur super Gallicos in illo conflictu, *et Angli lætificabuntur* post illud bellum *pinguedine musti*, i. per bona vina quæ bibent ad suorum confortationem transeundo per terram Franciæ. Quinto ostendit auctor quomodo David rex in bello Dunolmiæ capietur. Pro quo est sciendum quod iste David rex, audiens regem Angliæ esse in Francia cum populo suo, collegit exercitum magnum contra Angliam, ut eam in regis absentia destrueret; unde de illo dicit auctor, *Nitens per guerras Anglorum perdere terras*, scilicet in regis absentia; sed *culter erit testis*, i. sagitta, quod *David perdetur adulter*, quia sagittatus primo fuit in facie,

et deinde per Johannem de Coupelonde captus; qui adulter dicitur propter concubinas suas. Sexto ostendit, dicens qui fuerunt duces illius belli. Ex parte Angliæ fuerunt Willelmus de la Souche, episcopus Eboracensis, et dominus de Percy, cum suis militibus; unde dicit auctor, *Suspikor et clerus*, i. Willelmus de la Souche et clerus qui cum eo erat, et *penetrans cognomine verus*, i. verus homo habens cognomen Percy, scilicet penetrans, et ipsi *penetrabunt viscera Scotorum belligerorum*, cum lanceis et sagittis quos in illo bello occident, *et lata vulnera*, et magna, ferientur spata angusti, cum gladio angusto vel angustiae in illo bello. Septimo ostendit diem belli, et locum in quo Scoti vincentur et occidentur. Pro quo est notandum quod bellum in vigilia Sancti Lucae evangelistae fuit commissum, in loco juxta Dunolmiam, prope crucem Nevillæ, ubi Scoti occisi fuerunt; ideo dicit auctor, *Nam Lucas medicus*, i. Sanctus Lucas evangelista, qui fuit arte medicus, *Scotis non fiet amicus*, in illo bello, *namque vincentur vespere Lucae*, in vigilia Lucae, xvj. kal. Novembr. *Dæmone duce*, quia per diabolum ducti erant illo tempore ad Angliam; *et latitant sine luce*, i. sine visu et vita post eorum occisionem, *teste cruce novæ villæ*, quia crux Nevillæ perhibebit testimonium juxta quam sepulti sunt post bellum. Octavo ostendit quod illa victoria fuit cum pauca gente per auxilium Christi, dicens, *Christo vexilla ferente*, i. dum Christus portat vexilla in illo bello, *non fiet victoria lente*, i. tarde, sed cito, *cum pauca gente mundata mente*, i. pura conscientia ex parte Anglorum, quia Anglici fuerunt in parvo numero valde ad Scotos quos devicerunt auxilio et supportatione Christi. Nono ostendit de episcopis qui fuerunt in illo bello sub scuto, quod erant muti dogmate divino, dicens, *Sacri cornuti*, i. episcopi qui cornua mitræ in capite portant, *muti dogmate divino*, quia non prædicant divinam legem seu evangelium, sicut deberent. *Fient hoc tempore tuti*, et securi, *sub signo scuti*, i. sub scutis quibus se custodiebant in illo bello, *Sed non erit mutum*, seu occultum, *Scotos solvisse tributum*, in illo bello; et hic dicit Scotis verbum opprobriosum. Et sic istud capitulum terminatur.

*Capitulum tertium, quomodo rex obsedit villam de  
Caleys, et qualia sibi acciderunt in principio  
obsidionis.*

Taurus pasturam post eliget undique duram;  
Attamen est sana juxta fontes bene plana.  
Audivi verba, quod gregi deficit herba;  
Deficit ac aurum, non potest pascere staurum.

Ad loca præfata veniet Diana parata,  
 Simia lactata dicetur clunagitata.  
 Vespere vel mane grex non satus est bene pane,  
 Taurus vesanæ lapidat dum crura Dianæ.  
 Illecebris tritus vix potest esse peritus.  
 Tunc excillabit, et latronem generabit.  
 Calles calcabit, colles fundo lapidabit.  
 Taurum vexabit amor, et taurum superabit,  
 Subdola vesanæ dum complet vota Dianæ.  
 Est opus insigne fraudem vitare malignæ;  
 Dalida Sampsonem decepit, amor Salamonem,  
 Decipit et multos fallax dilectio stultos.  
 Si modo plus dicam, faciam mihi tunc inimicam.  
 Dedita gens scortis morietur fulmine sortis;  
 Scribitur in portis, meretrix est janua mortis.  
 Propter peccata venient immania fata;  
 Virgo Deo grata precibus conservet amata.  
 Spernetur Dyna, comitis fiet inde ruina;  
 Dat lex divina, mors falsis fit medicina.  
 Est quia Brabani non incipient fore sani,  
 Trippi Germani sine nummis sunt Madiani;  
 Necnon Flandrenses partim sunt Francigenenses.  
 Expediet tauro proprio confidere stauro.

*Sequitur expositio inde.—Taurus pasturam.* Hoc tertium capitulum, ostendens obsidionem de Caley, et alia facta in principio obsidionis, continet septem dicta. Primo dicit de obsidione, et de defectu victualium et expensarum in principio ejus. Pro quo est notandum quod eodem anno quo bellum de Crecy commissum fuit, rex Angliæ posuit obsidionem apud Caley; unde dicit auctor, *Taurus eliget post*, scilicet bellum de Crecy, *undique duram pasturam*, et terram sterilem juxta Caley, ubi populus non potuit sustentari. *Attamen illa pastura est sana*, propter aerem et bene plana juxta fontes et rivos aquarum. Dicit tamen auctor, *sed audiui verba*, scilicet a Spiritu Sancto, *quod gregi deficit herba*, i. populo Angliæ, qui grex tauri dicitur, victualia defecerunt. *Ac defuit aurum illo tempore regi.* *Non potest pascere staurum*, i. populum suum propter defectum auri. Secundo ostendit auctor adventum reginæ ad Cales, et defectum victualium illo tempore, *ad loca præfata*, scilicet Cales, *veniet Diana parata*, i. regina Angliæ. *Simia lactata*, i. regina prædicta, vel alia mulier habens



conditiones simiæ lactatæ, vel habens lac in uberibus suis; quæ dicitur *clunagitata*, i. supposita per regem vel alium qui cum ea concubuit. Clunus enim nates dicitur, et componetur cum isto termino agitata, qui idem signat quod mota, inde clunagitata, i. nates mota, seu vitiata. *Et dum taurus lapidat crura vesanæ Dianæ*, i. dum concumbit cum ea, quæ vesana seu male sana dicitur, eo quod eum in illo facto impedivit; et vocat hic lapides tauri testiculos ejus, qui crura vesanæ Dianæ lapidabat ad ejus libidinem perfruendam in illo tempore. *Vespere vel mane*, i. nulla hora diei, *grex non satus est bene pane*, i. panem non habuit ad sufficientiam, tanta inter eos pro tunc fuerat penuria. Tertio ostendit auctor quod taurus illo tempore amore vesanæ Dianæ superabatur, unde multa habuit impedimenta, dicens quod taurus *tritrus illecebris*, et operibus illicitis deditus, *vix potest esse peritus* et sapiens in operibus suis; quasi diceret quod taurus tunc fiet imperitus propter luxuriam suam; et *tunc excillabit*, i. coibit cum uxore sua, quia excillare est manere cum uxore propria, secundum Catholicon. *Et latronem generabit*, nescio quis sit ille latro, si sit aliquis filius regis tunc generatus in tempore amore obsidionis vel qui proximo fuit generatus post illam obsidionem, vel quod faciet populum suum latronem et prædari ab eo declinacem, qui sibi victum et stipendia præbebat, dum talibus indulgebat maleficiis, et illo tempore *Calles calcabit*, per semitas transeundo occultas eas faciet communes. *Colles fundis lapidabit*, quæ fecit pro tempore obsidionis, quando cum fundis colles et muros civitatis cum lapidibus nitebatur obruere, dum *complet subdola vota*, et falsa, *Dianæ vesanæ* prædictæ, quæ sibi suggerit ad libitum suum perficiendum, quia taurum *vexabit amor*, illo tempore, et taurum superabit, quia, propter amorem superatus, faciet secundum concilium prædictæ mulieris. Quarto ostendit auctor quod est opus magnum et insigne vitare fraudes et falsitates malignæ mulieris et falsæ, dicens, *Est opus insigne*, et magnum, *fraudem vitare malignæ*, et falsitatem malæ mulieris declinare seu evadere, quia *Dalida Sampsonem decepit*, qui fuit homo fortissimus, et *amor decepit Salamonem*, qui fuit sapientissimus; et *fallax dilectio mulierum* et falsa *decepit multos stultos*, qui capti amoris alicujus mulieris nesciunt dimittere. Sed *si modo plus dicam*, de muliere falsa, *faciam mihi tunc inimicam*, scilicet de muliere prædicta, quasi diceret si applicarem ista prædicta ad reginam Angliæ, seu ad prædictam mulierem, quod ipsa regem infatuat et decipit, sicut prædictæ mulieres viros enarratos deceperunt, facerem eam inimicam mihi. Quinto ostendit auctor quanta mala venient propter luxuriam et scortum populo et genti, dicens quod *gens dedita scortis* et luxuriæ, *morietur fulmine sortis*, i. mala morte per similitudinem fulminis, vel cum fulmine; et ideo *scribitur in portis*, tanquam commune proverbium, quod *meretrix est janua mortis*, i. qua homo cito adducitur ad mortem. Nota quod apparet hic



auctorem invenire quod taurus concubuit tunc cum alia muliere quam regina, quia aliter non diceretur scortum illud peccatum luxuriæ, nec tantum ponderat illud factum cum uxore propria, nec tanta vindicta sequeretur quanta innuit hic auctor, dicens quod *immania fata*, i. magnæ destructionis et nocumenta, *venient propter peccata*, quæ enumeravit regis Angliæ et populo suo, sed *virgo Deo grata*, scilicet Sancta Maria, *precibus conservet amata*, i. regem et populum apud Deum cum precibus suis a prædicta ruina quam propter peccata sua meruerunt. Sexto ostendit quomodo comes Flandriæ spernet filiam regis Angliæ, quam prius concessit recipere in conjugem, unde ejus ruina eveniet; dicit enim, *Spernetur Dyna*, i. filia regis, et *comitis fiet inde ruina*, i. comitis Flandriæ, eo quod eam sic delusit; quia *dat lex divina*, ex ordinatione Dei, quod *mors falsis fit medicina*, quia falsi ante mortem ut communiter non corriguntur; et ideo dicit istum verum, quia forte ille comes recipiet mortem suam per illam falsitatem, vel per vindictam Dei, vel per manus Anglicorum, qui cum forte occident. Septimo ostendit quod omnes fere stipendiarii regis illo tempore eum derelinquent, et tunc sua confidentia tota in proprio stauro consistet; unde dicit, *Et quia Brabani*, i. homines de Brabantia, *non incipient fore sani*, regi Angliæ in bello suo, et *Trippi Germani*, qui secum fuerant, *sine nummis sint Madiani*, i. falsi et divisi ab eo. *Necnon Flandrenses*, i. homines de Flandria, *sunt partim Francigenenses*, i. aliquammodo se inclinabunt ad partes regis Franciæ. Et tunc *expedit tauro*, scilicet regi Angliæ, *proprio confidere stauro*, i. hominibus de Anglia. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum iiiij<sup>um</sup> ostendit conditiones tauri circa ista tempora, quomodo a dominis Angliæ in illa obsidione recepit auxilium.*

Eulogium didici, tauri perient inimici.  
 Nam rex robustus armis, per singula justus,  
 Rex bonus et fortis, cui nulla nocent mala mortis,  
 Rex nunquam victus, gladii cui non nocet ictus;  
 Emanuel dictus, cum quo fit copia victus,  
 In mundo talis non est pugnans generalis;  
 Nobilis hic miles acies ducet juveniles,  
 Dum fuerint grati, peccatis non maculati,  
 Moribus aptati, nunquam fient superati.  
 Pondere peccati sunt plures pancratiati.

Post hyemis frigidum milvus faciet sibi nidum.  
 Exiet edictum, taurum promittere victum,  
 Pascua fœcunda dabit atque virentia, munda.  
 Jam grex lætatur, taurumque juvare paratur;  
 Nam longum castrum, armis rutilans velut astrum,  
 Læsis emplastrum, veniet cædens quasi rastrum,  
 Unabit staurum, confortabit bene taurum.  
 Tunc vituli multique canes juvenes et adulti,  
 Ursi, multones, leopardi, sicque leones,  
 Ad taurum venient, qui victores bene fient.

*Sequitur expositio istorum versuum.—Eulogium didici.* Istud quartum capitulum, ostendens tauri victoriam propter suas bonas conditiones, et quomodo in illa obsidione recepit auxilium a dominis Angliæ, continet quinque dicta. Primo ostendit quomodo taurus habebit victoriam de inimicis suis propter bonos mores suos, quos hic enumerat, dicens, *Eulogium didici*, i. bonum sermonem a Spiritu Sancto, quod, *tauri perient inimici*, i. Gallici obsessi in civitate de Calesia, qui propter famem equos et ratones comedebant, et multi mortui sunt in civitate per penuria, qui tandem civitatem regi obtulerunt; *nam rex robustus in armis*, hic quasi assignat rationem istius expeditionis, et quare rex iste est ita fortis in armis, quia est *per singula justus*, in vendicatione Franciæ, et est *rex bonus et fortis*, i. virtute corporali; *cui nulla nocent mala mortis*, quia nec pestilentia nec gladius nec victoria, qui est *rex nunquam victus*, ab inimicis suis; *gladii cui non nocet ictus*, quia creditur quod illo tempore nunquam recepit ictum nocivum in bello; qui *Emanuel* est *dictus*, i. nobiscum Deus, quia Deus in omni tempore suo erit cum Anglicis. *Cum quo fit copia victus*, quia licet aliquando patiebatur in victualibus, nunquam tamen fuit aliquis rex in Anglia in cujus tempore tanta fuerat copia victualium. Et *in mundo talis non est pugnans generalis*, qui ita generaliter pugnat sicut iste rex. Secundo ostendit iste auctor quod dum iste rex duxerit milites suos sine peccato, semper habebit victoriam; unde dicit, *Nobilis hic miles*, i. rex Angliæ, *acies ducet juveniles*, scilicet in exercitu suo, *qui nunquam fient superati*, ab inimicis suis, *dum fuerant grati*, Deo et regi suo, et *peccatis non maculati*, scilicet in conscientia, sed bonis moribus aptati. Sed auctor jam dicit de eis quod *plures sunt pancratiati*, i. gravati et depressi, *pondere peccati*, quod isti portant in conscientiis suis propter maleficia sua. Tertio ostendit auctor quomodo rex post hyemem congregavit sibi populum, eis victualia et stipendia tribuendo. Pro quo est notandum quod rex, videns quod populus recessit ab eo, misit ad Angliam pro auro, et argento, et victualibus, ut populum sibi

congregaret, et ita factum est. Populus enim post hyemem revertebatur sibi, audiens quod omni revertenti promiserat stipendia et expensas; unde dicit auctor, *Milvus faciet sibi nidum*, i. rex Angliæ, qui milvo assimilabatur propter pusillanimitatem suam, faciet obsidionem circa villam de Caleys ad modum nidi, *post hyemis frigidum*, i. postquam frigiditas hyemis recessit. Et *exiet edictum*, et mandatum regis, *taurum promittere victum*, scilicet quod taurus promittit victum omnibus venientibus, et *dabit pascua fecunda*, i. victualia ad sufficientiam, *atque virentia, munda*, i. bona et placita in tempore virenti et mundo, scilicet in vere. *Jam grex latatur*, post illud promissum, *taurumque juvare paratur*, i. parat se in adjutorium tauri in illa obsidione. Quarto ostendit quomodo dux Lancastriæ in illa obsidione veniebat ad auxiliandum tauro. Pro quo est notandum quod dux illo tempore venit de Vasconia ad obsidionem de Calays; unde dicit, *Nam longum castrum*, i. dux Lancastriæ, *armis rutilans velut astrum*, quasi diceret quod in armis fuit splendens et rutilans sicut stella cæli, qui fuit *læsis emplastrum*, quia sicut emplastrum curat infirmitates et allevat, ita ipse læsis et percussis valebat in bello. *Veniet cædens quasi rastrum*, rastrum est instrumentum magnum et horribile, et sic iste fuit horribilis in bello et nocivus inimicis suis. *Unabit staurum*, i. populum ad regem, *et confortabit bene taurum*, in adventu suo. Et istud est valde notabile dictum de illo bono duce, per quem Anglia multos recepit honores et magnam gloriam per opera sua bellica et labores magnos quos sustinuit. Quinto ostendit auctor multitudinem dominorum et populi venientem tauro ad illam obsidionem post edictum regis de victualibus; unde dicit auctor, *Tunc vituli multi*, i. fortes juvenes ad similitudinem vitulorum, *que canes juvenes et adulti*, i. populus valde mordax et nocivus in bello ad similitudinem canum in juventute et senectute existens. *Ursi*, aliqui habentes conditiones ursorum; et *multones*, mores ovinos habentes in simplicitate; *leopardi*, portantes leopardos in scutis suis; *sicque leones*, i. domini portantes leones in armis suis. Omnes isti *ad taurum venient* existentem in obsidione de Calays, *qui victores bene fient*, qui obtinuerunt civitatem de inimicis suis. Et sic finitur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum v. continet captionem Karoli de Bloys et falsitatem papæ Clementis contra Angliam in causa Franciæ.*

De miris gestis psallentur cantica festis;  
De Gallis mcestis, cæsis, Britannia testis.  
Carceribus captus Karolus lustris erit aptus;

Non ut perdatur, auro sed ut hic redimatur,  
 Vix sine fermentis est pastor cunctipotentis.  
 Taurus Clementis non confidet documentis,  
 Plus quam Clementis valet auxilium redimentis.  
 Gratia nam Christi succurret concito tristi.  
 Mundatis mente currit charisma repente ;  
 Vanis Clementis volitat benedictio ventis.  
 Non vivit sane qui dispendit sacra vane ;  
 Gentis Romanæ pastor erit alter inane,  
 Qui Petri plane solium capiet sibi mane.  
 Balthasar in cœnis vasis potavit amœnis,  
 Summo dicatis, de templo vi spoliatis ;  
 Per techel et mane phares discussaque plane,  
 Quod fuit inane didicit sacra tangere vane.

*Sequitur expositio inde.—De miris gestis.* Istud quintum capitulum, continens captionem Karoli de Bloys et falsitatem papæ Clementis contra Anglicos, habet quinque dicta. Primo ostendit quomodo Karolus de Bloys fuit captus et ductus London. ad carcerem donec solvat redemptionem suam, dicens quod *cantica psallentur in festis*, i. conviviis, *de miris gestis*, i. magnis, *de Gallis mæstis, cæsis*, qui scilicet fuerant mæsti et dolorosi propter cædem et stragem quam ab Anglicis patiebantur. *Britannia testis*, i. Britannia erit testis hujus dicti, ubi Gallici fuerunt occisi juxta castellum de Rochele, quod capere nitebantur. Et *Karolus caput lustris*, vel locis densis et occultis in illo bello, *carceribus erit aptus*, qui post illud bellum posuerunt eum ad carcerem; vel *lustris*, i. per decem annos, quæ duo lustræ dicuntur, qui per tantum tempus fere stetit in carcere. *Non ut perdatur*, sive ut occidatur, positus fuit in carceribus; *auro sed ut hic redimatur*, i. ut reddat aurum pro redemptione sua; et ita factum fuit. Secundo ostendit auctor quod papa circa illud tempus voluit decipisse regem, cujus documentis rex non confidit. Pro quo est notandum quod papa Clemens semper in quantum potuit fuit cum Gallicis contra Anglicos, et induxit regem in quantum potuit per literas et nuncios quod dimitteret bellum suum et vendicationem regni Franciæ, in quo nullum jus habuit nec justitiam; et hoc innuit auctor, dicens quod *vix sine fermentis*, i. falsa simulatione, *est pastor cunctipotentis*, i. papa, qui pastor Dei est, habens gregem Christi in custodia sua, qui false et dolose docuit regem Angliæ. *Sed taurus non confidens in documentis Clementis* papæ, qui fuerunt contra honorem suum, sed suam causam in manum Dei omnipotentis committit, quia *plus valet auxilium redimentis*, i.



Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, *quam auxilium Clementis* papæ, quod bene invenerunt Anglici in causa sua. Tertio ostendit auctor quomodo papa Clemens Gallicis concessit benedictionem in causa sua, sed Anglici Christi benedictionem receperunt; unde dicit auctor, *Gratia nam Christi*, scilicet benedictio Dei, *succurret concito tristi*, i. regis Angliæ, qui fuit tristis quando vidit ecclesiam contra eum, vel propter peccata sua, et *charisma*, i. donum episcopi sancti, *curret repente* et cito, *mundatis mente*, i. Anglicis, qui conscientiam suam mundaverunt de peccatis suis, et *benedictio Clementis*, scilicet papæ, *volitat vanis ventis*, quia non proficiet Gallicis in aliquo, quia data fuit contra justitiam. Unde hic est notandum quod papa potest errare multotiens contra justitiam, et excommunicare partem veram, et benedicere partem falsam, et dare indulgentias pugnantibus in parte falsa; et tunc Deus apponit benedictionem suam parti veræ, ut alia lata a papa ei non noceat. Quarto reprobat auctor modum faciendi papæ, et quod nimis erravit in factis suis, dicens, *Non vivit sane*, i. vita bona et Deo placita, *qui dispendit sacra vane*; et hoc dicit propter papam qui sacra et bona ecclesiæ quibus adjuvit regem Franciæ contra regem Angliæ vane expendidit et male, et *mane erit pastor alter*, et successor Sancti Petri ad regimen *gentis Romanæ*, i. ecclesiæ Romanæ et sancti Dei, *qui capiet sibi solum Petri plane*, i. expendit res ecclesiæ pertinentes ad solum Sancti Petri plane secundum voluntatem suam, et non secundum justitiam, nec ad conservationem justitiæ; *sed sibi mane*, i. ad suam destructionem, quia mane est verbum Græcum signans quod numeravit Deus regnum tuum et complevit illud, Danielis quinto, et sic Deus regnum papæ et ejus vitam abbreviabit propter peccata sua. Quinto ostendit auctor unam historiam contra papam, ostendendo quod mala fecit expendendo sacra ecclesiæ vane. Pro quo est notandum quod Danielis quinto habetur quomodo Baltasar rex Babylonis in convivio quod fecit optimatibus præcepit afferre vasa aurea quæ tulerat pater ejus rex Nabugodonosor de templo Jerusalem, ut biberent in eis rex et optimates ejus uxoresque ejus et concubinæ. Idcirco a Deo est missus articulus manus, qui scripsit in pariete, vidente rege, Mane, techel, phares, et hæc est interpretatio sermonis: Mane, numeravit Deus regnum tuum et complevit illud; techel, appensum est in statera et inventum est minus habens; phares, divisum est regnum tuum et datum est Medis et Persis. Hanc historiam tangit auctor, dicens quod *Balthasar in cænis*, quas optimatibus suis fecerat, *potavit vasis amænis*, quæ fuerant de auro et argento, *summo dicatis*, i. sacratis summo Deo æterno, *de templo vi spoliatis*, per Nabugodonosor regem et patrem prædicti Balthasar, et ille *didicit*, scilicet in cæna, *per techel et mane, phares*, i. per scripturam istam, seu per ista verba, *discussa plane*, i. clare exposita, *quod fuit inane*, et nimis



grave peccatum, *sacra tangere vane*, illa quæ Deo sacrata fuerunt, quia pro illo facto fuit privatus regno. Et istam historiam intendit auctor adducere contra papam Clementem, qui male bona ecclesiæ expendidit fovendo falsam causam Franciæ.

*Capitulum vj<sup>tum</sup> pertractat unum bellum dispositum  
contra regem Angliæ dum fuerat in obsidione  
Calesiæ, et quomodo frustrabatur.*

Vix cum vi culli bis septem se sociabunt,  
Gallorum pulli tauro bellum renovabunt.  
Jam reboant bella, fer adhuc vexilla, puella;  
Rex Saul erravit quærens occidere David,  
Quem Deus elegit, ejus mandataque fregit,  
Sortilegis credens, et ab ejus lege recedens.  
In bello stratus fuit inde Saul sceleratus.  
Est opus inane Christo contendere vane.  
Cum comitatenses vibrabunt eminus enses,  
Bussi burgenses, Bolones, Francigenenses,  
Tanti pugnantes vix mundo sunt equitantes,  
Quanti pro bellis veniunt fugientque novellis.  
Judice cœlorum rumpetur turma malorum;  
Falsus non stabit, Phi et lippus fugitabit,  
Cum sit conflictus non expectabit ad ictus;  
Qui semel est victus, est armis postea fictus,  
Est nimis afflictus a Christo quisque relictus,  
Descendensque fora descendet ad inferiora.  
Non valet immo cadet qui victus ad infera vadit.  
Regnum cœleste non cernet dæmone teste.

*Sequitur expositio inde.*—*Vix cum vi culli.* Istud capitulum, pertractans dispositionem belli contra regem Angliæ existentem in obsidione Calesiæ, continet quinque dicta. Unde pro isto bello est notandum quod Calesienses obsessi miserunt regi Franciæ Philippo per nuncios quod non poterant amplius custodire villam sine ejus auxilio propter famem quam sustinuerunt; unde Philippus collegit magnum exercitum contra Anglicos, ut eos expugnaret in illa obsidione, et venit versus Calesiam, qui per nuncios audiens dispositionem et fortitudinem Anglicorum perterritus fugit sine adjutorio præstito Calesiensibus; et ista est materia hujus capituli.

Primo igitur ostendit auctor annum Domini in quo istud bellum disposuerunt, et invocat auxilium beatæ Virginis pro rege Edwardo. Pro quo est notandum quod istud bellum fuit dispositum primo anno post bellum de Crecy, licet non pervenit ad effectum, scilicet anno Christi millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup>xlviij<sup>mo</sup>; unde dicit auctor, *Vix cum vi culli*, i. numerus signatus per literas istarum dictionum, et *bis septem*, i. quatuordecem, *se sociabunt* in uno numero, dum resultat numerus annorum Christi M.ccc.xlvij., in quo *Gallorum pulli*, i. homines de Francia, *tauro bellum renovabunt*, ad removendum eum de obsidione Calesiæ. *Jam reboant bella*, contra regem Angliæ, ideo tu Maria, mater Christi, *fer adhuc vexilla, puella*, regis Edwardi contra inimicos suos. Secundo ostendit auctor per historiam quod vanum est pugnare seu contendere contra ordinationem divinam et ejus voluntatem. Pro quo est notanda historia quod Saul rex, postquam audit a Samuele propheta quod Deus deponeret eum de regno et daret proximo suo David, persecutus est David multotiens ut eum destrueret, qui tandem in bello coangustatus suscitavit Samuelem per phitonissam, unde in bello die sequente fuit occisus secundum responsum Samuelis. Et hanc historiam alludit auctor, dicens, *Rex Saul erravit*, et male fecit, volens *occidere David, quem Deus elegit*, ad regnum Israel, et ipse Saul *ejus mandatuque fregit, sortilegis credens*, quando per phitonissam suscitavit Samuelem, quod fuit contra mandatum legis, *recedens* igitur fuit in hoc *ab ejus lege, et inde Saul sceleratus*, et malus, *fuit in bello stratus*, in die sequente contra Philistæos; unde patet ex ista historia quod *est opus inane*, et fatuum, *Christi contendere vane*, et pugnare fatue contra voluntatem Christi. Nota quod istam historiam adducit contra regem Franciæ, qui vane pugnat contra regem Angliæ, cui Deus ordinavit regnum Franciæ vel suis successoribus. Tertio ostendit pugnatore congregatos pro illo bello, et qualiter virtute Dei rumpebantur sine conflictu; unde dicit, *Cum comitatenses*, i. homines de comitatibus, *vibrabunt eminus enses*, i. disponunt se ad bellum, a longe non audentes appropinquare, et *Bussi burgenses, Bolones, Francigenenses*, qui omnes congregati fuerunt in illo bello, et *tanti pugnantes vix mundo sunt equitantes quanti pro bellis veniunt fugientque novellis*, ita quod hic auctor innuit quod iste magnus numerus populi sicut venit ita fugiet sine conflictu, quia, *Judice cælorum*, i. virtute Dei qui est justus judex cælorum, *rumpetur turma malorum*, i. societas Francorum, qui recesserunt ad propria sicut venerant. Quarto ostendit auctor quod Philippus rex Franciæ propter istam totam congregationem non expectabit ad pugnandum, sed ante conflictum fugiet, dicens, *Falsus non stabit*, scilicet ad pugnandum, *Phi et lippus fugitabit*, et rex Franciæ Philippus fugiet. *Cum sit conflictus*, i. si fuisset conflictus, *non expectabit ad ictus*, quia, *qui semel est victus*, in bello, *est armis*

*postea fictus*, et non audens aggredi bellum pro timore, quia *quisque relictus a Christo*, in operibus suis *est nimis afflictus*; ita quod innuit auctor duplicem causam fugæ hujus regis. Prima causa fuit pusillanimitas de timore alterius belli in quo fuit victus. Secunda causa fuit quod Christus eum reliquit in ista causa sine auxilio, quia fuit injusta. Quinto ostendit finem damnabilem hujus regis, dicens, *Descendensque fora*, i. Parisius, ubi est principale forum Franciæ, *descendet ad inferiora*, i. inferna, propter falsitatem suam. *Non valet*, i. non habet nomen verum Valoys, *immo cadit*, scilicet a valore, *qui victus est ad infera vadit*, i. post omnia bella quibus victus fuerat transibit ad infernum, quia regnum cœleste non cernet nec videbit, *dæmone teste*, qui eum habebit in inferno. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum vij<sup>mum</sup> ostendit accidentia inter regna  
Angliæ et Franciæ circa principium regni Jo-  
hannis de Francia, unde versus.*

Fama boat cannis Jo. dum sponsabitur annis,  
Quod cum tyrannis edictis undique bannis,  
Confidens mannis tauro nova bella parabit,  
Non visis pannis tauri tamen hic fugitabit.  
Nam fame vincetur, ipsum quoque turma sequetur.  
Non binis annis durabit pompa Johannis,  
In sano fonte perient milvi sine ponte,  
Averso fronte qui nolunt cedere sponte.  
Plangent infantes genitores bella parantes,  
In postris verbis reseram tibi mystica ter bis.  
Si bene rimentur, falsi non invenientur;  
Si fuerit metrum falsum bene discute tetrum.  
Cum canis intrabit, leo cum tauro volitabit;  
Ambo mordebunt, canis et leo letha manebunt.  
Augusti portis veniet pars optima sortis,  
Scrutinium mortis disperdet scuta cohortis,  
Gallorum fortis qui post capietur in hortis.  
Ca. per mordacem taurus capiet cruciatam,  
Pa. pariet pacem pariendo perpetuatam.

*Fama boat cannis.* Istud capitulum, continens accidentia inter regna Angliæ et Franciæ circa principium regni Johannis de Francia, habet sex dicta. Et tria sunt notanda in principio hujus

capituli. Primo est notandum quod Johannes quasi secundo anno post bellum de Crecy fuit coronatus, anno scilicet Christi M<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>mo</sup>xlviij., post quem annum dicta in isto capitulo acciderunt. Secundo est notandum quod circa idem tempus fuit secundo uxoratus post mortem primæ uxoris. Tertio est notandum quod anno sequenti fuit illa generalis pestilentia qua tot hominum millia mortui sunt, anno scilicet Christi M<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>mo</sup>xlx<sup>o</sup>. His præmissis sequitur expositio literæ. Primo ostendit auctor quomodo fama fuit in Francia in principio regni Johannis quod ipse bellum tauro renovaret, dicens, *Fama boat cannis*, i. fama, seu rumor, per ora hominum multiplicatur; canna enim nomen æquivocum est, et ponitur pro arundine in qua canit, et pro canna gulæ, et pro quodam fluvio, sed hic accipitur pro canna gulæ in qua sonus rumorum formatur. *Jo. dum sponsabitur annis*, i. illo tempore quo Johannes disponabitur, *quod cum tyrannis*, i. magnis dominis, quibus jungetur ex parte uxoris, *edictis undique bannis*, i. dum facta fuit solemnizatio et proclamatio matrimonii, quod papa *confidens mannis*, i. equis et palafridis suis. Mannus enim palafridis dicitur. *Tauro nova bella parabit*, i. ordinavit nova contra regem Angliæ; et nota quod ista ordinatio et fama non pervenit ad effectum, sicut cito patebit. Secundo ostendit auctor quomodo ista fama frustrabatur nec pervenit ad effectum. Pro quo est notandum quod rex Johannes non fecit bellum contra regem Angliæ a principio regni sui usque ad bellum de Peyters, in quo captus fuit; unde dicit auctor, *Non visis pannis tauri*, i. licet non videbat regem Angliæ, *tamen hic fugitabit*, i. desistet a proposito suo. *Nam fame vincetur*, i. pro penuria victualium non perficiet propositum suum. *Ipsam quoque turma sequetur*, i. communitas cum eo a proposito suo desistet, quia forte illo tempore cogitaverunt Gallici aliquod malum contra regem Angliæ, quod tamen non perficiebant. *Non binis annis durabit pompa Johannis*, vel quia in secundo anno coronationis suæ fuit mortalitas magna per quam sua pompa fuit remissa, vel quia nunquam fuit ita pomposus sicut fuit in duobus primis annis regni sui. Tertio ostendit stragem magnam hominum in quodam flumine de Sayn, dicens, *Milvi perient sine ponte*, i. tot homines quot signantur per literas hujus dictionis milvi, i. m<sup>o</sup>lvij., *in sano fonte*, i. in tali aqua habente nomen Sayne, ubi illi occisi sunt, *qui nolunt cedere sponte*, seu dare liberum transitum, *averso fronte*, ab eis, *et plangent infantes*, i. pueri, *genitores bella parantes*, qui in illo loco occisi fuerunt; sed quando istud bellum factum fuerit, nescio. Scientes tamen historiam bene cognoscent. Quarto ostendit auctor quod in versibus sequentibus sunt mystica per magnum studium cognoscenda. *In postris verbis*, i. in versibus sequentibus, *reseram tibi mystica ter bis*. Et istud verbum potest tripliciter exponi. Primo, sic dicam tibi sex mirabilia quæ futura sunt. Secundo,



dicam tibi mystica et occulta sex annorum, scilicet a secundo anno regni Johannis usque ad bellum de Payters, incipiens ibi completo pleno. Tertio potest exponi per quintam occultationem Gallice sic, *mystica ter bis*, i. *mervailles tresons*, quia forte aliqui fuerunt illo tempore falsi homines regi. Sed istam tertiam occultationem seu sententiam non intelligit auctor hic; unde dicit, *Si bene rimentur*, illa scilicet verba, *falsi non invenientur*, i. ibi non accipiuntur pro falsis hominibus, seu pro *tresons*, et vel si isti versus sequentes *bene rimentur*, et exponuntur, *falsi non invenientur*, licet ad communem intellectum falsi appareant, et ideo si fuerit metrum falsum, accipiendo intellectum versus sicut litera sonat. *Bene discute tetrum*, i. bene discutias occultam sententiam literæ et obscuram per occultationes auctoris, et sic veritas invenietur. Et nota quod illa sex occulta vj. annorum patebunt in istis tribus capitulis sequentibus. Quinto ostendit auctor primum mysticum, scilicet primam magnam pestilentiam, factam anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>o</sup>xlix<sup>o</sup>, dicens, *Cum canis intrabit*, i. cum illa stella nociva in cælo quæ canis primus dicitur oriatur cum sole, quod est quando sol est in fine canceri in mense Julii in diebus canicularibus, qui sic dicuntur ab illa stella, tunc *leo cum tauro volitabit*, i. illa duo signa in cælo, se quartili aspectu respicientia, in cælo circumvolverunt, et in leonem sol cito post intrabit, et tunc *ambo mordebunt canis et leo*, per aeris pestilentiam quem cavebunt in terram, mordebunt et destruent homines, *et letha manebunt*, i. mortalitatem facient. Hoc lethum, lethi, idem est quod mors, et ista pestilentia prædicta illo tempore anni incepit sicut innuit iste auctor. Sexto ostendit quando illa pestilentia se transtulit ad Franciam ad Anglicorum utilitatem, dicens, *Pars optima sortis veniet*, i. bona fortuna et bona sors Anglicis accidit, *Augusti portis*, i. in fine mensis Augusti, quia illo tempore incepit pestilentia in Anglia cessare, et transivit ad Franciam, ubi *scrutinium mortis*, i. operatio illius pestilentiae, *disperdet scuta cohortis*, i. fortitudinem et arma communitatis Franciæ; quia cohors proprie dicitur multitudo rusticorum, illos forte ordinavit Johannes ad resistendum regi Angliæ in primo conflictu si declinasset tunc ad Franciam, sed per pestilentiam Deus disperdet scuta cohortis. *Gallorum fortis*, i. illorum Gallorum regis Johannes quem fortem hic dicit, *qui post capietur in hortis*, in bello scilicet de Peyters; et hic aperte prædixit captionem regis Johannis de Francia. Septimo ostendit auctor quomodo rex Angliæ propter illam pestilentiam expectavit a bellis suis, et quomodo papa nitebatur fecisse pacem inter regna, dicens, quod *taurus capiet cruciatam*, i. dolorem et cruciatum de morte gentis suæ. *Ca. per mordacem*, i. per canem mordacem prædictum, scilicet stella. *Pa. pariet pacem*, i. papa faciet pacem inter regna, *pariendo perpetuatam*, volens facere eam perpetuatam, quamvis ita non factum fuerit. Et sic terminatur capitulum.

*Capitulum viij<sup>m</sup> ostendit quomodo rex Angliæ tardatur  
a proposito suo de Francia.*

Virgine vibrante non excillabit ut ante,  
Immo Deo dante confinget cum fugitante.  
Non collidetur taurus cum ipse labetur;  
Nam supponetur per eum qui justa tuetur.  
Gratia tardatur cum peccatum dominatur;  
Qui nimis inflatur peccato non vacuatur.  
Spreta mensura vacillant undique jura;  
Inter omne quod est mensuram ponere prodest.  
Clamor bidentis boat auribus omnipotentis,  
Innocuæ gentis sanguis quæritur morientis.  
Non sine tormentis rapitur lana gregis egentis;  
Dilanians gregem rex non servat bene legem.  
Cedentem legem summus fert cedere regem;  
Excorians staurum, staurum consumit et aurum.  
David peccavit quia Barsabe clunagitavit,  
Et magis erravit Uriam cum nece stravit;  
Tertio peccavit cum gentem connumeravit.  
Omnipotens tandem culpam punivit eandem,  
Non tamen omnino, veluti pro crimine trino,  
David mactare, seu cum poenis macerare;  
Justus erat David, ideo bona multiplicavit.  
Contritus corde meruit esse sine sorde,  
Eructans vere "Deus, alme, mei miserere."

*Sequitur expositio versuum.*—*Virgine vibrante.* Istud capitulum, ostendens quomodo rex Angliæ tardatur a proposito suo propter peccata sua, continet quinque dicta. Primo ostendit quod rex Angliæ illo tempore declinabat ad alias mulieres quam ad uxorem suam, unde punietur, sed non ad mortem, dicens, *Virgine vibrante*, i. dum aliqua virgo quam rex diligit vibrabit se et se præbuerit placitam regi et amabilem, *non excillabit ut ante*, i. non manebit cum uxore sicut prius, quia illa virgo forte subtrahet appetitum et dilectionem regis ab uxore sua; et nota quod excillare idem est quod manere cum uxore propria. Sed *Deo dante*, i. permittente, taurus *confinget cum fugitante*, i. faciet et finget sibi excusationes

recedere a regina ut cum prædicta virgine manere poterit. Sed propter illud peccatum *non collidetur taurus*, i. punietur ad mortem; *cum ipse labetur*, i. recipiet aliquod grande malum propter illud peccatum, de quo tamen relevabitur; *nam supponetur*, i. supportabitur, *per eum qui justa tuetur*, i. per Deum qui custodiet eum ad vendicandum justitiam suam in Francia. Secundo ostendit quomodo gratia regis tardatur illo tempore propter peccata sua, dicens, *Gratia tardatur*, a rege, *cum peccatum dominatur* in eo, quia *spretæ mensura*, quando scilicet mensura spernitur ab aliquo, *vacillant undique jura*, et debilitantur, et ideo, *inter omne quod est, mensuram ponere prodest*. Innuit auctor quod reges illo tempore excessit mensuram in factis suis, et primo in peccato prædicto. Secundo propter occisione gentis innocentis in Francia. Tertio propter rapinam et exactionem in Anglia; unde dicit auctor, *Clamor bidentis*, i. rumor et oratio duarum gentium Angliæ et Franciæ, *boat auribus omnipotentis*, i. devenit ad aures Dei, ubi *innocæ gentis sanguis quæritur morientis*, i. sanguis communitatis Franciæ, quæ nihil ei nocebat quæritur apud Deum, *et lana gregis egentis*, Angliæ quem ab eis abstulit. *Non rapitur sine tormentis*, quibus pro istis factis rex postea punietur. Tertio ostendit auctor quod rex illo facto tria mala incurrebat. Primo fregit legem quam obligatur observare; unde dicit auctor, *Dilanians gregem rex*, i. populum suum destruendo per injustas exactiones, *non servat bene legem*, ad quam obligatur. Secundo submittit se magnis periculis per hoc quod egit contra legem, quia *summus fert cedere regem*, i. Deus permittit regem percuti et castigari, *cedentem legem*, illum scilicet qui non servat legem, sed frangit. Et tertio rex sic faciendo destruit et populum et thesaurum suum; quia rex *excorians staurum*, i. expolians populum, *staurum consumit et aurum*, quia destruet populum suum et aurum quod ab eis habere potuerit si indigeret. Quarto inducit historiam de rege David, ostendens ejus triplex peccatum. Pro quo est notandum quod David in tribus principaliter peccavit; primo in luxuria, quando concubuit cum Bersabee uxore Uriæ marito suo vivente; secundo in homicidio, quando Uriam fecit occidere ut Bersabe haberet in uxorem; tertio in superbia, quando fecit populum suum numerare, unde magnam stragem sustinuit per mortalitatem factam angelo ultore. Et ista tangit auctor, dicens, *David peccavit, quia Bersabe clunagitavit*, i. quia concubuit cum Bersabe; *et magis erravit Uriam cum nece stravit*, i. quando fecit illum bonum militem pro uxore sua occidi. Tertio peccavit, *quia gentem connumeravit*, populum suum ut cognosceret quantum populum ad arma bellica haberet. Quinto ostendit auctor quod Deus non punivit David ad pœnam condignam triplici peccato propter pœnitentiam et justitiam suam, dicens, *Omnipotens tandem culpam punivit eandem*, in David per multas tribulationes, quando proprius filius eum in regno prosequabatur,

et tanta strages per angelum fiebat in populo. *Non tamen Deus punivit eum omnino, veluti pro crimine trino, nec voluit David mactare seu cum pænis macerare, et causa fuit, quia justus fuit David, ideo bona multiplicavit, et contritus corde, de peccatis suis, meruit esse sine sorde, i. labe peccati. Eructans vere, i. clamans ad Deum, in psalmo. Deus, alme, mei miserere, i. invocando divinam misericordiam. Nota quod auctor inducit istam historiam in hoc loco pro rege, qui jam multis maculatur peccatis, ad similitudinem David; Deus tamen non puniet eum ad plenum pro omnibus illis peccatis, sed pro aliquibus, propter misericordiam quam a Deo recipiet pro justitia et contritione sua. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.*

*Capitulum ix<sup>m</sup> ostendit quanta mala Gallici sustinuerunt propter eorum superbiam et alia peccata; unde versus.*

In cœlis natus fastus fuit et reprobatus;  
Corruit in terram, commovit undique guerram.  
Inter cognatos bellum commovit amatos;  
Fecit et ingratos proprio patri fore natos.  
Gallos cæcavit et eos saligia stravit;  
Destruxit Cyrus ob peccatum Babylones;  
Peccati virus sic Gallorum glabriones.  
Blado vastato, vineto non reparato,  
Urbes fœcundæ fient statim sitibundæ;  
Urbes jocundæ ferientur fulmine fundæ.  
Deficiet granum, castrum fiet cito vanum.  
Destructis granis, deerit mox copia panis;  
Pœna fames panis, venter fluxu fit inanis.  
Membris sanctorum loca quæ fuerant decorata,  
Laudibus illorum dum parent sunt mediata.  
Septima pars terræ periet post tristia guerræ;  
Oportet ferre, consumunt pingua terræ.  
Summum læserunt cui jussa decem perierunt.

*Sequitur expositio versuum.*—*In cœlis natus.* Istud capitulum, continens stragem Gallorum pro peccatis suis, habet quinque dicta. In primo declarat conditiones superbix, et quomodo per eam, et propter alia mortalia peccata, destruentur. Pro quo est



notandum quod Gallici primo propter fastum et superbiam eorum ineeperunt bella inter regna, sicut habetur capitulo quinto primæ distinctionis; secundo propter superbiam et fastum patiebantur destructionem et famem tempore belli de Crecy, capitulo primo hujus distinctionis; et tertio jam specialiter ostendit mala eis supervenientia propter peccata sua, et specialiter propter fastum eorum, dicens, *Fastus fuit in cælis natus*, ubi Lucifer primo incepit superbiam, quando voluit esse similis Altissimo, et ibi fastus ejus fuit *reprobatus*, quando illum angelum pulcherrimum ad pœnas inferni æternaliter propter suam superbiam detrudit; et tunc superbia *corrui in terram*, cum illo angelo damnato, et *commovit undique guerram*, et prælia, in tantum quod *inter cognatos bellum commovit amatos*. Et hoc dicit auctor propter bellum commotum inter regem Angliæ et Franciæ, qui cognati fuerant. *Fecit et ingratos proprio patri fore natos*, i. superbia fecit filios proprio patri fore ingratos; et hoc dicit auctor, quia filii regis Johannis erunt ingrati proprio patri, et sic resistentes in regno Franciæ, *Gallos cæcavit* superbia et fastus, non permittendo eos videre justitiam regis Angliæ, nec casum eis inflictum a Deo, quia justitiæ resistebant, et ideo *eos saligia stravit*, i. septem peccata mortalia eos destruxerunt et straverunt, sub potestate Anglicorum. Et nota quod in ista dictione *saligia* continentur septem literæ designantes septem peccata mortalia. Per *s*, primam literam, designatur superbia, quæ est primum peccatum mortale; per *a*, secundam literam, designatur avaritia, secundum peccatum mortale; per *l*, tertiam literam, designatur luxuria, tertium peccatum mortale; per *i*, quartam literam, designatur invidia, quartum peccatum mortale; per *g*, quintam literam, designatur gula, quintum peccatum mortale; per *i*, sextam literam, designatur ira, sextum peccatum mortale; per *a*, septimam literam, designatur accidia, septimum peccatum mortale. Quia igitur Gallici omni peccato mortali fuerant maculati, unde strati sunt ab Anglicis, dicit auctor *et eos saligia stravit*. Secundo ostendit auctor per historiam quod sicut Cyrus rex Persarum destruxit Babylores propter peccata sua, ita Gallici propter peccata sua destruentur. Primo est notandum quod Cyrus rex Persarum subjugavit sibi quasi totum regnum orientis, inter quæ regna destruxit regnum Babylonie propter peccatum Nabugodonosor, qui Jerusalem destruxit et vasa de templo Domini abstulit. Unde dicit auctor, *Destruxit Cyrus ob peccatum Babylores*, i. homines de Babilonia, propter peccata sua, et sic *peccati virus*, et malitia, destruet *Gallorum glabrones*, i. populum de Gallia. Et nota quod secundum Catholicon glabrio tria significat, scilicet imberbem, calvum, turmosum; et designat quod tria genera hominum destruentur a bellis in Francia. Per calvum designantur senes, calvitia infecti; per imberbem designantur juvenes sine barbis; per turmosum

designantur pauperes, sive communitates populi, qui destruentur in Francia per bella et alias strages supervenientes propter peccata sua. Tertio ostendit auctor destructionem bladi et vini per Anglicos in Francia futuram, et famem in civitatibus; unde dicit auctor, *Blado vastato*, i. quando bladum vastatur. Et nota quod bladum dicitur seges dum est viridis in bladis et foliis existens, et sic signat Anglicos tali tempore anni ad Franciam venturos. Et *vineto non reparato*, i. dum non poterant reparare vineas suas propter guerram, et tunc *urbes fœcundæ*, i. nobiles de Francia, *fient cito sitibundæ*, i. famelici, propter destructionem bladi et vini in Francia. Et *urbes jocundæ*, in ludis et solatiis, *ferientur fulmine fundæ*, i. percutientur cum lapide fundæ, Anglice *engyn*, qui modo fulminis percutit magna vi et virtute; et illo tempore *deficiet granum* in Francia, et *castrum fiet cito vanum*, quia sine pane et vino et victualibus castrum non valet præbere auxilium, et, *destructis granis*, in Francia, *deerit mox copia panis*, ita quod illo tempore erit Gallicorum *pæna fames panis*, quia non comedent panem in saturitate, et *venter fluxu fit inanis*, vel forte propter fluxum quem illo tempore sustinebunt, vel quia venter sit inanis ad fluxum, quia non comedent, unde fluxus ventris rationabiliter causaretur. Quarto ostendit quod una causa destructionis Gallicorum fuit eorum indevotio, quod sanctos suos non digne honorabant; unde dicit quod *loca quæ fuerant decorata membris sanctorum*, ubi sancti sepulti sunt, *dum parent laudibus eorum*, i. dum laudaverunt illos sanctos et confidebant in eorum auxiliis, *sunt mediata*, i. fuerunt in mediatione coram Deo per preces illorum sanctorum, et conservata a ruina; quasi diceret quod quia Gallici desistent a laudibus sanctorum et a bona devotione, eveniet super eos destructio per Anglicos in multis bellis. Quinto ostendit finaliter magnam stragem propter inobedientiam decem mandatorum Dei, quæ non conservabant; unde dicit, *Septima pars terræ*, i. Franciæ, *periet post tristia guerræ*, i. in illo tempore pacis post guerram et prælia; et hoc *oportet ferre* Gallicos et sustinere. *Consumunt pingua terræ*, illa videlicet quæ post prælia relictæ sunt tunc consumunt Gallici, vel quia Anglici supervenientes illa consumunt pingua. Et dictum est quod sic destruantur Gallici quia *summum læserunt* in peccatis suis, *cui jussa decem perierunt*, i. decem mandata Dei neglexerunt, seu non custodierunt, et propter negligentiam decem præceptorum septima pars terræ destruetur. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum æm continet bella et facta Anglicorum ab  
anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>o</sup>lviii<sup>o</sup>, etc. Versus.*

Completo pleno bellorum tempore deno,  
Pax erit in terra, rediet sed barrida guerra.  
Milvi sex lustra, cuculi vim non cape frustra;  
In præcedenti da tempore quæ fero menti;  
Hoc quatuor cullos Gallorum tempore pullos  
Vincent caudati, pro caudis improperati.  
Scotorum terra ballivi pro vice guerra,  
Plebs obstringillis stringetur cedere villis;  
Nam mors pupillis se festinabit in illis.  
Rex qui cuncta regit falsos per bella subegit.  
Scotos ballivus domitabit dummodo vivus;  
Nam penetrativus erit auxilii sibi rivus.  
Ast ablativus erit ipsi morte nocivus,  
Accusativus quia non fiet genitivus.  
Propter mercedem taurum firmabit hæredem,  
Et soror insignis, precibus mulcendo benignis,  
Scotis indignis feret optima pacta malignis.  
Laus et honor crescet penetranti quando senescet.  
Quod sit fidelis David pandetur obelis.  
Turrim mactarum Karolus dux Londoniarum  
Intrabit, taurum capitabit et afferet aurum.  
Tauro signatum remanet tamen intemeratum.  
Lux cuculum fallit, dum ter sex cantica psallit.  
Tunc taurus gregem ducet per pingua prata;  
Non metuet regem grex quin rapiet sibi grata.  
Nullus deliro credat pro carmine miro.  
Jam canis intravit, rugiens leo me maceravit;  
Expediit ut credo taceam, cerebrum quia lædo.

*Completo pleno.* Istud capitulum, continens bella et facta Anglico-  
rum per vij. annos, habet ix. dicta. Primo ostendit auctor tempora  
belli de Peyters contra Gallicos et captionis Berewyci per Scotos.  
Pro quo tria sunt notanda. Primo notandum est quod iste auctor  
primo ponit tempus belli de Peyters quam captionis Berewyci,

quamvis captio Berewyci præcessit; et causa est quia numerus belli de Peyters dependet ex versibus præcedentibus, et numerus captionis Berewyci clare in numeris ostendetur. Secundo est notandum quod eodem ordine ponit bellum de Peyters ante captionem Berewyci, sicut posuit tempora, ut in expositione patebit. Tertio est notandum quod a bello de Crecy usque ad bellum de Peyters fuerunt decem anni completi præter quinque dies. His præmissis, sequitur expositio. *Completo pleno bellorum tempore deno*, i. dum plene completur tempus decem annorum a principio bellorum quæ inceperunt apud Crecy, *Pax erit in terra*, infra illos annos quando rex multum quievit a bellis, illis tamen decem annis plene completis, *rediet sed barrida guerra*, i. forte bellum; et ita factum est, quia completis plene decem annis a bello de Crecy, commisso anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>mo</sup>xlvj<sup>to</sup>, xiiij. kal. Octobr., rediet bellum de Peyters, commissum anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>mo</sup>lvj<sup>to</sup>, xij. kal. Octobr.; et sic ostendit auctor tempus hujus belli. Ostendit tempus captionis Berewyci, dicens, *Milvi, sex lustra, cuculi vim non cape frustra*, quasi diceret numerum signatum per istam dictionem milvi et *sex lustra*, i. triginta annos, lustrum enim est spatium quinque annorum, et numerum signatum per literas hujus dictionis *cuculi*; sed *vim non cape frustra*, i. numerum signatum per ultimam literam hujus dictionis vim, quia superflueret et esset frustra, sed omnibus aliis numeris conjunctis efficitur numerus annorum Christi M.ccc.liiij., qui fuit annus Christi tempore captionis Berewyci. Unde dicit auctor, *In præcedenti de tempore quæ fero menti*, i. in prædictis versibus dicas et cognoscas tempora quæ ego habeo in mente mea. Et nota quod dicit notabiliter tempora ad designandum quod in prædictis versibus duos numeros ostendebat, signantes dua tempora prædicta. Secundo ostendit auctor bellum de Peyters et victoriam Anglicorum super Gallicos in illo conflictu. Pro quo est notandum quod Edwardus de Wodestoke, primogenitus et hæres regis Angliæ, commisit bellum in Francia contra Gallicos apud Peyters, ubi Johannes rex Francorum captus est, cum militibus nobilibus Franciæ, anno Christi M.ccc.lvj<sup>o</sup>; unde dicit auctor, *Hoc tempore caudati pro caudis improperei*, i. Anglici, qui a Gallicis caudati dicuntur in improprium, *vincent Gallorum pullos*, i. homines de Gallia, *quatuor cullos*, i. regem cum tribus filiis, quos auctor vocat impropereando cullos, sicut Gallici vocant nos caudatos. Et illi quatuor victi fuerant in illo bello, ubi rex cum uno filio captus est, et duo alii de bello fugierunt. Tertio ostendit auctor captionem Berewyci et destructionem per Scotos factam. Pro quo est notandum quod Scoti furtive de nocte intraverunt Berwycum super muros, et Anglicos ejecerunt de civitate, eos expoliando et occidendo multos eorum, anno Christi M.ccc.liiij<sup>o</sup>, ut prædictum est; unde dicit auctor, *Plebs obstringillis*, i. obstructa et captiva, *stringetur cedere villis*, i. cogetur recedere de villis Berwyci, quæ



sita est *Scotorum terra*, pro guerra et bellis, *pro vice ballivi*, quia tunc rediderunt Scoti vicem Anglicis pro destructione quam habuerint per bellum Edwardi de Balliolle apud Halydoun, quo tempore Anglici ceperunt Berwycum. *Nam mors pupillis se festinabit in illis*, per stragem Scotorum in illo conflictu, quia *Rex qui cuncta regit*, i. Deus, *falsos per bella subegit*, i. Anglicos, qui tunc propter falsitatem suam subacti sunt et spoliati per bella prædicta. Quarto ostendit auctor quod per totum tempus vitæ Edwardi de Balliolle Scoti semper erunt subjecti Anglicis, propter ejus justitiam et auxilium dominorum Angliæ sibi adhærentium; unde dicit auctor, *Scotos ballivus domitabit dummodo vivus*, i. Edwardus de Balliolle domitabit Scotos per totam vitam suam. *Nam penetrativus*, i. dominus de Percy, *erit auxilii sibi rivus*, i. erit sibi in auxilium. *Ast ablativus erit ibi morte nocivus*, i. auferens eum de vita ad mortem ipsi nocebit, quia per mortem domini de Percy Edwardus de Balliolle multum perdidit auxilium. *Ablativus* erit Edwardus de Scotia, *quia non fiet genitivus*, nec habebit progeniem quæ post mortem suam poterit regnum Scotiæ vindicare. Et nota quod auctor loquendo de isto Edwardo, tribuit sibi omnem casum declinationis in quarto capitulo primæ distinctionis, et in isto, scilicet, nominativum, genitivum, dativum, accusativum, vocativum, ablativum. Quinto ostendit quomodo prædictus Edwardus de Balliolle firmabit regem Angliæ hæredem suum, et quomodo soror regis Angliæ juvabit Scotos illo tempore. Pro quo est notandum quod rex Angliæ graviter sustinens captionem Berwyci, ordinavit se contra Scotiam circa natalitium Domini, prius sibi jure prædicti Edwardi concesso quod habuit in Scotia; ideo dicit auctor de eo, *Propter mercedem taurum firmabit hæredem*, i. propter aliquod quod rex Angliæ sibi donabit, concedet sibi justitiam hæreditatis in regno Scotiæ. Sed postquam villa Berwyci per adventum regis Anglicis reddita fuerat, regina Scotiæ, soror regis Angliæ, precibus suis pactum pacis apud fratrem suum meruit; ideo dicit auctor, *Et soror insignis*, i. nobilis, regis Angliæ, *precibus mulcendo benignis fratrem suum, Scotis indignis*, propter falsitates suas, *fert optima pacta malignis*, inter eos et regem Angliæ. Sexto removet falsum rumorem de domino de Percy, qui infidelis regi Angliæ a pluribus dicebatur, dicens, *Laus et honor crescet penetranti quando senescet*, i. domino de Percy in senectute sua, scilicet apud Dunolmiam, in quo bello ipse fuit unus de principalibus ducibus quando rex Scotiæ captus erat, ubi sua fidelitas ostendebatur; *quod sit fidelis David pandetur obelis*, i. ostendetur ejus fidelitas cum sagittis quibus David percussus fuerat in facie in bello prædicto. Septimo ostendit liberationem Karoli de Bloys de turri Londoniarum, facta sua redemptione, dicens quod *Karolus dux mactarum*, i. gregum occisarum seu populi destructi, *intrabit turrem Londoniarum*, ubi incarceratus

fuerat, *capitabit taurum*, i. deponet primam literam hujus dictionis taurum, *et afferet aurum*, pro sua redemptione, quod remanebit de ista dictione taurum; prima litera deposita, efficitur aurum. *Tauro signatum*, i. solutum, *remanet tamen intemeratum*, i. infractum, quod iste Karolus remanebat ad propria. Octavo ostendit auctor transitum regis Angliæ in Francia anno Christi M.ccc<sup>mo</sup>lx., et destructionem illo tempore factum. Pro quo est notandum quod rex Angliæ illo tempore transivit ad Franciam cum magno exercitu; et multam ibi fecit destructionem, cujus tempus auctor ostendit, dicens, *Lux cuculum fallit*, i. numerus signatus per literas istarum duarum dictionum lux et cuculum decipit calculantem, *dum ter sex cantica psallit*, i. dum iste numerus signatus per ter sex accipitur secundum signationem dictionis quod tunc tantum signaret xvij.; sed debet accipi per signationem literæ, scilicet x., et tunc sunt xxx., qui numerus conjunctus cum numero signato per literas duarum dictionum præcedentium, scilicet *lux et cuculus*, faciunt numerum annorum Christi M.ccc.lx. *Tunc taurus gregem ducet per pingua prata*, et bona Franciæ, et *non metuet regem grex quin capiet sibi grata*, i. placita in terra Franciæ prædicta. Et hic impletur prophetia exposita in capitulo præcedenti, ubi dicit auctor de destructione Gallorum propter peccata sua, *quod oportet ferre, consumunt pingua terræ*. Nono auctor tacendo propter capitis infirmitatem secundam distinctionem hujus prophetiæ terminat, dicens, *Nullus deliro credat pro carmine miro*, quasi diceret, nullus credat me errare propter mirabilem modum scribendi. *Jam canis intravit*, i. stella quæ canis primus dicitur oritur; *rugiens leo me maceravit*, i. color solis existentis in leone impedivit me multum in infirmitate mea, et ideo *expedit ut credo taceam*, a prophetia, *cerebrum quia lædo*, propter æstus illius temporis, et forte in isto versu prædixit infirmitatem capitis ex qua multi homines moriebantur, quæ accidit sole existente in leone, anno Christi millesimo ccc<sup>o</sup>lxj<sup>o</sup>; vel per canem et leonem notat bestias sibi apparentes tempore prophetiæ, quæ sibi dixerunt seu ostenderunt quod quiesceret a prophetia propter cerebri læsionem. Et sic terminatur secunda distinctio hujus prophetiæ.

*Hic incipit tertia distinctio istius prophetiæ. Capitulum i., unde versus.*

Me timor invadit describere quæ nocitura ;  
 Stultus sæpe cadit, reputans se scire futura.  
 Sed quia sunt pura tauri per singula jura,  
 Sic mihi fit cura de tauro scribere plura.

Nam pater in cœlis, qui verbo cuncta creavit,  
 Tauri fidelis rectum bene notificavit.  
 Sic ego de justo scribam, madeo quia musto,  
 Signis obscuras hic derivabo figuras.  
 Qui mala præfatur de magnis impropèratur,  
 Et plus culpatur qui falsidicus reprobatur.  
 Quam mala præcinere de magnis malo tacere;  
 Solus secura novit Deus ipse futura.  
 Auctorum dictis confidas carmine fictis,  
 Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi;  
 Qui calles gyraunt ferientur in inguine vivi.  
 Scribitur in libris, fluxus nocet undique fibris;  
 Extirpat fluxus pollutos crimine luxus.  
 Cari perdentur, planctus David rapiuntur,  
 Namque repentina fiet gregis ipsa morina;  
 Rex cum regina transibunt absque ruina.  
 Classes quassabit moys et pir tecta cremabit.  
 Quem sublimabit Deus ipsum purificabit;  
 Et castigabit in mundo quem decorabit.  
 Unda maris lavit quos lux contaminavit;  
 Ignis purgavit quos fastus commaculavit.  
 Taurus ad staurum remeabit et afferet aurum.

*Sequitur expositio istorum versuum.—Me timor.* Istis igitur capitulis sic præmissis, sequitur de expositione literæ, primitus de capitulo primo, in quo auctor resumit suam prophetiam et prædicat unam pestilentiam fluxus et destructionem hominum per ignem et aquam; et istud capitulum continet quatuor dicta. Primo enim dicit se timere describere nociva quæ sequuntur, tamen propter jura pura tauri ea describit, dicens, *Me timor invadit*, quasi diceret ego timeo, *describere quæ nocitura*, i. ista quæ sequuntur, quæ sunt valde nociva per pestilentias et per destructiones hominum multis modis, et propter mala statuta, sive propter regimen regni illo tempore, vel propter tribulationes quas taurus sustinebit, de quibus dicitur capitulo quarto, et ostendit causam, quia *stultus sæpe cadit*, in errores, *reputans se scire futura*, i. credens se scire futura cum tamen ignoret. Sed isto non obstante, *quia jura tauri*, quæ scilicet habet in regno Franciæ, *sunt pura per singula*, i. sine scrupulo conscientiæ, ideo sic *fit mihi cura*, i. voluntas et desiderium, *de tauro scribere plura*, quæ contingent sibi. *Nam pater in cœlis*, scilicet pater æternus, *qui verbo cuncta*



*creavit*, in principio, *rectum bene notificavit*, i. jus tauri fidelis, scilicet regis Angliæ. Secundo ostendit quod consequenter obscure scribit per figuras, quia de magnis malis non vult dicere aperte, ne sibi impropereetur, dicens, *Ego scribam sic de justo*, scilicet de rege Angliæ, et *hic derivabo obscuras figuras*, i. diversos modos loquendi et obscurandi in signis, i. in occultatibus in principio libri notatis in secundo præambulo. *Quia madeo musto*, i. quia inspiratus sum potu et doctrina Spiritus Sancti, de cujus doctrina dicitur, musto madere deputant, quos spiritus repleverat, et volo dicere occulte; quia *qui male præfatur de magnis*, i. prædicat aliqua mala de dominis sive de malis quæ accidunt regno, *improperatur*, scilicet ab aliis dominis qui ejus librum audiunt, sicut quondam fuit de prophetis Judæorum, qui puniti erant et interfecti pre veris prophetis. Sed cum propheta *plus culpatur*, scilicet a Deo et hominibus, *qui falsidicus reprobat*, in suis dictis, et ideo *malo tacere de magnis* et silere de istis periculis magnis infra notandis, quam *mala præcinere* quæ ventura sunt. Sed quia ego sum instructus et doctus per Spiritum Sanctum, et oportet quod faciam secundum voluntatem sui, non accipias istam prophetiam tanquam ex voluntate et ordinatione mea procedentem, sed ex voluntate et doctrina Dei, qui non fallitur, quia *ipse solus Deus*, et non homo nec angelus, *novit futura secunda*, i. quæ venient ex certa securitate. Tertio ostendit unam pestilentiam de fluxu futuram propter peccata regum, quam rex et regina bene transibunt sine morte; et forte istam pestilentiam sustinuerunt bellatores, quando rex fuit in Francia juxta Parisius, quando multi mortui sunt, vel forte ventura est adhuc infra breve; dicit enim, *confidas dictis fictis*, i. des credulitatem dictis poeticis auctoris, scilicet Horatii carmine, i. primo libro epistolario, ubi versus sequens ponitur, *Quicquid delirant reges*, i. errando committunt, *plectuntur Achivi*, i. milites et homines qui luent, quasi diceret quod populus propter peccata regum punietur, quod contingit, quia *qui calles gyraunt*, i. qui circumvent occultas semitas, cujusmodi sunt exploratores in bellis, vel qui circumvent terras debellare eas, *feriuntur in inguine vivi*, i. puniuntur in ano seu in inguine dum vivunt; quia *scribitur in libris*, scilicet medicorum et aliorum auctorum, *quod fluxus nocet undique fibris*, i. ventri et venis interioribus, quod jam continget propter peccata luxuriæ vel regis vel papæ, quia qui gaudent in locis occultis per luxuriam in loco digne puniuntur secrete. Unde *fluxus extirpat*, i. destruit et occidit *pollutos* et maculatos *crimine luxus*, per luxuriam. *Cari perdentur*, scilicet in illa pestilentia, et nimis dilecti regis et aliis, et eos *planctus David rapiuntur*, quia amici dolebunt de morte eorum, sicut David de morte Saul et Jonathæ, secundo Regum capitulo primo, ubi dicitur: "Planxit autem David planctum hujus super Saul et "Jonatham filium ejus," et jussit flere Israel de interfectis suis et



vulneratis. Et forte isti fuerunt domini qui moriebantur in Anglia infra breve tempus, sicut dux Lancastriæ, comes del Marche, comes Northamptoniæ, et alii domini. *Namque repentina fiet gregis ipsa morina*, quæ facta fuit anno Christi M.ccc<sup>mo</sup>lxj., circa illud tempus quo ista dicta sunt. Sed *rex et regina*, scilicet Angliæ, *transibunt absque ruina*, mortis in illa pestilentia. Quarto ostendit unam destructionem futuram Anglicorum per ignem super terram et per undas maris, dicens, *Moys*, i. aqua, *quassabit classes*, i. franget seu debilitabit et per tempestates totaliter destruet, et *pir*, i. ignis, *cremabit*, i. ardet, *tecta*, quia forte superveniet aliquis magnus ignis super Angliam, vel super regem in aliqua obsidione, sicut patebit in quarto capitulo hujus distinctionis, ubi istam materiam clarius pertractat. Quia *quem Deus sublimabit*, scilicet ad vitam æternam, *ipsum purificabit*, per tales tribulationes et angustias in ista vita pro peccatis suis, *et in mundo castigabit*, per tales pressuras, *quem decorabit*, scilicet corona gloriæ in vita æterna; et hoc cum condignis pœnis, quia *unda maris lavit*, scilicet in naufragio, *quos luxus contaminavit*, i. illos qui fuerant maculati cum luxuria, et *ignis purgavit quos fastus*, i. superbia, *commaculavit*. Unde nota propter luxuriam et superbiam fient istæ duæ destructiones et pestilentia; et sequitur quod *taurus remeabit ad staurum*, scilicet de Francia, illo tempore, anno Christi scilicet M<sup>o</sup>ccc.lxj<sup>o</sup>, ad Angliam, *et afferet aurum*, quasi diceret quod non venit propter defectum auri, sicut multotiens solebat, sed afferet et reportabit secum aurum ad Angliam. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum ij<sup>m</sup> ostendit accidentia regni post illam pestilentiam, et conditiones diversorum hominum illo tempore, et opera eorum.*

Omnibus hoc dico, ne se subdant inimico.  
 Frontibus in stauri contrita litera prima  
 Sculptetur, tauri ne grex feriat in ima.  
 Tau consignati mare transibunt meditati.  
 Nomen virtutis est taurus, sicque salutis.  
 Tau crux formatur, rus rusticus insinuat;  
 Rusticus ipse crucis transibit ad ardua lucis.  
 Hoc dico plane, vulvam non laudo Dianæ,  
 Quæ taurum mane mulcet verbum per inane.  
 Dum vacat his bellis, hanc mallem cedere cellis,  
 Regnantem stellis precibus rogitare novellis.

Est mihi res certa, mulier sit fraude referta ;  
 Fercula fert fellis bombinans fœmina bellis.  
 Dum multat taxa, non fiet gratia laxa.  
 Sic opus inceptum laxum patietur ineptum,  
 Ac fient tuti Galli pro nomine scuti.  
 Nulla pejor pestis quam familiaris amicus ;  
 Traulus erit testis, qui tauro fiet iniquus.  
 Spirans ut Saulus, tandem periet male traulus.  
 Seduus et blæsus, hircus genitalia læsus,  
 Panniculos cæsus, glaucus, sic fulvus, obesus.  
 Dum mel in ore gerent, taurum retro pungere quærent.  
 Fraudibus illorum pignus rumpetur amorum ;  
 Fraus tamen illorum nudabitur arte suorum.  
 Per pannos cæsos animos monstro tibi læsos ;  
 In bello tales nulli fient speciales.  
 Undecies anno fiet mutatio panno.  
 Sic variis pannis erit exul copia scannis.  
 Curtate vestes, ærumnæ sunt mihi testes,  
 Omneque peccatum manet undecimum irreputatum.  
 Et quia mortale dum se notat exitiale,  
 Ante Dei vultum nihil unquam transit inultum ;  
 Nemo Dei cultum præsumat dicere stultum.  
 Quæ peccata latent ignoto tempore patent.

*Sequitur expositio versuum.—Omnibus hoc dico.* In isto capitulo ostendit accidentia Angliæ post illas pestilentias et conditiones diversorum hominum illo tempore, et sunt sex dicta. Primo enim ostendit, ut mihi videtur, quod aliqui domini Angliæ accipient signum tau, seu signum crucis, ad Terram Sanctam contra inimicos Christi, propter pestilentiam seu malitiam fluxus, et ibi dux eorum occiditur; unde dicit, *Omnibus hoc dico*, scilicet istud accidens futurum, quod sequitur, *ne se subdant inimico*, scilicet diabolo. Unde *contrita littera prima*, i. deposita, *in frontibus stauri*, scilicet s de prima syllaba hujus dictionis stauri, et remanet tau, quod *sculpetur* super transeuntes, *ne grex tauri*, i. regis Angliæ, *feriatur in ima*, per aliquam pestilentiam fluxus. Secundo sic exponitur iste versus; *contrita prima littera in frontibus stauri*, scilicet s, consequenter prima littera tauri *sculpetur*, scilicet t, quæ est prima littera hujus dictionis tauri, quæ signum tau designat, ne grex vel populus Angliæ *feriatur in ima*, in inguine scilicet, vel in

ano, per fluxum. Tertio sic exponitur. *Contrita prima litera tauri*, i. ablata *t*, quod signum tau denotat, *sculpetur in frontibus stauri*, scilicet in frontibus hominum regis Angliæ, *ne grex feriat in ima*. Et istæ expositiones perveniunt quasi ad unam sententiam. Tunc *tau consignati*, scilicet homines Angliæ signo crucis seu tau accepto, *transibunt mare meditati*, i. per meditationem et per bonum consilium et maturum; et *taurus est nomen salutis*, i. continet salutem in se, *sicque virtutis*, quia continet in se multam virtutem, et hoc per duas syllabas quas iste terminus continet, quia prima syllaba, scilicet tau, est signum crucis, unde provenit salus Christianorum; ideo dicit, *Tau crux formatur*, i. tau est forma crucis qua isti qui transibunt mare signabuntur. *Rus rusticus insinuat*, i. per secundam syllabam istius dictionis, rus, insinuat rusticus, qui est nomen virtutis, quo designatur aliquis dominus qui ducet istum populum contra paganos et inimicos Christianorum virtuose, qui rusticus forte dicitur, eo quod sit rudus in moribus ad modum rusticorum, vel eo quod habet nomen vel cognomen pertinens, sicut Charls, vel Charloun, vel aliquod hujusmodi. *Sed ipse rusticus crucis*, i. ductor, *transibit ad ardua lucis*, i. ad vitam æternam, quia in aliquo bello forte contra Sarracenos occidetur pro nomine Christi, unde merebitur vitam æternam. Secundo loquitur contra reginam Angliæ, seu contra aliam mulierem cujus amore et consilio rex a multis bonis bellis impediatur illo tempore, dicens, *Hoc dico plane*, i. manifeste, scilicet quod *vulvam non laudo Dianæ*, i. reginæ vel alterius mulieris, *quæ mulcet taurum mane*, i. effœminat eum et facit eum quietare a bellis, dum scilicet jacent mane; *per verbum inane*, quod sibi excitando eum ne mare transeat, sed quod domi remaneat ad sui placitum et ad luxuriam exercendum; unde dicit auctor quod *mallem*, i. citius vellem, *hanc cedere cellis*, i. esse in ecclesiis et oratoriis suis, et *rogaret regnantem in stellis*, scilicet Deum æternum, *precibus novellis*, et bonis, *dum iste vacat bellis*, i. habet bella perficienda in Francia, seu disponit se ad bella, quam ipsa sic mulcerit ad quietem et luxuriam. Sed ecce quid auctor dicit. *Est mihi res certa*, i. cognosco certitudinaliter, quod *mulier sit referta*, i. repleta, et plena *fraude*, quia per fraudem suam eum decipiet; quia *fœmina bombinans*, i. requiescens in bombis et trullis suis, *fert fercula fellis*, i. amaritudinem et malitiam, *bellis*, quæ non deberent et ordinari quiete, sed amaritudine laboris et sudore. Tertio ostendit quod *opus bonum inceptum* contra Francos isto tempore pro defectu gratiæ deficiet, dicens, *Dum multat taxa*, i. dum recipit taxam et exactiones de regno, *gratia non fiet laxa* sibi et larga, sed deficiet, et sic *opus inceptum* et *laxum* quod fuit de captione regis Franciæ, quando nos habuimus inceptionem et latam viam ad

conquerendum regnum Franciæ, *patietur ineptum*, i. deficiet seu destruetur. Et hoc tempore *fient Galli tuti*, i. securi ad redeundum ad patriam suam et libertates suas de captivitate, *pro nomine scuti*, i. pro auro quod scutum dicitur. Unde iste auctor notat quod iste modus faciendi multum fuit contra Angliam, et nota quod istud factum fuit anno Christi M<sup>o</sup>ccc.lxij. Quarto ostendit de quodam inimico tauri isto tempore, qui male tandem finietur, dicens, *Nulla pejor pestis*, nec aliquid est majus timendum, *quam familiaris amicus*, i. quam ipse qui se prætendit familiarem amicum, sed non est, sed est falsus interius, sed ipse pejor quam inimicus, et ad versificandum istam auctoritatem, *Traulus erit testis*, qui apparet amicus tauri, sed tauro fiet iniquus et decipiens eum in aliquibus factis suis seu dictis. Et nota quod traulus proprie dicitur ille homo qui non potest bene proferre regi, sed peccat in ejus prolatione, et iste erit *spirans ut Saulus*, i. faciens magnas minas et magna verba pomposa, sed *tandem periet male traulus*, i. habebit malum finem. Quinto ostendit circa illud opus falsos homines circa regem et eorum mores, dicens, *Seduus*, i. homo qui non potest bene dicere s., qui Anglice dicitur *wlysp*, et *blæsus* est aliquis qui habet verba delectabilia et pulchra, falsa tamen. *Hircus* est aliquis homo pilosus ad modum hirci, vel fætidus et malus et incompositus in moribus, vel luxuriosus. *Genitalia læsus*, est aliquis qui habet læsuram per casum, vel in bello, vel per fracturam, in locis genitalibus et secretis. *Panniculos cæsus* est aliquis qui nimis et ultra communem modum utitur pannis cæsis. *Glaucus* est homo habens talem colorem in facie, vel qui utitur tali colore in vestibus vel bagis suis. *Fulvus*, per easdem conditiones exponitur. *Obesus* est aliquis homo carnosus, pinguis, et crassus, qui excedit communes homines in pinguedine. Ad ampliorem intelligentiam istorum versuum est notandum primo quod illi qui volunt cognoscere istos homines, oportet eos considerare mores eorum et cognoscere eos in societate, et tunc applicare nomina prædicta eis secundum conditiones. Secundo est notandum quod quodlibet nomen potest signare dominum sive hominem per se secundum diversitatem conditionum, et sic erunt octo in toto, vel duo nomina vel tria possunt signare unum hominem, eo quod habeat conditiones pertinentes, cum signatione istorum nominum, et ad minus sic erunt duo. Tertio est notandum circa significationem istorum terminorum fulvus et glaucus, qui signant colorem, quod fulvus est color rubeus ad modum fulminis cujusmodi et colora auri, ut infra habetur, *current ad taurum cui fulvum defecit aurum*. Et iste terminus glaucus signat colorem subnigrum, sicut est color ferri, aliquid declinans a nigro, et veniens ad viride vel album. Istis præmissis melius possunt personæ præmissæ cognosci, de quibus dicit auctor, *Dum*



*mel in ore gerent*, i. dum habent bona verba et dulcia in ore cum rege et mellita, et *quærent pingere taurum*, i. decipere seu detrahere retro et in absentia sua cum complicitibus suis vel aliis dominis diversorum forte regnorum, et sic *rumpetur pignus amorum*, scilicet inter regem et alios dominos quos bene rex diligeret si non essent verba eorum; vel forte *rumpetur pignus amorum* inter diversas terras et regna, contra quæ adducent regem ad pugnam vel odium. *Fraudibus illorum*, quia semper in operibus suis intendunt regem defraudare; tamen in fine *fraus nudabitur eorum*, i. cognoscetur a rege, *arte suorum*, i. per aliquam falsitatem apertam seu per aliquem hominem, vel per aliquos homines suos, eorum falsitates cognoscentes, qui fraudes eorum regi revelabunt. Sexto ostendit quanta mala erunt in Anglia *per pannos cæsos*, i. per frequentem mutationem pannorum, dicens, *Monstro tibi animos læsos*, scilicet peccatum superbix et aliorum vitiorum, per *pannos cæsos*, quia habitus multotiens ostendit exempla qualis anima interius existat; et *tales nulli fient speciales*, seu specialiter diligentes in bello ad adjuvandum seu pugnandum, quia timent forte occidi in bello pro peccatis suis, vel quia magis cupiunt delectabile quam honorem belli, et ideo non audent aggredi *tristia bellorum*, unde honor sequeretur. Et isto tempore *undecies fiet mutatio panno in anno*, i. undecim [vicibus infra annum, et sic *copia*, scilicet ciborum et potuum, *erit exul*, i. remota, de *scannis* et mensis quibus comedent, *variis pannis*, i. per variam mutationem pannorum, quia forte tantum expendunt in pannis suis, quod non habebunt aliquid ad comedendum; vel Deus, propter illud peccatum, castigabit illos per famem, quam forte mittet in terram Angliæ illis temporibus. Et ideo dicit, *Curtate vestes*, quibus homines utuntur. *Sunt mihi testes ærumnæ*, i. alicujus magni mali seu destructionis in regno, et causa est quia istud peccatum in anno undecies est iteratum, vel per duodecim annos contractum a tempore quo incepit usque ad ejus punitionem, et *omne peccatum undecimum*, scilicet per undecim annos contractum, vel factum undecies, *manet irreputatum*, scilicet in conspectu Dei ad vindictam, *quia dum est mortale*, scilicet tale peccatum, dignum morte puniri, *se notat exitiale*, i. periculosum propter mala quæ sequuntur ex eo; *quia nil transit unquam inultum*, i. nullum peccatum transit sine ultione et vindicta, *ante Dei vultum*, scilicet ante ejus facialem cognitionem, et ideo nemo præsumat seu audeat dicere *cultum Dei esse stultum*, sicut multi reputant qui sunt multis peccatis involuti, et Deus permittit eos stare in peccatis suis occultis sine ultione, sed hoc non debet monere eos, quia illa *peccata quæ latent*, i. quæ homines facient latentur per se, de quibus alii nesciunt, *patent*, i. manifesta erunt, *ignoto tempore*, scilicet in tempore quo non credunt, vel quando ea nollent manifestari. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum iij<sup>m</sup> ostendit quomodo taurus quiescit a bellis, et qualia ordinabit illo tempore in destructionem regni.*

Tempore rex dicto, Gallorum calle relicto,  
 Anglorum terra pacem statuet sine guerra.  
 Mittet censores sex, dæmone deteriores,  
 Qui per terrores dispergent inferiores,  
 Exactorque gregis fiet pacto sine legis.  
 Successor Thomæ sublatus munere Romæ,  
 Hunc Satel a sede rapiet subito, mihi crede.  
 David eructavit, veniam genibus rogavit,  
 Sed delictorum veniam feret esse suorum,  
 Ast genus uxoris pactum tractabit amoris,  
 Radix erroris quod fiet posterioris.  
 Tartaræ portæ frangentur vertice tortæ,  
 Inficient morte rumpentia flumina forte.  
 Scoti captivi fient hoc tempore vivi.  
 Mittet tortores alios his deteriores,  
 Qui per raptores confundent nobiliores,  
 Qui staurum fine spoliabunt undique trina.  
 Judicium rectum non permittent fore lectum.  
 Qui capitat staurum, bene formabit sibi taurum,  
 Sed capitans taurum taurum convertet in aurum;  
 Sic staurus taurum, taurus generabit et aurum.  
 Dum tamen obliquis hi tres flectentur iniquis,  
 Hi tres consortes sunt armis undique fortes.

*Sequitur expositio istorum versuum, sic.—Tempore rex.* In isto capitulo, ubi ostendit ordinationes tauri in tempore quietis, sunt octo dicta. Primo ostendit quomodo taurus illo tempore faciet pacem inter Angliam et Franciam, dicens quod rex Angliæ statuet pacem in terra Anglorum, *dicto tempore*, i. in illo tempore, *relicto calle Gallorum*, quia tunc non ibit contra Gallicos ad pugnandum per aliquas vias vel calles, sed manebit in terra sua in quiete. Secundo ostendit quomodo ordinabit malos judices illo tempore ad destructionem regni, dicens, *Mittet censores sex*, i. judices morum, scilicet qui judicant de furto, de homicidio, et hujusmodi quæ

pertinent ad mores hominum regni, qui per diversa loca erunt positi numero sex; qui scilicet iudices *dispergent inferiores*, scilicet populum sub suo iudicio existentem, per falsa iudicia et terrores, quos populo infligendo extirpabunt terram. Tertio ostendit de quodam episcopo Cantuariensi simoniace exaltando et cito deponendo, dicens, *Exactorque gregis*, i. aliquis clericus qui faciet exactiones injustas in populo ad præceptum regis fiet successor Thomæ episcopi Cantuariensis, *sine pacto legis*, i. contra ordinationem juris canonici; quia erit sublatus, i. exaltatus, *munere Romæ*, i. per simoniam veniet ad illam dignitatem. *Sed crede mihi*, dicit auctor, quod *Satel*, i. diabolus, vel aliquis malus, *rapiet hunc a sede*, vel scilicet eum deponendo a sede episcopali, vel forte eum occidendo, quod diu non reget episcopatum. Quarto ostendit de pace quæ debet fieri inter David regem Scotorum et Anglicos illo tempore, dicens, *David eructavit et rogavit veniam genibus*, i. cum fletu et magna humilitate, a rege Angliæ pro delictis quæ contra eum multotiens fecit, sed ipse feret veniam esse delictorum suorum, quia rex Angliæ sibi omnia concedet; et *genus uxoris*, i. aliquis de genere regis Angliæ, qui fuit filius uxoris David, *tractabat pactum amoris*, inter regna Scotiæ, scilicet, et Angliæ. Sed istud pactum erit principium erroris qui postea fiet inter regna Angliæ et Scotiæ, scilicet in magno prælio futuro de quo dicetur infra capitulo sexto et septimo. Quinto ostendit unum accidens quod fiet in Borea illo tempore in monte qui vocatur Chevyot, pro quo est notandum quod de illo monte contra pestilencias et bella seu caristias prorumpent flumina quæ occident fere pisces omnium rivulorum illius patriæ, de quo dicitur, *Tartareæ portæ*, i. Chevyhot, inferni, *tortæ*, i. declives, *frangentur vertice*, i. in summitate montis, et illa *flumina rupentia forte*, i. per fortitudinem, *inficient morte* scilicet alias aquas et torrentes in partibus illis. Sexto ostendit unum accidens concernens Scotos, dicens quod *Scoti captivi*, scilicet qui fuerunt captivi Anglicis vel qui sunt captivi Anglicis, *fient hoc tempore vivi*, i. volentes pugnas renovare contra Anglicos, vel liberati sua vi a potestate Anglicorum et captivitate. Septimo ostendit quod rex constituet alios iudices peiores sex præcedentibus, qui confundent nobiliores regni sicut primi iudices communitatem destruxerunt, dicens, *Mittet tortores*, scilicet rex, *deteriores* et peiores, his sex scilicet prædictis qui jussu eorum rapient bona sua ab eis, quia *spoliabunt staurum*, i. dominos Angliæ qui sunt staurum regis. *Undique*, scilicet per totam terram, *fine trina*, quia cogent eos facere tres fines pro terris suis per cautelas et falsitates suas. *Vel fine trina*, i. terna vice in qualibet fine regni spoliabunt staurum, et non permittent iudicium rectum fore lectum, seu visitatum in Anglia illo tempore. Octavo ostendit tria quæ maxime fortificant bellum, si in ea consortiantur, et quomodo placebit ista exspoliatio dominorum, dicens

*qui capitat staurum*, i. aliquis istorum judicum qui accipit capitalem honorem isto modo de dominis, *bene formabit sibi taurum*, i. adquiret dilectionem et honorem ab eo. *Sed capitans taurum*, i. aliquis qui accipit bona tauri ipso forte nesciente, *taurum generabit*, i. aurum, quia multum aurum habebit et divitias de tauro. Secunda expositio hujus versus, *sed capitans taurum*, non curando de ejus honore capitali, *generabit et aurum*, i. colliget illo tempore multum aurum de regno. Tertio expositio, *taurus generabit et aurum*, i. taurus generabit filium vel filiam cujus cognomen Handoner, sicut nomina filiorum regis dantur a loco generationis. Quarta expositio est ista, aliquis erit *capitans taurum*, forte in aliquo prælio, et tunc *taurus generabit et aurum*, quod solvet pro sua redemptione, et qui tunc *capitat staurum*, i. accipiet staurum de Anglia, ad eum juvandum, *bene formabit sibi taurum*, qui adquiret suam amicitiam in illo facto. Quinta expositio est secundum aliam occultationem sic, *qui capitat staurum*, i. qui deponit literam capitalem hujus dictionis staurum, scilicet *s*, *bene formabit sibi taurum*, i. istam dictionem taurum, quæ tunc remanebit, *sed capitans taurum*, scilicet deponendo *t*, de ista dictione taurum, *taurus generabit et aurum*, quia de ista dictione taurum tunc remanebit aurum, et dum hi tres termini, staurum, taurus, et aurum, *flectentur iniquis*, obliquis talibus scilicet decapitationibus. *Hi tres consortes*, i. si ista tria consortiantur adinvicem, scilicet staurum, taurus, et aurum, *sunt bello undique fortes*, quasi diceret, si taurus habeat staurum, i. homines de Anglia, et aurum, scilicet expensas pro eis, undique fortificatur, et adquiret victoriam. Eligat auctor expositionem quem voluerit. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum iiij<sup>m</sup> ostendit quot mala, impedimenta,  
et labores taurus sustinebit propter peccata illo  
tempore.*

Ut didici referam, mercedem non mihi quæram ;  
Propter peccata tardantur munera grata.  
Scriba velut scribit, præsumptio falsa peribit.  
Omnia transibunt, et gaudia vana peribunt.  
Taurus transibit maris undas, vique redibit.  
Vix mare transibit, periet semel atque redibit ;  
Ibit, transibit, pugnabit, quibit, inibit ;  
Quibit et exibit, omnis mortalis obibit.  
Dum pertransibit ad terram terra redibit ;  
Vincere non quibit, cum terra terra coibit.



Tunc decus Anglorum transibit belligerorum.  
 In mensis justī pandetur copia crustī;  
 Fundis falsorum premet arcta fames famulorum.  
 Sic cognoscetur cujus omnipotens miseretur.  
 Ne nimis elatus sit taurus magnificatus,  
 Singula tormenta tauro facient elementa.  
 Tellus namque tremet, sic undique bella parabit,  
 Æquoris unda fremet, commotus aer violabit.  
 Nautas quassabit infectus aerque necabit.  
 Obses arma gemet, ignis dum tegmina demet;  
 Per pelagi metas tristes feret ipse dietas.  
 Propter peccata venient discrimina lata,  
 Tristia post læta, post tristia sæpe quietā.

*Sequitur expositio istorum versuum præcedentium.—Ut didici.* In isto quarto capitulo docet auctor impedimenta et labores quos taurus sustinebit propter peccata sua et regni sui, et continet quatuor dicta. Primo enim ostendit quod *grata* scilicet regnum Franciæ tardatur propter peccata varia quæ sine profectu pertransibunt, dicens, *Ut didici referam*, i. scribam ut docuit me Spiritus Sanctus, et non occultabo mala futura, quia *non quæram mercedem*, scilicet de ista prophetia ab illis quibus prophetabo; sicut qui multi scribunt propter lucrum et mercedem, occultant mala et dicunt bona, sed aperte dicam veritatem; quod *munera grata*, i. bona quæ Deus gratis dat, scilicet regna Franciæ, *tardantur* ab Anglicis propter peccata sua. Et nota quod dicit *tardantur*, quod licet jam non veniant, postea tamen recipientur; et *velut scriba scribit*, i. Spiritus Sanctus dicit mihi, *præsumptio falsa peribit*, quam jam habent Anglici per tribulationem cito futuram, et *omnia transibunt*, scilicet quæ inter eos jam ordinantur, et *gaudia vana*, quæ sibi fingunt, *peribunt* et deficient. Secundo addit multas tribulationes quas taurus sustinebit vel sustinuit pro peccatis suis. Unde est notandum quod istæ tribulationes sunt quas sustinebit post prædicta secundum prophetiam, seu quas sustinuit a principio bellorum diversis vicibus quando mare transivit, quas auctor hic colligit summam, dicens, *Taurus transibit undas maris*, scilicet in Franciam, et *redibit vi* et fortitudine bellatorum qui resistent ei, vel propter aliquam necessitatem, sicut forte expensarum; et hoc forte fuit in primo transitu suo, quando revertebatur propter defectum expensarum, vel forte adhuc est venturum, quod cogetur virtute hominum redire ad Angliam, et in illo transitu ad Angliam *viæ transibit mare*, propter pericula maris et tempestates, quia *periet semel*, naves perdendo

multas in illo transitu, dum cogetur per tempestates applicare ad extranea litera. Sed tandem in Angliam redibit, et post illum reditum ibit et disponet se versus Franciam, et transibit mare illa vice, et pugnabit cum Gallicis ante reditum suum, et *quibit*, i. habebit potestatem et victoriam in illo, et *inibit*, scilicet fœdus pacis cum eis pro illo tempore. Tertio dicit quod *transibit*, scilicet mare, et *quibit*, i. habebit potestatem et victoriam, et *expugnabit*, scilicet inimicos suos, in illo bello, et *præibit* eis, scilicet obvia in aliqua fuga, et *quibit*, i. habebit victoriam, ibi iterum de eis, et *exibit* tunc forte de terra Franciæ; et *omnis mortalis obibit*, scilicet in illo bello ex parte Franciæ; et *dum pertransibit*, scilicet mare, post illud bellum, iterumque Gallicis redibit, scilicet ad Angliam sive terram suam, de terra Franciæ, quia non quibit vincere eos illo tempore, et *tunc terra coibit*, concordabit, *cum terra*, scilicet Franciæ, in fœdere pacis, et *tunc decus Anglorum belligerorum transibit*, i. morietur, quod videtur fuisse verum quando rex ultimo fuit in Francia, quando bellatores Angliæ multi moriebantur, scilicet circa annum Christi M.ccc.lxij.; vel forte hoc venturum est, vel sic videtur quod rex faciet tale pactum cum Francia, et propter illud pactum *decus Anglorum belligerorum*, i. fortitudo regni Angliæ transibit versus Franciam ad eam debellandam, et illud ultimum credo verum. Tertio ostendit quod illo tempore erit quædam fames ventura, vel forte toto regno, vel tantum illis qui erunt in illo bello; unde dicit quod *copia crusti*, i. abundantia panis, *pandetur* et ostendetur, *in mensis justi*, i. bonorum hominum. Sed *arcta fames*, i. magna *famulorum*, *premet*, i. regnabit, in *fundis*, i. tenementis, *falsorum* hominum, scilicet non habebunt unde suam familiam poterunt sustentare. Ex quo patet quod pauperes illo tempore male stabunt propter penuriam victualium, et *tunc cognoscetur*, scilicet illo tempore, *cujus omnipotens miseretur*, ei sufficienter victum tribuendo. Quarto ostendit quod omnia quatuor elementa insurgent contra taurum ad eum humiliandum, ne nimis exaltetur propter suam magnificentiam, dicens, *Ne taurus magnificatus*, propter sua bona opera et bellicosa quæ gessit, *sit nimis exaltatus*, in corde suo per superbiam, singula elementa facient tauro tormenta et tribulationes, quia *tellus namque*, primum elementum, i. terra, *tremet* tempore suo, ac *parabit undique bella*, contra eum, et *unda æquoris*, i. maris, quod est secundum elementum, *fremet*, scilicet per tempestatem ei nocendo; et *aer commotus*, sive infectus per pestilentias, qui est tertium elementum, *neabit*, scilicet homines suos, quod factum est in diversis pestilentis, et *obses*, scilicet dum est in aliqua obsidione, *gemet arma*, i. dolebit pro armis destructis, *dum ignis demet tegmina*, i. comburit locum suum ubi erit cum armis suis; et sic ignis, qui est quartum elementum, ei faciet tormenta; et ipse feret,

i. sustinebit, *tristes dietas*, i. labores dierum, *per metas pelagi*, i. per terminos maris. Et ista *discrimina lata*, i. labores diversi, venient *propter peccata* quæ ipse vel populus suus commisit. Ita quod *sæpe post læta*, i. gaudia, *venient tristia*, et *sæpe post tristia*, i. dolorosa, *venient quæta*, i. gaudiosa, a laboribus. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum, in quo ostendit tribulationes quæ evenient tauro propter peccata sua.

*Capitulum v<sup>m</sup> ostendit quomodo taurus corrigit vitam suam post tales tribulationes.*

Sic emundatus elementis, purificatus,  
 Belligeram vitam taurus ducet redimitam,  
 Legibus aptatam, virtutibus atque probatam,  
 Atque juventutis mutabit lubrica tutis.  
 Antiquos mores mutabit et in meliores,  
 Falsos censores torquentes inferiores.  
 Conspiratores non tractabit per amores,  
 Qui per pressuras staurum disperdere duras,  
 Justos torquere quondam solitique fuere.  
 Falsos mutabit, sic censum multiplicabit;  
 Leges firmabit, et pacem continuabit.  
 Hic exaltabit justos, soliisque locabit;  
 Taxaque cessabit, extortio non fugitabit.  
 Gens calamizabit omni quo tempore stabit;  
 Delubra ditabit, staurum dum subpeditabit.  
 Leges pugnabunt, perjuria sed superabunt.  
 Tunc taxet listas, pannus quia tendit aristas.  
 Taurus cornutus, ex patris germine Brutus,  
 Anglicus est natus, Gallus de matre creatus;  
 Anglicus et Brutus, Gallus certamine tutus,  
 Triplex natura perquiret pristina jura.  
 Omnia dat gratis divinæ fons pietatis.  
 Grata superveniet qua non sperabitur hora,  
 Usurpans periet, succedent prosperiora.

*Sequitur expositio versuum præcedentium.*—*Sic emundatus.* In isto v<sup>to</sup> capitulo docet auctor quomodo taurus mutabit vitam suam malam in conditiones bonas, et continet quinque dicta. Primo

ostendit quod post emundationem elementorum taurus ducet vitam belligeram et virtuosam, vitam lubricam dimittendo, dicens, *Taurus sic emundatus*, i. purificatus, *elementis*, i. tribulationibus omnium elementorum, ut præactum est, tunc *ducet vitam belligeram*, scilicet in bellis, *redimitam*, i. coronatam, et *aptatam legibus*, scilicet domini regni, *atque probatam virtutibus*, quas tunc exercebit, vitia sua dimittendo; quia *mutabit lubrica juventutis*, quæ sunt gula, luxuria, otium, et hujusmodi, quæ temptant hominem in juventute, pro *tutis*, i. bonis actibus quibus ab illo tempore utetur, et tunc *antiquos mores*, i. perversos, *mutabit in meliores*, bene et juste vivendo, pro injuste vivendo. Secundo ostendit quomodo injustos malos mutabit quos prius ordinaverat in regno ad populi inquietationem, dicens, *Non tractabit falsos censores*, scilicet iudices prædictos, qui fuerant *conspiratores*, contra dominos regni et contra communem populum, et *torquentes inferiores*, ab eis bona sua rapiendo per injustas exactiones. Et *qui soliti fuere disperdere staurum*, i. regnum et populum, *per duras pressuras et censuras*, i. injustas exactiones quas fecerunt in suis judiciis, et *qui soliti fuere justos torquere*, vel ab eis accipiendo bona sua temporalia, vel eos in carcerem mittendo. Sed *justus falsos mutabit*, scilicet de officiis suis, et bonos in locis eorum constituet; et sic *multiplicabit census*, i. aurum et argentum, quod habebit forte ab illis malis in suorum malorum redemptionem, vel a bonis quos constituit propter fidelitatem suam, qui sibi plus adquirent quam falsi, qui multum quod regi pertinebat penes se retinebant. Tertio ostendit aliquas bonas ordinationes in utilitatem et profectum regni sui, quæ prius per falsos prædictos infirmabantur, et continuabit pacem in regno suo inter vulgus et dominos, et *exaltabit justos*, in loco falsorum iudicum, *solisque locabit*, i. ponet eos in cathedras et sedes ad judicia. *Taxaque cessabit*, illo tempore in regno Angliæ. Sed *extortio non fugitabit*; quamvis enim taxam ab eis non recipiet, tamen accipiet extortionem. *Gens calamizabit*, i. cantabit læta et jocunda ab illo tempore, *omni quo tempore stabit*, i. per totum tempus regni sui. Nota quod hic habetur articulum quod iste non erit gallus, quia in tempore galli erit magnus dolor et tristitia pro duabus pestilentiiis futuris tempore suo. Et taurus illo tempore *delubra ditabit*, i. sacra templa et monasteria augebit, quæ delubra dicuntur, quia in eis umbra delentur peccatorum per sacramenta baptismatis et confessionis. *Dum subpeditabit staurum*, i. dum ponit staurum, aurum scilicet et argentum, sub pedibus, de eo sicut prius non curando, vel quia illo tempore forte recipiet aliquam extortionem a populo Angliæ, eos aliquid suppeditando, quia quamvis omnia prædicta bene ordinabit pro utilitate communi, ita quod *leges pugnabunt* pro justis, illo tamen tempore eo quod falsi non poterunt cum auro vel argento, seu exenniis, vel per terrores, habere propositum suum et extortionem in placitis, et cogitabunt novam malitiam, i.



facinus novum, scilicet facere perjuria in assisis per falsos homines, et sic illo tempore habebunt victoriam contra leges. Nam dicit, *perjuria sed superabunt*. Quarto ostendit quomodo taurus post omnia ista falsa, vindicabit sibi pristina jura Franciæ, dicens, *Taurus cornutus*, scilicet per homines suos, *Brutus ex germine patris*, quia pater ejus in Wallia fuit natus, ubi est locus germinis Bruti, *Anglicus est natus*, scilicet apud Wyndesore in castello Angliæ, *Gallus de matre creatus*, quia mater ejus fuit de Gallia, unde vendicat sibi regnum Franciæ. Patet ergo *quod ipse est Anglicus*, propter locum in quo genitus fuit, et *ipse est Brutus ex patre et Gallus de matre*. In certamine tutus, quia fere in omni bello obtinet victoriam. *Triplex ergo natura*, scilicet Anglicus, Brutus, et Gallus, *perquiret pristina jura*, scilicet regnum Franciæ. Quinto ostendit quod illa regna Franciæ propter usurpationem tunc temporis sibi non advenient, dicens quod *fons divinæ bonitatis dat omnia gratis*, quia non per potentias regum vel per eorum merita, sed gratis quando sibi placet reddet ea, i. talia grata, quia scilicet Deus reddet, *veniet hora qua non sperabitur*, i. non tempore quo aliquis credit ea acquirere per bella, sed *usurpans periet*, i. peribit per præsumptionem a proposito suo, quia forte credit tunc per potestatem aliam acquirere regnum Franciæ quod tunc non recipiet, sed *succedunt prosperiora*, scilicet in bello proximo sequente, ubi habebit victoriam, vel in tempore filii sui in quo ad manus Anglorum regnum Franciæ deveniet. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum sextum, ostendens unum bellum fiendum inter Anglicos et Scotos, et nominat bellatores utriusque partis.*

Sed nimis acerba tunc audiivi nova verba ;  
 Barrida nam bella cancer parat ipse novella.  
 Pro cancro venient delphines, grandia cete,  
 Consortesque fient focæ mercede dietæ,  
 Turdi, salmones, mori, milli, capitones.  
 Horum nam numerum tibi nescio dicere verum.  
 Rumbus ab oceano venit squamis redimitus,  
 Arripiet plano juxta fontem sibi litus.  
 Conducet megaros ac ypotaros sibi caros ;  
 Ducet bubones, piratas, vespiliones,  
 Et Gallos tantos tibi nescio dicere quantos.

Tauri pasturam satagent corrodere puram,  
 Contra naturam tauri disperdere curam.  
 Nunc opus est tauro proprio confidere stauro,  
 Propter destructum staurum deducere luctum,  
 Atque favissos percunctari meliores.  
 Jam reboant bella, fer adhuc vexilla, puella ;  
 Gratia divina taurum regat absque ruina.  
 Morte repentina falsos liberet libitina.  
 Ecce canes cani, boves currunt veterani,  
 Currunt multones, fulvi glaucique leones.  
 Non fiunt tardi, currunt vituli, leopardi.  
 Trans mare, trans montes currunt, trans flumina,  
     fontes ;  
 Currunt ad taurum, cui fulvum deficit aurum.  
 Attamen ingrati non sunt ad bella parati.

*Sed nimis acerba tunc audiui.* In isto sexto capitulo ostendit bellatores et dominos qui erunt in bello committendo inter Scotiam et Angliam ex utraque parte; sed pro isto capitulo et sequenti sunt aliqua primitus notanda. Primo est notandum quod subtrahendum numerum annorum et dierum pacis inter illud et jubilæum tauri, qui sunt tres anni, ix. menses, et duo dies, ut infra patebit, ab anno jubilæo tauri, scilicet anno Christi millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup>lxxvij., propter quod istud bellum erit anno Christi millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup>lxxiiij°, in mense Maii, x. kal. Junii, vel circa illud tempus. Sed potest patere bene calculanti. Secundo est notandum quod istud bellum committetur in uno plano campo juxta rivum et fontem aquarum, cui silvæ et nemora situantur, sicut in expositione patebit. Ideo qui voluerit illum locum cognoscere, primo imaginetur ubi est verisimile quod applicent, et ad quam partem regni declinabunt, in quantum transibunt antequam bellum habebunt, et ibi inveniatur locum prædictum. Tertio est notandum quod omnes qui venient ex parte Scotiæ per pisces figurantur, vel quia venient per mare in navibus, vel quia in gurgite fontis devincentur ad modum piscis; sed Anglici per animalia terrestria designantur, quia sunt intranei, et non venient a transmarinis, vel quia ad modum animalium terrestrium in bello custodient campum, et non transibunt ad fontem sicut alii. His igitur præmissis, sequitur expositio literæ, ubi septem dicta notantur. Primo enim ostendit in quo illa bella movebuntur, dicens, *Sed tunc audiui*, scilicet post prædictam expositionem regis, *verba nova*, scilicet de bello futuro, *nimis acerba*, quia gravia et difficilia nun-

ciabant. *Nam ipse cancer*, scilicet rex Scotiæ, *parat barrida bella*. Unde est notandum quod est terminus *barrida*; vel descendit a barri, quod est grave, vel forte quia illud bellum erit grave et forte sicut patet, vel derivatur a barro, -nis, eo quod in illo bello erunt barones multorum regnorum, vel dicitur a barrus, barri, qui est elephans, eo quod elephantes forte adducentur per trans mare ad illud prælium, quæ dicuntur *bella novella*, quia de novo venient infra breve fient, vel quia omnia futura novella vocat in ista prophetia. Secundo ostendit multitudinem dominorum qui venient ad auxiliandum cancro in illo bello, dicens, *Quod delphines venient pro cancro*, id est aliquis dominus portans delphines in scuto suo, vel habens tale nomen vel cognomen, sicut princeps et hæres Franciæ, vel servi sui sub nomine suo, et ipse non veniet. *Et grandia cete*, Anglice *hodoves*, qui sunt aliqui magni domini transmarini qui venient pro cancro. *Consortes fient focæ*, i. aliqui domini qui focæ dicuntur propter suam magnitudinem, vel propter arma, vel conditiones convenientes cum focis. *Mercede dietæ*, quia recipient mercede pro labore dierum qui erunt conducti, sicut *turdi*, *salmones*, *mori*, *milli*, i. quidam piscis rubei coloris, *capitones*, Anglice *gurnardes*, cum magno capite; et ista quinque genera piscium signant homines habentes certas conditiones concordantes cum illis piscibus qui venient cum foca contra Anglicos propter mercedem dietæ, qui erunt in tam magno numero quod *nescio tibi dicere verum numerum*, i. equalem horum. Tertio ostendit specialiter de uno magno rege cum suo exercitu, qui venient in auxilium cum rege Scotorum, dicens, *Rumbus ab oceano*; et credo quod ista sit rex Danemarche, qui veniet ultra magnum mare oceanum, *squamis*, in navibus scilicet cum vento et remis qui serviunt hominibus in mari sicut squamæ piscibus. *Redimitus*, i. coronatus, quia rex erit, et *arripit*, scilicet cum classe sua, *litus in plano*, i. in campum planum in litore, *juxta fontem*, i. juxta aquam ubi bellum committetur, qui locus forte dicitur Playneclyf, vel Evynclyf, vel Smethclyf, vel Smethefeld; imaginetur sic qui voluerit nomen loci. Et iste conducet sic secum sex genera hominum, *megaros ac ypotauros sibi caros*, vel scilicet in suo regno convictos, et *ducet bubones*, i. aliquos homines qui raro veniunt ad bella, vel qui bubonibus propter aliquam proprietatem assimilantur, vel *piratas*, vel fures et spoliatores marinos, et *vespilonos*, scilicet fures nocturnos et occultos, qui vespere spoliabant homines. *Et Gallos tantos*, scilicet homines de Francia, *quod nescio dicere quantos*, propter eorum multitudinem. Et omnes isti *satagent*, i. nitentur, *corrodere*, i. destruere, *puram pasturam tauri*, scilicet regnum Angliæ, quod sibi obtinet inter omnia tanquam purum dominium et hæreditatem tibi debitam, in qua se depascit; et *satagent disperdere curam tauri*, i. destruere regnum Angliæ, de quo taurus habet curam, *contra naturam*, quia est

contra naturam piscium se occupare circa pasturam tauri, vel ipsi vendicant sibi regnum Angliæ contra naturam, quia eis non debetur, vel esset contra naturam quod pisces in terra taurum debellarent. Quarto ostendit quid sit faciendum tauro tempore hujus belli, et quomodo in Anglia tunc consistit suum auxilium, dicens, *Nunc opus est tauro*, i. taurus habet necessitatem, *proprio confidere stauro*, i. dominis et viris bellatoribus de terra Angliæ, et *deducere luctum*, i. facere dolorem et gemitum, *propter staurum destructum*, i. propter homines quos destruet per malos officarios suos et injustas leges, ut prædictum est in tertio capitulo præcedenti ante illud bellum. Et nota quod semper in omni necessitate iste taurus non habet auxilium de alienigenis, sed tantum de terra Angliæ, sicut in pluribus patet locis. Quinto facit iste auctor invocationem pro auxilio tauri, et primo ad beatam virginem Mariam, dicens, *Jam reboant bella*, i. sonus de bellis et rumor, *fer nunc vexilla, puella*, i. tu, virgo Maria, Christi fer vexilla regis Edwardi, et *gratia divina regat taurum*, in illo bello, *absque ruina*, ut ipse non cadat in prælio contra inimicos, sed *libitina*, i. feretrum in quo ferunt corpora mortuorum, *liberet falsos*, i. portet falsos pugnatōres contra regem, *morte repentina*, i. subitanea morte quam in illo bello percipient. Sexto ostendit qui venient ad auxilium regis Edwardi adversus hostes suos in illo prælio, dicens, *Ecce canes canī current*, i. antiqui domini et homines regni Angliæ cum canitie propter ætatem, *curruntque boves veterani*, i. antiqui domini milites qui cum rege fortiter laboraverunt, vel aliqui domini portantes boves in scuto suo vel in crestitis suis, vel aliqui habentes tale nomen vel cognomen, *currunt multones*, i. aliqui habentes multones in possessione, vel in aliquo sibi pertinenti, vel in nomine vel cognomine, sicut si forte aliquis diceretur Multoun, vel Sheptoun, vel cætera hujusmodi, vel Multoun dicitur communitas populi, quæ ovibus assimilantur propter eorum simplicitatem. *Fulvi leones*, i. leones de colore auri quos comes Herforde portat in scuto suo, et nullus est dominus Angliæ qui multos portat præter ipsum, qui portat sex. *Glaucique leones*, signant alium dominum tale portantem scutum, vel plures dominos, vel eundem comitem Herford, quia color qui fulvus dicitur Latine, Gallice arma describendo dicitur seu glaucus; et ideo in isto versu duo termini fulvi et glauci non signant diversos, sed eundem secundum diversum modum loquendi. *Vituli non fiunt tardi*, i. juvenes de regno qui sunt in sua maxima fortitudine, non fient tardi ad taurum, sed veloces. *Currunt leopardi*, i. aliqui domini portantes leopardos in scuto suo, cujusmodi sunt filii regis. Et nota quod ut credo domini hic non enumerantur secundum valorem suum in ordine, sed qui primo venient primo enumerantur, et qui ultimo venient ultimo enumerantur, sicut filius regis, qui hic forte ultimo venit, ultimo enumeratur. Septimo



ostendit loca a quibus isti venient ad gratitudinem eorum penes taurum illo tempore, dicens quod *aliqui currunt trans mare*, aliqui *trans montes*, aliqui *trans flumina, fontes*; ita quod denotat homines sibi venire quasi ex omnibus partibus Angliæ, qui *currunt ad taurum cui fulvum deficit aurum*, eo quod non habebit aurum pro stipendiis illo tempore. *Attamen illi parati ad bella*, tamen tauro *non sunt ingrati*, quia stabunt secum gratis sine stipendio pro expensis in illo bello. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum in quo hujusmodi prælii bellatores declarantur.

*Capitulum vij<sup>m</sup> ostendit quomodo erit de pugna et fine belli prædicti, etc.*

Cancer natura semper retrogradietur,  
 Nullius cura procedens efficietur;  
 Taurus pastura ductor gregis efficietur,  
 Vaccarum jura procedens vique tuetur.  
 Cancer non stabit in primo, sed latitabit;  
 Taurus pugnabit, pisces, gallos superabit.  
 Nunc opus est contis contrari gurgite fontis;  
 Necnon pennatas opus est transmittere latas.  
 Rumbus rumpetur, pinna pennis ferietur;  
 Branchia cum squamis rumbi lacerabitur hamis.  
 Pro tauri coena capietur et ipse sagena.  
 Lignis pennatis ferientur grandia cete;  
 Delphines spatibus, focæ perient quoque rete.  
 Pinnae frangentur salmones dum capientur;  
 Caudam monstrabunt alii, pinnis fugitabunt;  
 Non expectabunt pro contibus dum reboabunt.  
 Galli terga dabunt, catapultæ dum volitabunt.  
 Milvi cædentur, cuculi silvis capientur.  
 Grossos multos occident vespiliones;  
 Et vitulos multos inventos vespere stultos;  
 Et leo lædetur, sed læsus non perimetur.  
 Pessima falsorum mors est, pretiosa bonorum.  
 Plus tibi de bellis nolo narrare novellis,  
 Quæ cancer faciet, semper victus quia fiet.  
 Semper, taure, vale, tibi sit decus imperiale!  
 Tantum vel tale decet omnia numina quale.

*Cancer natura.* Istud capitulum septimum, in quo ostendit quomodo erit de pugna et de fine belli prædicti, continet sex dicta. Primo ostendit quomodo illi reges se habebunt in congressu belli; unde primo dicit de cancro, *Cancer*, i. rex Scotiæ, *natura semper retrogradietur*, in illo bello; quia semper in omni bello suo sic fecit, ad modum piscis qui vocatur cancer, qui semper retrogradietur et nunquam anterior procedit, quia nullius cura nec aliquo modo seu alicujus doctrina *efficietur procedens*, ad bellum, sed *taurus efficietur ductor gregis*, quia ducet exercitum suum recte ad pugnam, *pastura*, in illo campo in quo pugnabit, et procedens et non retrogradiendo sicut cancer. *Vique tuetur*, i. fortitudine exercitus sui custodiet, *jura vaccarum*, i. regnum Angliæ et bellum populi sui. *Cancer non stabit in primo*, i. rex Scotiæ non stabit in primo ad pugnandum; *sed latitabit*, i. abscondet se, sed *taurus pugnabit*, scilicet in illo bello, et *superabit pisces*, i. dominos designatos per pisces prædictos, et *Gallos*, i. dominos et bellatores de Francia qui venient contra eum. Secundo ostendit quomodo et ubi Anglici melius debent debellare inimicos suos; unde nota quod in transitu, sive *gurgite fontis*, juxta quem pugnabunt, maxime nitentur evadere, et ibi ponendum esset obstaculum, dicens, *Nunc opus est*, i. Anglicis in illo bello, *contrari*, i. perscrutari ad modum piscatorum, *in gurgite fontis*, qui forte dicitur Waterforthe, vel Forthe, vel Welworthe, vel aliquod hujusmodi nomen habens, a quo populus a bello fugiet, et ibi debent *contrari cum contis*, i. cum lanceis; conti enim lanceæ sunt piscatorum secundum Catholicon, quibus investigant pisces in flumine. *Necnon opus est*, i. necesse Anglicis, *transmittere latas pennatas*, i. sagittas ad occidendum eos in transitu fontis, quia forte multi transibunt ab hominibus bellantibus cum lanceis si non apponunt remedium per architenentes, ut eos in transitu occident. Tertio ostendit de his qui capientur in illo prælio, et quomodo capientur, dicens, *Rumbus rumpetur*, i. exercitus illius regis qui per rumbum designatur, et *pennis pinnas ferietur*, i. homines sui exercitus, qui sic dicuntur pinnæ in illo exercitu ferientur cum sagittis, et lacrabuntur brachia, quia milites qui magis sibi appropinquant *lacrabuntur*, i. occidentur, *cum squamis rumbi*, i. cum illis qui sunt juxta cum *hamis*, i. in lorica et armatura sua cum lanceis et gladiis, et *ipse capietur pro cæna tauri*, i. ad repræsentandum tauro in cæna in *sagena*, quando vellet forte transisse gurgitem fontis et fugere, et *grandia cete*, i. domini per tales pisces designati, *ferientur lignis pennatis*, i. sagittis, quæ sunt ligna pennata, et *delphines*, i. domini qui tales pisces designati, *perient spatibus*, i. transitu aquarum seu fontis prædicti; et *focæ*, i. domini per tales pisces designati, *perient rete*, qui capientur vel occidentur; et *salmones frangentur pinnas*, i. homines designati per salmones per-

dent homines suos, *dum capientur*, in illo scilicet bello. Quarto ostendit de illis qui fugient de illo bello, et quomodo fiet de eis, dicens, *Caudam monstrabunt alii*, i. prænominatis sua posteriora, et *pinnis fugitabunt*, i. fugient cum suis hominibus et exercitu, *non expectabunt pro contis*, i. pro lanceis et gladiis quos fugient pro timore et terrore, *dum reboabunt*, i. dum facient sonitum cum tubis ad pugnandum. *Galli terga dabunt*, scilicet fugiendo de prælio, *catapultæ dum volitabunt*, scilicet dum sagittæ magnæ volant quæ catapultæ dicuntur. *Milvi cadentur*, i. ex illis qui fugient occidentur tot quot signantur in isto termino milvi, M.l.vij. *Cuculi silvis capientur*, i. tot capientur in silvis quot signantur in isto termino cuculi, cc.lxj. Ex hoc patet quod istud bellum committetur prope unam sylvam in qua isti fugitivi se receptabunt. Quinto ostendit quomodo Anglici occidentur in illo bello propter sui fatuitatem et imprudentiam, dicens quod *vespilioes*, i. nocturni latrones prædicti, *occident grossos multones*, i. homines designatos per multones ut prædictum est, et *vitulos multos*, homines scilicet designatos per vitulos, *inventos vespere stultos*, quia forte invenientur in aliquo loco propter sui stultitiam ubi non poterunt habere refugium ab exercitu, et ipsi sic erunt dispositi, vel forte dormiendo vel vigilando, quod seipsos non poterunt defendere ab hominibus fugientibus a bello qui ipsos in nocte occident. *Et leo lædetur*, i. filius regis qui leo dicitur, qui forte invenietur inter prædictos, vel alius qui leonem in armis suis portat, *sed læsus non perimetur*, quia illo tempore evadet cum læsura sua sine morte. Sed *mors falsorum est pessima*, qui post suam occisionem descendent ad infernum, *pretiosa bonorum*, qui recipient vitam æternam; unde psalmista: "Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus." Sexto facit finem de bello canceri, et laudat taurum ei bona prædicando, dicens, *Nolo narrare tibi plus de bellis novellis, quæ cancer faciet, semper victus quia fiet*. Hic nota quod iste cancer faciet plura bella quæ iste auctor non vult narrare, quia cancer semper vincetur, et ideo dicit tauro, scilicet regi Angliæ, *Taure, semper vale*, i. valeas, *tibi sit decus imperiale*, vel forte erit imperator, vel quia auctor vellet eum esse imperatorem, *quia tantum vel tale decet tibi*, quantum et quale decet omnia numina, i. deos omnes quos antiqui numina vocabant. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum, in quo eventus belli declaratur.

*Capitulum viij<sup>m</sup> ostendit de jubilæo tauri, et accidentibus contingentibus contra eum.*

Me carmen lene dumus modulantis amœne.<sup>1</sup>  
 Ad jubilum tendo, gallo mea carmina pendo.  
 A vi tolle ducum, cuculi vim discute fucum.  
 Pacis erunt dies, belli terrore remoto,  
 Tauri curta quies si cedat Gallia voto;  
 Planget facta reus dum proximus est jubilæus,  
 Diceturque Deus Anglus quondam Nazaræus.  
 Sed pater in terra vix absolvat sine guerra.  
 Legatus Romæ, vi regis sed sede Thomæ,  
 Cantu cantabit ariæ plebs et jubilabit.  
 Per ferias septem lætum nosces fore cleptem;  
 Vincti solventur, sed captivi redimentur.  
 Pignora cum natis firmabuntur copulatis;  
 Sed Satel antiquus, bellorum semper amicus,  
 Impediet pacta, nisi sit sua fraus prece fracta.  
 Divinæ legis fiet meditatio regis,  
 Quæ temptabuntur per eum tunc prosperabuntur.

*Me carmen lene.* In isto capitulo viij<sup>o</sup> intendit auctor determinare de jubilæo tauri, et de accidentibus et contingentibus contra eum. Primo quod annus jubilæus secundum Magistrum in historiis est annus quinquagesimus septimana hebdomadorum annorum continens, in quo omnes destructiones rerum ad pristinos redibant. Eodem anno requiescebat terra, et servi liberi dimittebantur, et septem diebus ac noctibus solemnizabant ante ipsum, clangentes tubis, et ista et multa alia quæ causa brevitatis omitto patent in historiis suis leniter et hoc. Secundo notandum est quod jubilæus tauri erit annus quinquagesimus regni sui, et non ætatis, quod faciunt religiosi in anno quinquagesimo religionis suæ et non ætatis. Tertio est notandum quod annus Domini M.ccc.lxxvj. erit annus jubilæus regis Edwardi, qui coronatus fuit anno Christi M.ccc.xxvj., ætatis suæ anno xiiij., in festo conversionis Sancti Pauli. His præmissis, procedendum est ad expositionem literæ, in qua septem dicta continentur. Primo enim transfert se auctor ad loquendum de jubilæo tauri, de Gallo interim expectando. Et nota quod loquitur

<sup>1</sup> The commentary seems to show | line in the text, but it is not found  
 that a line is wanting after the first | in the MSS.



ac si fuisset in una silva sonora, ubi cantus audisset philomenæ et concentus nemorum proportionatos eum excitantes jubilæum tauri describendum, dicens, *Me carmen lene*, i. dulce et amœnum, *dumus modulantis amœne*, i. silvæ amœne sonantis et modulantis, et *cantus philomenæ*, i. talis avis dulcissime canentis, Anglice *nyght-yngale*. *Vocita me plene*, ad jubilæum tauri scilicet describendum. Et nota quod dicit plene quod iste numerus hic dicendus plene ostenditur et ducitur usque ad tempus jubilæi tauri, vel quia jubilæum hic perfecte describitur omnia alia omittendo, dicens, *Ad jubulum tendo*, scilicet describendum, *gallo mea carmina pendo*, i. expecto de carmine galli, donec tauri descripsero jubilæum, et tunc describam galli conditiones, in capitulo nono. Secundo ostendit quantitatem temporis inter bellum prædictum et jubilæum in quo requiescit taurus. Et nota quod litera fuit indifficilis, dicit enim auctor, *vi tolle ducum*, i. a numero contento in isto termino ducum, scilicet M.dcx., subtrahas *cuculi vim*, i. numerum contentum in isto termino cuculi, scilicet cc.lxj., et *discute fucum*, i. vide obscurum numerum inde remanentem, scilicet M.ccc.xlix., qui est numerus remanens post subtractionem, *pacis erunt dies*, scilicet ille numerus remanens signat numerum dierum pacis a tempore belli prædicti usque jubilæum tauri, qui numerus si dividatur in annis erunt tres anni novem menses et duo dies, faciendo mensem de xxvij. diebus, et istud erit tempus pacis tauri. *Belli terrore remoto*, sed *si Gallia cedat voto*, i. habeat voluntatem quam intendit, *tauri quies erit curta*, i. brevis. Tertio ostendit correctionem tauri ante tempus jubilæi, dicens, *reus*, i. Edwardus, culpabilis in aliquibus peccatis, *planget facta*, i. peccata sua, *dum proximus est jubilæus*, i. per modicum ante jubilæum, qui in tantam mutabitur bonitatem quod dicetur a populo quod *Deus Nazaræus fuit quondam Galilæus, sed pater in terra vix absolvet sine guerra*. Nota quod iste versus potest habere triplicem expositionem. Prima est ista, quod *pater in terra*, i. papa, *vix absolvet sine guerra*, regem Angliæ tunc contritum de aliquibus peccatis ad ecclesiam pertinentibus. Secunda expositio est ista, papa *vix absolvet*, seu custodiet regnum Angliæ, *sine guerra* contra Gallicos. Tertia expositio est ista, quod *pater in terra*, Edwardus, *vix absolvet*, seu custodiet, *terram, sine guerra*, quæ forte tunc temporis excitabitur inter dominos Angliæ. Quarto ostendit de quodam legato Romæ, qui erit Cantuariæ tempore jubilæi ad faciendum solemnitatem, dicens, *Legatus Romæ*, qui forte mittetur a papa ad Angliam pro aliqua causa forte tractanda in regno vel in ecclesia Anglicana, cantabit Cantuariæ gens, i. faciet solemnitatem jubilæi in civitate Cantuariæ, ubi forte constituetur episcopus, *vi regis*, quia rex forte coget eum stare in regno vel facere solemnitatem contra voluntatem suam. *Sed sede Thomæ*, i. Cantuaria, quem sedem Sanctus Thomas regebat, et *plebs jubilabit*, quæ ibi congregabitur ad solemnitatem propter aliquam remissio-

nem quam forte tunc temporis rex faciet populo et communitati. Quinto ostendit quæ bona faciet latronibus et captivis in tempore jubilæi, dicens, *Nosces*, i. cognosces, *cleptem fore latum*, qui fur dicitur eo quod res sibi clepit et collegit alienas, et *ferias septem*, quia per unam septimanam tantam facit clementiam et gratiam, quod *vincti solventur*, scilicet de carcere, et *captivi redimentur*, scilicet de captivitate, ad similitudinem jubilæi Judæorum, ut præ-tactum est in principio hujus capituli. Unde nota quod verisimile est quod si tantam faciet gratiam istis malefactoribus, quod amplius faciet communitati regni et bonis viris. Sexto ostendit aliqua pacta pacis fieri per conjugium, dicens, *Pignora firmabuntur*, id est pacis, illo tempore, *cum natis*, cum filiis et filiabus regis vel aliorum dominorum, *copulatis*, scilicet per conjugium, *sed Satan antiquus*, id est diabolus, *semper amicus bellorum*, quia nollet pacem, sed semper guerram, *impediat pacta*, scilicet ista quæ fuerunt per conjugium facta, *nisi sua fraus*, i. deceptio, *sit fracta*, i. destructa, *prece* aliquorum bonorum. Hic tria notantur. Primo notandum est quod illo tempore fient pacta de pace per aliqua conjugia quæ postea servabuntur cum magna difficultate. Secundo notandum est quod diabolus semper in quantum potest excitat homines ad bella, quia sicut Deus est amicus et auctor pacis, ita diabolus est amicus bellorum. Tertio est notandum quod fraus diaboli, i. ejus malitia, quando excitat homines ad bella vel alia mala consimilia, debet per preces frangi bonorum. Septimo ostendit vitam regis post tempus jubilæi, dicens quod *meditatio regis fiet*, scilicet tunc temporis, *divinæ legis*, scilicet in meditatione et oratione, non curando de temporalibus, et *quæ tunc temptabuntur, per eum prosperabuntur*, scilicet ad vitam æternam. Et nota quod his alludit auctoritati in quo ostendit David in primo psalmo beati virgini, dicens, "In lege Domini voluntas ejus, et in lege ejus meditabitur" "die et nocte, et sequitur, omnia quæcunque faciet semper prosperabuntur," ad denotandum quod ab isto tempore jubilæi rex ponet se ad bona opera et acquirendum bonitatem æternam. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum nonum, in quo intendit auctor tractare de gallo quem credit regnare post taurum et ei succedere.*

Amodo de tauro taceo, gallo tibi psallo;  
 Gallum de bruto nosces genitum fore scuto.  
 In mundo talis nullus gallus volat alis.  
 Ad gallum nomen tauri transibit et omen;  
 Nomen mutatur, species sed continuatur.

Gallus erit magnus, justus, mansuetus ut agnus ;  
 Ut taurus fortis, æqualis munere sortis.  
 Victus fertilitas hunc gallum nobilitabit ;  
 Actus nobilitas decus illius geminabit.  
 Tempore brumali gallus nido boreali  
 Pullos unabit, et se volitare parabit.  
 Fient pennati pro caudis improperati ;  
 Sic gallo grati, statim volitare parati.  
 Porci Flandrenses non cedent Angligenenses ;  
 Falsi sunt penses, cum possint impetuenses.  
 Pacem tractabunt, sed fraudem subtus arabunt.  
 Non fient falsi fideles sunt nisi salsi.  
 Fient caudati nimium tunc infatuati,  
 Pennis cristati, vestitu degenerati.  
 Regnum Gallorum reputabunt esse suorum ;  
 Sed remanet multum quod cor pensat modo stultum.  
 Advolat in vento sine tempore penna memento ;  
 Penna volans gratis descendet zelotopatis.  
 Non venient sana dum turgent talia vana.

*Amodo de tauro taceo.* In isto capitulo nono incipit tractare de gallo quem credo regnaturum post taurum, et ei succedere in regno, et continet sex dicta. In primo ostendit quomodo transfertur a tauro ad loquendum de gallo, et qualis erit iste gallus, dicens, *Amodo taceo de tauro*, quasi diceret, non loquar amplius quam proposui in contemplatione divinæ legis post jubilæum ; sed *gallo tibi psallo*, i. faciam carmina et versus sequentes de te et de actibus tuis, sicut prius feci de tauro, sed tu, lector, *nosces gallum fore genitum*, i. procreatum, *de bruto scuto*, i. de Wodestok, quia brutus, -ta, -tum, Anglice *wod* dicitur, et scutum, Anglice *stok*, ex antiquo, quia antiqui talibus loco scuti utebantur, quibus junctis faciunt Wodestoke, et sic habemus cognomen galli ; et *nullus talis gallus*, sicut ipse, *volat in mundo alis*, quia non erit gallus volans, sed gradiens in terra, quia homo, vel quia nullus Gallus vel homo de Gallia volat cum alis, i. cum tanta militia sicut ille, et *nomen tauri*, scilicet patris sui Edwardi, et *omen*, i. hereditas et vendicatio regni Franciæ et regnum Angliæ, transibunt ad gallum ; quia gallus vocabitur Edwardus rex, sicut pater ejus prius vocabatur. *Nomen mutatur*, scilicet galli, quia gallus vocabitur, et rex quomodo prius non vocabatur, et alia nomina sua dimittentur. *Species sed continuatur*, quia erit idem homo in specie

et natura sicut prius, quamvis aliter vocabitur. Secundo describit mores istius galli, quos habebit in tempore suo, dicens, *Gallus erit magnus*, vel in statura corporali, vel in honore, vel in bellis; *justus*, scilicet in regno suo contra malefactores et iniquos homines, *mansuetus ut agnus*, bonis viris et justis de regno suo; *ut taurus fortis*, scilicet in bellis contra inimicos suos erit fortis sicut pater ejus fuit, et *erit æqualis tauro munere sortis*, quia multa bona recipiet per fortunam et munera sortis quæ per consilium suorum nunquam cogitabuntur, sicut talia acciderunt tauro patri suo. Et nota istud quod est bonum verbum. *Victus fertilitas*, i. abundantia ciborum et victualium, *nobilitabit hunc gallum*, quia libenter recipiet homines ad prandium suum, et erit in dapibus valde liberalis, et *nobilitas actus*, scilicet in bellis, *geminabit decus illius*, id est duplicabit honorem suum, quia primo laudabitur de dono et abundantia victualium, secundo de operibus bellorum. Tertio ostendit quomodo iste gallus congregabit exercitum in Borea ad unum bellum, dicens, *Pullos unabit*, i. congregabit in unum, *pullos*, homines scilicet bellatores sui regni, *in tempore brumali*, scilicet in hyeme, quando dies abbreviantur, *in nido boreali*, id est in aliquo loco in Borea; et *parabit se volitare*, id est, transire ultra mare ad debellandum contra Gallicos pro suo regno. *Et pennati*, i. architenentes, qui sagittis pennatis pennati dicuntur, *improperati pro caudis*, a Gallicis, quia vocant eos caudatos in despectu, *fient grati cum gallo*, illo tempore, et *parati volitare* contra Gallicos. Quarto ostendit falsitates Flandrensiis contra gallum, dicens, *Porci Flandrenses*, id est, vocat eos porcos propter eorum immunditiam et bestialitatem, *non cedent Angligenenses*, id est, non erunt contra Anglicos illo tempore propter aliquod commodum quod de regno tunc habebunt. *Sed penses*, i. cognosces, *quod falsi sunt* contra Anglicos, *cum possint impetuenses*, quia erunt contra gallum cum impetu si crederent habere victoriam seu non timerent perdere utilitatem quam habent de Anglia; unde *pacem tractabunt*, scilicet cum gallo, *sed fraudem subtus arabunt*, cum Gallicis forte contra eum. Quinto ostendit quomodo Anglici illo tempore frustrabuntur a proposito suo propter fatuitatem, dicens *quod caudati*, id est Anglici, qui reprobantur pro caudis, *fient tunc nimis infatuati*, propter opera quæ faciunt in illo bello, et propter eorum superbiam; *quia vestitu sunt degenerati*, propter diversum modum vestimentorum et cissuram eorum, et *quia reputabunt regnum Gallorum esse suorum*, unde credent forte quod regnum Franciæ sit totaliter in manibus suis, *sed remanet multum*, id est, multum distat, sive multa sunt facienda priusquam illud fiat, *quod cor pensat modo stultum*, id est, quod cor stultum eorum pensat factum et completum. Sexto ostendit quomodo finis illius itineris frustrabitur, dicens, *Memento*, id est, cognoscas firmiter in mente tua, quod *penna*, id est, sagitta pennata, *advolat in vento*, id est in



aere, *sine tempore*, id est extra tempus, quia forte perdent sagittas suas frustra in aliquo facto ante tempus belli, et *penna volans gratis*, scilicet necesse vel utilitate, *descendit zelotopatis*, id est aliquibus dominis forte qui manent in castello cum uxoribus propter zelotypiam, circa qualia castella Anglici forte occupabuntur debellando, donec expendiderint sagittas suas, id est, *dum talia vana turgent*, id est, fiunt per Anglicos. *Non venient sana*, scilicet illa quæ intendit, et frustrabuntur a proposito suo. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum decimum, in quo loquitur auctor de pestilentia tempore galli.*

Heu! quod peccatum tanto mundo sit amatum!  
 Mors pro peccato ruet in terram veterato.  
 Me fore delirum dices, si dixero mirum;  
 Mors faciet gyrum per terras undique dirum.  
 Non consummabit carnem sed dimidiabit,  
 Quantum durabit medium lustrum reserabit,  
 Et pennatorum fastum feriet fatuorum.  
 Tunc mors vesana disperdet gaudia vana;  
 Deponent pennas, metuent intrare Gehennas.  
 Gallus adhuc stabit et nomen continuabit.  
 Cum gallo bella cancer pingetque novella,  
 Sed frangit pactum cum gallus tendet ad actum.  
 Fortunare bonam renuet Jo. namque coronam.  
 Nunquam Gallorum cessabit fraus patruorum,  
 Carnificum nati patrui de stirpe creati,  
 Jura paterna pati renuent quia magnificati.  
 Prædecessores proprii quia non meminere  
 Jura per uxoris qui regnum cœpit habere.  
 Dedecus artificem fit propria facta negare,  
 Neenon carnificem decreta patris reprobare.

*Heu! quod peccatum.* In isto capitulo decimo loquitur auctor de pestilentia in tempore galli fienda, et aliis accidentibus illo tempore, et continet quatuor dicta. Prima condolendo ostendit illam pestilentiam futuram propter peccatum, dicens, *Heu! quod peccatum tantum amatum sit mundo*, quod mors, seu mortalitas, ruet, id est accidet, in terram Angliæ, *pro peccato veterato*, quod

Anglici ex antiquo continuabant; sed tu, lector, *dices me fore delirum*, id est errantem, *si dixerō mirum*, de illa pestilentia, quod *mors tunc temporis faciet gyrum*, id est circuitum, *dirum*, id est crudelem, *undique per terras*, et erit pestilentia universalis in omni terra, sed *non consummabit*, id est omnem viventem, *carnem sed dimidiabit*, id est accipiet unam medietatem hominum, *et medium lustrī*, id est medietas quinque annorum, *reserabit quantum durabit*, quia durabit tantum, scilicet duos annos et dimidium. Unde patet quod ista pestilentia non præteriit, quia præcedentium nulla tantum duravit. Secundo ostendit quomodo ista pestilentia impedit propositum galli de bello prædicto, dicens, *Et feriet fastum*, i. superbiam destruet, *pennatorum fatuorum*, i. architenentium Angliæ, qui fatui erunt illo tempore, ut prædictum est; et *sic mors vesana*, i. dira pestilentia, *disperdet gaudia vana*, quæ prius habuerunt credentes se habuisse victoriam et regnum Franciæ per suam potentiam, qui tantum per istam pestilentiam erunt humiliati, quod *deponent pennas*, i. sagittas et arcus, vel pennas quas portant in capillis suis, quia *metuent intrare Gehennas*, i. pœnam æternam propter peccata sua. Tertio ostendit quod gallus vivet post istam pestilentiam, et rex Scotiæ bella movebit, sed non expectabit ad conflictum, dicens, *Gallus adhuc stabit*, scilicet post illam pestilentiam; et *nomen continuabit*, quod prius habebat, et *cancer pinget*, i. faciet seu similabit, *bella novella cum gallo*, cum prædicto scilicet rege Angliæ; sed *cum gallus tendet*, i. disponet se ad actum, non expectabit sed fugiet, et *franget pactum*, quod faciet de pugna. Quarto ostendit fraudes et falsitates Francorum illo tempore, dicens, *Fortunare bonam renuet Jo. namque coronam*. Unde pro ista litera sunt tria notanda. Primo est notandum quod lex fuit in Francia quod mulieres deberent portare hæreditatem usque ad tempus Philippi le Bewes, quem una de hæredibus Franciæ tulit sibi in conjugem de macello propter ejus pulchritudinem, et tunc ordinatum fuit quod mulieres non gauderent hæreditate propter despectum personæ, quod carnifex factus fuit rex; unde omnes reges Franciæ ab illo tempore de genere fuerunt carnificum. Secundo est notandum quod iste terminus fortunare idem significat quod fœcundare, prosperum facere, vel emundare. Tertio est notandum quod iste terminus patrius proprie dicitur frater patris mei, et avunculus dicitur proprie frater matris. His præmissis, sequitur expositio literæ. *Fortunare bonam renuet Jo. namque coronam*. Iste versus habet duplicem expositionem. Prima est quod *Jo. renuet*, Johannes rex Franciæ refutabit, *fortunare bonam coronam*, i. prosperam facere vel honorare coronam Franciæ, quia forte destruet vel mutabit aliqua quæ pertinent ad dignitatem coronæ et regni, ut perdet aliqua pertinentia ad coronam contra aliquem dominum sui regni vel alterius, vel qui impediet eos

coronari quibus de jure competeret corona, et qui melius eam regerent quem ipse, et amplior fortuna sequeretur. Secunda expositio hujus versus est ista: *fortunare*, i. per fortunam ut accipiat nominaliter in ablativo casu, *renuet Jo. bonam coronam*, quia forte permittet aliquem filiorum suorum coronari suo tempore voluntate propria ad instantiam regni, vel forte hoc erit contra voluntatem suam, per aliquod infortunium, seu per fraudem regni et illorum de sanguine suo in quibus confidit; unde dicit, *Fraus gallorum patruorum*, i. descendendum a patre, scilicet Philippo Bewes carnifice, *nunquam cessabit*, quia volunt esse certi de alio rege, ut rex Angliæ non vendicet regnum Franciæ tempore quo esset sine rege, quia in quantum possunt semper per fraudes et falsitates suas nitentur impedire gallum de Francia et excludere a regno Franciæ; unde auctor reprobatur eos, dicens, *Carnificum nati*, i. de genere carnificis, *creati de stirpe patruï*, qui de stirpe Philippi Bewes processerunt, *renuent pati jura paterna*, i. sustinere leges antiquorum patrum a quibus ordinabatur quod mulieres deberent habere hæreditatem sicut mares, si pater sine mare decederet vel fratre, et hoc faciunt quia *magnificati* fuerant et exaltati per fortunam Philippi prædicti, qui cæpit habere regnum Franciæ per jura uxoris, scilicet per idem jus quod modo reprobant; unde est *dedecus artificem reprobare decreta patris*, i. leges patrum, videlicet quibus ipse fuit promotus, et elevatus in regnum. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum xj. ostendit secundam pestilentiam tempore galli futuram, et causam inde, et alia accidentia.*

Est Notus infestus Saturni cum ruet æstus,  
 Assub quando cadet, mors per terræ vada vadet.  
 A peccatore salus est longe brevis horæ.  
 Mors infecta malis pernicibus evolat alis.  
 Mors veniet demens, vix evadet bene clemens.  
 Ecclesiæ patres solvent hoc tempore fratres.  
 Flebunt discreti maculas formidine lethi;  
 Hostia divina mundis fiet medicina.  
 A nece tam tristi salvabit visio Christi.  
 Non est res mira summi si percutit ira;  
 Non est in mundo dives qui dicit abundo.

Pax et justitia strinxerunt basia dudum ;  
 Fastus, avaritia destruxerunt modo ludum.  
 Verum de terra nunc non oritur sine guerra.  
 Justum de cœlo non metuitur sine telo ;  
 Et nimis ingrata jam plebs de fonte renata  
 Munera tam grata non est summi meditata.  
 Ast impinguata, per delicias jaculata,  
 Summi mandata renuit servare beata.  
 Gratia tardatur, et sic vindicta paratur ;  
 Universalis nam mors erit exitialis.  
 Decrescet luna, cancer decrescet, et una  
 Perdet fallacem, mors coget stringere pacem.

*Est Notus.* In isto undecimo capitulo, ubi pertractat de secunda pestilentia tempore galli et aliis actibus, et continet v. dicta, primo ostendit causas et signa pestilentie secundæ, a quibus transibit, et quis capiat, unde tria sunt hic primitus notanda. Primo est notandum quod Saturnus est stella maxime nociva terræ et inductiva pestilentiarum, unde secundum Misaelem Saturnus est planeta malevolus, frigidus, siccus, ponderosus, et nocturnus, et secundum Catholicon in judicii signat mœrorem et tristitiam. Secundo est notandum quod Assub est executio quæ apparet in nocte ac si stellæ caderent de cœlo, et signat magnam siccitatem et æstum seu calorem in aere. Tertio est notandum quod quando ista duo simul apparent, sunt signa mortalitatis et pestilentie ex aere infecto propter æstum nimium et siccitatem inordinatam in aere, ita quod ibi deficiat humidum sufficienter vitæ conservativum. Et his præmissis clarius patebit expositio. Dicit, *cum æstus Saturni*, i. calor inordinatus sive destructivus causatus ex natura Saturni, *ruet*, i. fiet vel accidet in terra, quod continget per modicum tempus ante annum Christi M<sup>mccc</sup><sup>mmv</sup><sup>m</sup>, sicut expressius alias calculabo per astronomiam; tunc erit *Notus infestus*, i. ventus inter Austrum et Orientem qui Notus dicitur, erit contrarius et destructivus ex infectione constellationis Saturni; et *quando Assub cadet*, de cœlo in noctibus serenis, tunc *mors vadet*, i. transibit, *per vada terræ*, i. per Herforthe; et hic utitur sexta occultatione, quia credo quod villam de Herforthe dimittet, et alias villas occupabit, vel quia non nocebit comiti de Hertforde quando multi alii domini per illam pestilentiam morientur, quia illo tempore forte comes de Herforthe bonus erit et Deo devotus, et alii mali et peccatores, qui in illa pestilentia maxime morientur; unde dicit, quod *salus brevis horæ*, i. illius pestilentie, *est longe a peccatore*, quia tunc peccatores morientur



et non salvabuntur. *Mors infecta malis*, i. hominibus quos tunc accipiet, vel multis malis vel multis miseriis quæ in illa pestilentia contingent morientibus. *Pernicibus evolat alis*, i. velocibus alis volat de terra in terram, ita quod cito occupabit plures partes mundi. *Mors venit demens*, illo tempore scilicet quod non parceret alicui, nec diviti nec pauperi, in tantum quod *vix evadet bene clemens*, scilicet de ista pestilentia. Et nota quod iste terminus clemens potest accipi pro quolibet bono homine et clementi, vel pro papa qui forte tunc temporis Clemens vocabitur, qui evadet de illa pestilentia. Secundo notat auctor unum accidens quod illo tempore fiet circa fratres mendicantes, dicens, *Ecclesiæ patres*, scilicet episcopi et cardinales, *solvent hoc tempore fratres*, i. destruent eorum religionem, quod amplius non erunt ligati ad eam; vel illo tempore erit tanta penuria sacerdotum sæcularium propter pestilentiam præcedentem, quod papa et episcopi solvent illam constitutionem in qua cavetur quod fratres non ministrant sacramenta sæcularibus nisi confessionem, et tunc concedent eis plenariam executionem sacramentorum, sicut jam habent rectores et sacerdotes parochiales; vel tunc temporis propter penuriam sæcularium recipient fratres ab ecclesia Romana præbendas et dignitates ecclesiæ et terras a dominis devotis, sicut nunc faciunt monachi, et non tenebuntur amplius tunc ad tantam paupertatem ut hostiatim mendicent. Vel potest aliter exponi quod fratres illo tempore solvent patres ecclesiæ secundum bonam expositionem; lector recipiet sicut placet, quia de prælatis ecclesiæ nolo aliqua mala inferre. Tertio ostendit dolorem hominum illo tempore, et eorum salvationem per medicinam, in tribus versibus, dicens, *Discreti flebunt maculas*, i. sapientes erunt contriti de maculis peccatorum suorum, *formidine lethi*, i. pro timore mortis; sed illo tempore *hostia divina*, i. sacramentum altaris, *fiet medicina mundis*, scilicet ad vitam æternam; quia per illud sacramentum mundi salvabuntur, vel mundis fiet medicina eos liberando ab infirmitate corporali; et *visio Christi*, scilicet in sacramento altaris, vel propter aliam corporalem apparitionem qua forte tunc temporis se ostendet mundis, vel forte in cœlesti patria, *salvabit a nece tam tristi*, scilicet ab ista magna pestilentia; dicens, *Non est res mira*, i. non est mirandum, *si ira summi Dei percutit*, per istam scilicet pestilentiam, primo propter avaritiam divitum, *quia non est in mundo dives qui dicit abundo*, i. nulli diviti videtur quod habeat ad abundantiam; et sic exponas cæteros versus ad literam, quia non continent difficultatem. Quinto ostendit quod illa mors erit universalis; et quod rex Scotiæ in illa pestilentia morietur, dicens, *Gratia tardatur*, scilicet propter ista peccata, *et sic vindicta paratur*, per istam pestilentiam prædictam; *nam mors exitialis*, et destruens, *erit universalis*, scilicet per diversas terras; *et luna decrescet*, et dominetur ac si dicatur Scotice *in the wanyand, cancer decrescet*, i. rex Scotiæ

infirmabitur, *et una perdet fallacem*, quia forte una mulier erit causa suæ mortis vel destructionis suæ, qui falsus et fallax fuit ad Angliam tempore suo, et tunc ista *mors coget stringere pacem*, quia ab illo tempore firmabitur pax inter Angliam et Scotiam, quæ per multos annos non continuabitur. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

*Capitulum xij<sup>m</sup> ostendit quomodo gallus recipiet Franciam.*

Lethum præcedet, tunc gallo Gallia cedit;  
 Quod Deus ipse dare vult nemo valet revocare.  
 Inferni porta gallus transibit adorta,  
 Anglorum causa longinquo tempore clausa.  
 Dum perdet centum, feriet caput et nece lentum.  
 Tristia post letha venient vix tempora læta,  
 Mors dum purgabit, cum gallo non jubilabit.  
 Stirps Parisatina periet confrissa ruina.  
 Non divinavi mendacia, sed simulavi;  
 Plurima narravi, sed somnia vera putavi,  
 Et magis erravi, quia non mea dicta probavi.  
 Qui nil audit, nil vidit, nil bene scivit;  
 Qui bene nil scivit, describere nil bene quivit.  
 Universalis defectus fit mihi talis,  
 Visus et auditus testis fortunamque peritus,  
 Solus secura novit Deus ipse futura.  
 Omnia formavit veluti voluit et amavit.  
 Quod deliravi sermonibus insinuavi.  
 Per summum juro, te credere non mihi curo.  
 Judicium faciet gestorum quisque suorum;  
 Mercedem capiet laborum quisque suorum.  
 Ad mortem tendo, morti mea carmina pendo.

*Expositio.*—*Lethum præcedet.* In isto xij. capitulo auctor ostendit quomodo gallus recipiet regna Franciæ, et finit prophetiam suam, et continet quinque dicta. In primis duobus versibus ostendit quomodo gallus recipiet regnum Franciæ, dicens, *Lethum præcedet*, ista pestilentia prædicta prius erit, et tunc *Gallia cedit*, i. dabit locum, *gallo*, scilicet regi Angliæ prædicto, quia *quod Deus*

vult dare, nemo potest vel valet revocare, seu impedire. Secundo ostendit auctor ubi et quomodo gallus recipiet Franciam; unde pro expositione illius dicti sunt tria notanda. Primo est notandum quod hoc dictum, *adorta*, potest esse una dictio, scilicet participium, ab hoc verbo adorior, adoriris, et tunc signat idem quod hoc participium aggressus ante vel juxta hortus vel mansionem secundum Papiam; et potest esse duæ dictiones, scilicet ad et ortus, -ta, -tum, i. natus vel genitus. Secundo est notandum quod si accipiatur primo modo, sic est ablativus casus, et adjectivum hujus dictionis porta; si secundo modo, est accusativus pluralis cum præpositione ad. Tertio est notandum quod Parisius est una porta quæ vocatur porta inferni, quam claudebant sive murabant Gallici propter causam exortam inter Angliam et Franciam. Istis præmissis, sequitur expositio literæ sic. Primo potest exponi: *porta inferni*, scilicet baratri, *adorta*, i. invasa sive aggressa, quæ scilicet fuit *clausa longinquo tempore*, pro *causa Anglorum*; tunc *gallus transibit*; sed non ostendit ad quem locum debet transire isto modo exponendo. Secundo potest sic exponi: *gallus transibit porta inferni*, i. per portam inferni, quæ fuit *clausa longinquo tempore pro causa Anglorum adorta*, i. ad genitos suos seu natos per progenitores, qui eum ad infernum præcesserunt. Tertio potest sic exponi: *porta inferni adorta*, i. quando porta inferni Parisius est aggressa per bellum seu invasa, quæ fuit *clausa longinquo tempore pro causa Anglorum*, ut per eam Anglici civitatem non intrarent, *gallus transibit*, scilicet ad civitatem accipiendum. Quarto sic exponitur: *gallus transibit adorta*, i. ad regna ex origine sibi data per matrem, scilicet ad regnum Franciæ, *porta inferni*, scilicet per portam inferni Parisius, quæ fuit *clausa longinquo tempore pro causa Anglorum*; et secundas duas expositiones reputo veriores. Tertio ostendit modum et tempus acquirendi Franciam in isto versu, *dum perdet centum*, pro cujus expositione sunt tria notanda. Primo est notandum quod iste terminus dum potest accipi dupliciter; primo pro adverbio temporis, sicut communiter accipitur; secundo pro numero quem literæ in eodem contentæ signant, qui est M. d. v. Secundo est notandum quod iste terminus caput accipitur tripliciter; primo pro parte corporis, scilicet in qua sensus maxime viget; secundo pro domino capitali seu principali alicujus rei, sicut dicimus quod rex est caput regni, vel vir est caput mulieris; tertio pro aliqua re inanimata excellenti, sicut dicimus quod Roma est caput civitatum Italiæ, London. caput civitatum Angliæ, et Parisius caput civitatum Franciæ. Tertio est notandum quod lethum est æquivocum; quando dicitur hoc lethum, idem est quod mors; quando dicitur lætus, -ta, -tum, idem est quod gaudiosus, -a, -um. His præmissis, sequitur expositio hujus versus, qui tripliciter exponitur sic. *Dum perdet centum*, iste numerus designatur per literas con-

tentas in ista dictione dum, scilicet M. d. v. *perdet centum* per subtractionem seu diminutionem, et remaneant M.iii<sup>o</sup> v., qui numerus signat annos Domini in quo *gallus feriet caput*, i. civitatem principalem Franciæ, *nece lentum*, i. debilitatum per necem et mortem præcedentem de hominibus suis, ita quod non sufficiet gallo resistere. Secunda expositio est quod anno prædicto *feriet caput*, i. dominum capitalem, qui erit lentus nece, i. fatigatus per pestilentiam præcedentem. Tertio exponitur sic: *dum gallus perdet centum*, i. illo tempore quo gallus perdet centum milites vel homines pugnantes contra civitatem vel regem devincendum, *feriet caput et nece lentum*, i. occidet ductorem capitalem illius prælii, vel illam civitatem capitalem prædictam contra quam pugnant. Et *post illa tristia lethæ*, i. pestilentias prædictas, vel post tristem mortem illius belli, *vix venient tempora læta*, et gaudiosa, tanta erit destructio hominum illo tempore vel tanta malitia et nequitia post illud tempus erit inter homines. Et iste versus aliter exponitur, quod *post illa tristia lethæ*, centum hominum quos perdet aggressu contra inimicos, *venient vix tempora læta*, i. tot anni læti et gaudiosi venient gallo, qui in illo prælio adquiret regnum Franciæ, quot sunt unitates designatæ per literas hujus dictionis vix, quæ sunt xvj., quia forte tantum tempus gaudebit in regno Franciæ autem mortem suam, vel per xiiij. secundum aliam expositionem illius dictionis; eligat lector expositionem quam voluerit. Quarto ostendit qualia accident gallo in illo conflictu vel post, sicut eligere poterit lector in expositione, quia isti versus habent duplicem expositionem. Prima expositio quod *dum mors purgabit*, i. faciet purgationem de peccatoribus eos extirpando, *non jubilabit cum gallo*, i. non faciet jubulum seu gaudium cum gallo, quia homines sui tunc moriuntur, vel quia forte ipsemet morietur, qui stirps Parisatina dicitur forte quia processit ex illa generatione quæ tunc periet, seu peribit, *confrissa ruina*, i. per aliam ruinam, vel per bellum quod sibi fiet, ita quod illa generatio non amplius regnabit seu durabit. Secunda expositio est ista, quod *dum mors purgabit*, scilicet occidendo homines et eos destruendo, *stirps Parisatina non jubilabit cum gallo*, i. forte aliqua mulier de genere vel de stirpe Parisatina, quæ erit uxor galli, vel forte sibi amicabile, non jubilabit vel gaudebit amplius cum gallo, quia periet seu peribit, *confrissa ruina*, mortis, vel occisa; vel forte morietur in partu per violentiam alicujus ruinæ; et utraque istarum expositionum potest verificari pro tempore quo civitas prædicta capietur, vel pro xvj<sup>o</sup> anno post, vel xiiij., sicut dicitur in prædicta expositione præcedenti super istam dictionem vix. Quinto ostendit de modo suo prophetandi et respondendi quatuor quæstionibus, seu dubiis, quæ poterant moveri contra eum in prophetia sua. Primo potest aliquis quærere ab eo, ex



quo scribit prophetiam, et prophetia deberet continere totaliter veritatem, quare divinavit et prophetavit mendacia. Dicit *non divinavi mendacia*, i. non scripsi quæ sunt mendacia pro seipsis, sed ad signandum alia per aliquam similitudinem, ut præexpōita est, et ideo simulavi et locutus sum per similitudinem. Secunda quæstio possit moveri contra istum auctorem, quare tot et talia narravit, cum propheta deberet pauca dicere, et in verbis paucis multa continere. Huic quæstioni seu dubio respondit, dicens, *Plurima narravi*, i. scripsi narrando in dictis meis, quia *putavi somnia vera*, quasi diceret quia quæ Spiritus Sanctus revelavit mihi in somnis putavi vera, ideo ea scripsi ad intelligentiam auditoris. Tertia quæstio possit moveri, quare erravit aliquando et male scripsit, et non secundum veritatem, nec secundum ordinem; et respondit huic quæstioni, dicens, *Et magis erravi*, scilicet non scribendo clare et aperte, *quia non probavi dicta mea*, sed fui alienatus in sensibus corporalibus, nil audiendo, nil videndo, nil sciendo; sed *qui nil audivit*, sed auditu fuit privatus, *nil vidit*, scilicet oculo, *nil bene scivit*, sed scientia bona ex visu procedit vel auditu, et *qui nil bene scivit*, de aliquibus *nil quivit*, seu poterit, *bene describere*; et *talis defectus*, scilicet *visus et auditus, fit mihi universalis*, quia nec potui videre nec audire, namque fit *testis peritus*, i. Spiritus Sanctus est testis si alia est causa quare erravi et nescivi secure seu certitudinaliter futura, quia *ipse solus Deus novit futura secura*, scilicet quæ venient certitudinaliter, *qui formavit omnia veluti voluit*, i. secundum voluntatem suam, et secundum quod *amarit*. Quarta quæstio, seu dubium, poterit esse, ex quo iste erravit in scribendo et deliravit, quomodo aliquis deberet credere sibi, seu dare fiduciam dictis suis; et huic quæstioni respondet, dicens, *Insinuavi* et ostendi quod *deliravi in sermonibus*, et in verbis occultis, sed non in sentiis; quasi diceret, licet verba mea appareant deliramenta et falsa propter occultum modum loquendi, si tamen bene exponantur continent veritates, et ideo sic est mihi credendum, et si volueris *mihi credere*, seu dictis meis, per *Deum juro non curo*, quia quisque faciet iudicium *gestorum suorum*, i. iudicabit istam prophetiam esse veram secundum illud quod sibi accidit, et *quisque accipit mercedem laborum suorum*, pro gestis et factis suis. Et quia *ego tendo ad mortem*, propter febres et infirmitates meas, pendo seu finio carmina mea morti, quia amplius scribere non valeo.

Et sic sententiam hujus libri, comes reverende, ob vestram declaravi reverentiam, non affirmans istum librum tanquam prophetiam, et tanquam versus multis difficultatibus implicatos exposui, nec dico me in omnibus invenisse veritatem; sed ut magis mihi videbatur pro tempore expositionis ad sententiam, literæ cum occultationibus convenientibus deduxi intellectum.

Rogo, si vestrae placuerit reverentiae, quod iste liber manibus multorum non tradatur, et si secretioribus aliquotiens contingat ostendi, nomen tamen auctoris occultatur, ne incurram aliorum indignationem propter opus quod vestram tantum curavi honestare dignitatem. Valete ad mundi honores cum spirituali incremento per preces humilitatis servi vestri, cui talem decet venerari sublimantem. *Explicit expositio hujus prophetiae.*

ON THE DEATH OF EDWARD III.<sup>1</sup>

1377.

A! dere God, what may this be,  
 That alle thing weres and wasteth away?  
 Frendschyp is but a vanyté,  
 Unnethe hit dures al a day.  
 Thei beo so cliper<sup>2</sup> at assay,  
 So leof to han, and loth to lete,  
 And so fikel in heore fay,  
 That selden iseize is sone forzete.

I sei hit not withouten a cause,  
 And therfore takes riht god hede;  
 For ȝif ye construwe wel this clause,  
 I puit ȝou holly out of drede,  
 That puire schame ȝor hert wold blede,  
 And ȝe this matere wysly trete.  
 He that was ur most spede  
 Is selden seye and sone forzete.

<sup>1</sup> This English song on the death of King Edward III. is preserved in two manuscripts, one in the British Museum, MS. addit., No. 22,283, fol. 132, r<sup>o</sup>, the other in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, known as MS. Vernon, fol. 410, v<sup>o</sup>. The latter manuscript is well known to antiquaries by the title of the Vernon manuscript; the former has been recently purchased by the

British Museum, and, singularly enough, the two manuscripts resemble each other in shape, in handwriting, and in their contents, so closely, that there can be no doubt of their having come from the hand of the same scribe. The song is here printed from the Museum MS., with the only variations of any importance of the other.

<sup>2</sup> *sliper*, Vernon MS.

Sum tyme an Englis schip we had,  
 Nobel hit was, and heih of tour;  
 Thorw al Christendam hit was drad,  
 And stif wold stonde in uch a stour,  
 And best dorst byde a scharp schour,  
 And other stormes smale and grete;  
 Nou is that schip, that bar the flour,  
 Selden seize and sone forzete.

Into that schip ther longeth a roothur,  
 That steered the schip, and governed hit;  
 In al this world nis such anothur,  
 As me thenketh in my wit.  
 Whil schip and rothur togeder was knit,  
 Thei dredde nother tempest, druyze, nor wete;  
 Nou be thei bothe in synder flit;  
 That selden seize is sone forzete.

Scharpe wawes that schip has sayled,  
 And sayed alle sees at aventur;  
 For wynt ne wederes never hit fayled,  
 Wil the roothur miht enduir.  
 Thouz the see were rouz, or elles dimuuir,  
 Gode havenes that schip wold geete.  
 Nou is that schip, I am wel suir,  
 Selde iseye and sone forzete.

This good schip I may remene  
 To the chivalrye of this londe;  
 Sum tyme thei counted nouzt a bene  
 Beo al Fraunce, ich understonde.  
 Thei toke and slouz hem with her wonde,<sup>1</sup>  
 The power of Fraunce, bethe smale and grete;  
 And brouzt the kyng hider to byde her bonde;<sup>2</sup>  
 And nou riht sone hit is forzete.

---

<sup>1</sup> *honde*, Vern.

|      <sup>2</sup> *bote*, MS. Addit.

That schip hadde a ful siker mast,  
 And a sayl strong and large,  
 That made the gode schip never agast  
 To undertake a thinge of charge.  
 And to that schip ther longed a barge,  
 Of al Fraunce ȝaf nouȝt a cleete.  
 To us hit was a siker targe;  
 And now riht clene hit is forȝete,

The rother was nouthur ok ne elm,  
 Hit was Edward the thridde the noble kniht;  
 The prince his sone bar up his helm,  
 That never scounfited was in fiht.  
 The kyng him rod and rouwed ariht,  
 The prince dredde nouthur stok nor streete.  
 Nou of hem we lete ful liht;  
 That selden is seiȝe is sone forȝete.

The swifte barge was duk Henri,  
 That noble kniht, and wel assayed;  
 And in his leggaunce worthily  
 He abod mony a bitter brayd.  
 Ȝif that his enemys ouȝt outrayed,  
 To chasteis hem wolde he not lete.  
 Nou is that lord ful lowe ileyd;  
 That selde is seiȝe is sone forȝete.

This gode comunes, bi the rode,  
 I likne hem to the schipes mast;  
 That with heore catel and with heore goode  
 Mayntened the werre both furst and last.  
 The wynd that blenȝ the schip with blast,  
 Hit was gode preȝeres, I sey hit atrete;  
 Nou is devoutnes out icast,  
 And mony gode dedes ben clene forȝete.



Thus ben this lordes ileid ful lowe ;  
 The stok is of the same rote ;  
 An ympe biginnes for to growe,  
 And ȝit I hope schal ben ur bote,  
 To wolde<sup>1</sup> his fomen underfote,  
 And as a lord be set in sete.  
 Crist, lene that he so mote,  
 That selden iseize be not forȝete.

Weor that impe ffully growe,  
 That he had sarri,<sup>2</sup> sap, and pith,  
 I hope he schulde be kud and knowe  
 For conquerour of moni a kith.  
 He is ful livelich in lyme and lith  
 In armes to travayle and to swete.  
 Crist, live we so fare him with,  
 That selden seiȝe be never forȝete.

And therfore holliche I ou rede,  
 Til that this ympe beo fulli growe,  
 That uch a mon up with the hede,  
 And mayntene him bothe heiȝe and lowe.  
 The Frensche men cunne bothe bost and blowe,  
 And with heore scornes us to-threte ;  
 And we beoth bothe unkuynde and slowe,  
 That selden seiȝe is sone forȝete.

And therfore, gode sires, taketh reward  
 Of ȝor douhti kyng that deyȝede in age,  
 And to his sone prince Edward  
 That welle was of alle corage.  
 Suche two lordes of heiȝe parage  
 Is not in eorthe whom we schal gete.  
 And nou heore los beginneth to swage,  
 That selde iseize is sone forȝete.

---

<sup>1</sup> holde, Vern.

| <sup>2</sup> sarr, Vern.

ON THE DEATH OF EDWARD III.<sup>1</sup>*Proemium in epitaphium domini Edwardi regis  
Anglorum tertii.*

Regis in Edwardi bene debeo funere flere,  
 Anglicus armatus sæpius ense suo.  
 Per mare, per terras totiens pertriverat hostes,  
 Quod nec adhuc audent jure referre minas.  
 Is pugil abscessit anima poscens paradisum,  
 Rex sibi succedens æquiparatur ei.  
 Par proprio patri sit, avo par, sit proavis par,  
 Parque Ricardo sit, par quia non habuit.  
 Ille David dormit, Salomon silet, ac obit Obeth,  
 Mors sua me flere jam memorata facit.  
 Heroicum carmen lacrimabor eum lucubrandum,  
 Heroico metro si mihi, musa, faves.

*Explicit Proemium. Incipit epitaphium domini  
Edwardi regis Anglorum tertii.*

Qui quinquaginta felices fecerat annos  
 In solio regni, rex noster nobis olim,  
 Tertius Edwardus, bene notus nomine tanto,  
 Nam genitor gessit et progenitor præhabebat.  
 Dulce Deo nomen donatum pollice pingui,  
 Ad tres Cæsareos apud Anglos sceptrigerantes,  
 Post conquestorem rebus regnoque potitos,  
 Quorum gemma, jubar, rosa regum, regula regni,  
 Luciferum luna lunam sicut superat sol.  
 Sic meritis, sic militia, sic moribus altis,  
 Inclitus Edwardus, excellentissimus ille,  
 Omnes præradians obscuravit præeuntes.

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<sup>1</sup> Taken from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 130, r<sup>o</sup>.

Gestum  
regium in  
ministerio  
divino.

Ad sacratam supplex quod toto tempore vitæ,  
Post duplices matutinas horasque diei,  
Cotidie missam dexter committeret auri,  
Mane die Martis, sed sexta pace petente  
Accumulans altare Dei dono pretioso,  
Nunc auro, nunc argento, nunc veste valoris,  
Codicibus, cum calicibus bene commemorandis,  
Sacras reliquias sanctorum sæpius addens,  
Ut monachis nigris caput abbatis Benedicti,  
Ac monachis albis caput Annæ progenitricis  
Christi, Londoniæ lætantur utroque jocali.  
Est hoc ad Estmynster, ad Westmynster caput illud.

Fertilita-  
tem sobo-  
lum domini  
regis et in-  
dustriam  
principis  
Edwardi  
regis  
Edwardi  
primo-  
geniti.

Tam summus sobole quod totum terruit orbem  
Per primogeniti præclari principis arma ;  
Fregit enim Francos, regem reliquosque rebelles  
Londonias ducens in vincula dura ligandos ;  
Intrans Hispanos princeps feriendo fugavit  
Omnes obstantes, captivans milia multa.  
Dux Leonellus, duxque Johannes, germina regis,  
Dux Edmundus, duxque Thomas, nam juniores,  
Willelmique duo parvi pueri morientes.  
Fœminei sexus fuerant Ysabella, Johanna,  
Blaunchia de Turri, Britonumque ducissa Maria ;  
Ultima Margareta fuit, Pembroke comitissa.

Misericor-  
diam et  
modestiam  
domini  
regis erga  
delin-  
quentes.

Tam timuit cœlum cum portaret gladium rex,  
Ob malefactores mulcandos cuspidis ictu,  
Quod non occidit unquam proprio pugione,  
Talem tollendum quietus qualibet ira,  
More suo sancto, sed justitiarius ejus  
Posceret a præsentato pro crimine quovis,  
Quid responderet ad crimen tale relatum.  
Si se purgaret ad perjuratos duodenos  
De convicinis, sua mors sua vitave venit.

Victoriam  
domini  
regis apud  
bellum de  
Crescy et  
obsidionem  
Calays.

Quot per eum cæsos inito certamine belli  
Mercurius nullus numeraret mille lapillis ;  
Semper enim victor et nunquam victus abibat.  
Tam ferus et fortis, et formidatus in armis,

Ad Francos fuerat, quod apud campestriam Crescy,  
 Dum dominus princeps acie prima peracutus  
 Fortius infremeret geminos reges jugulando,  
 Ac occursantes omnes occideret ense.  
 Tunc ubi Francorum vidit adesse Philippus  
 Edwardi regis aciem validam venientem,  
 Fronte sagittatus negat ultra nosce sagittas,  
 Festinus fugere, fidens pedibus palefridi.  
 Sicut apud Crescy, sic claruit ante Caletum,  
 Dum rapidus fugeret rex et totum quasi regnum,  
 Dorsa duodecies ibi centum milia dando.

Tam felix Scotis, quod primo flore juvente,  
 Ipso rege duce, discumbebat Halydona  
 Monte quadraginta Scotorum milia cæsa.  
 Bello-mount duce cognomine cum Baliolo,  
 Milia Scotorum tunc sexaginta cadebant ;  
 In castra mora fuit hoc bellum bene factum,  
 Milleque quingenti fuimus, qui nos numerasset.  
 Dunelmi campis dux archiepiscopus illic  
 Mortua Scotorum viginti millia vidit.  
 Sic variis vicibus vel per se perve suorum  
 Prælia de Scotis tribus his bellis perierunt  
 Centum milia, rex Scotorum vinclaque cepit.

Tam super equum erat audax et amarus  
 hostem,  
 Quod quinquaginta Francorum milia fudit  
 Extra sola classe collecta nomine papæ ;  
 Sed nobis inimica nimis mala multa minata est.  
 Rex ut hoc invenit, invasit, et in mare mersit,  
 De toto numero fugere decem nisi naves.  
 Papa Clemens sextus, gazis papæ Benedicti,  
 Hos ad Jerusalem conductitios adi viros,  
 Procurante via Francorum rege Philippo,  
 Misit et amisit, quia percuterent prius Anglos ;  
 Ac Anglis domitis tunc Joppen adire minaret,  
 Sed Deus Angligenas bene salvans sit benedictus!

Victoriam  
 domini  
 regis E.  
 super  
 Scotos in  
 3 præliis.

in Victoriam  
 domini  
 regis super  
 Francos, et  
 fallaciam  
 papæ Cle-  
 mentis  
 erga  
 Anglos.



Victoriam  
domini  
regis super  
Hispanos.

Torvus in Hispanos, qui clara classe superbi  
Litora cum ferro feriebant nostra frequenter,  
Tollentes prædas, tradebant predia flammis,  
Non puero parvo parcentes seu seniori,  
Quin cunctas animas crudeli morte metebant,  
Sic semel effrenos rigido rex ense recepit,  
Transfodiens nautas, subigens naves, bona vorans,  
Classe duæ naves de tota diffugiebant;  
Sed velo veloce magis citius revocantur  
In similem sortem quam sustinuerunt sorores.

Victoriam  
domini  
regis super  
mare.

Ex hoc in præsens navalia prælia multa,  
Per mare cautus erat.  
Tam fortunatus victor vitam faciebat  
Per tantum tractum, prope septuaginta per annos,  
Semper supponens inimicos inferiores;  
Dum princeps prosper dicti duces equitabant,  
Ac comites clari nunquam nomen minuentes;  
Pinguës prisiones tunc Londoniis lacrimati,  
Rex Francorum, rex Scotorum, duxque Britannus,  
Immo duces, immo comites, immo numerosi  
De cunctis gradibus in vincula nostra cadebant.  
Quos dominus rex dimisit, quosdam domini papæ,  
Quosdam florenis, et quosdam fœdere facto,  
Quamplures confugerunt de carcere furto.

Statuta  
domini  
regis de  
annonæ  
capienda.

Tam pius in plebem, quod serenissimus æqui  
Edidit edicto durandum dulce statutum  
Ejus in iconomos, populum prius excoriantes,  
Quod provisosores annonæ regis in aulam  
Non animalia, sed nec oves, nec aves, nec avenas,  
Perciperent de pauperibus, viduisve micellis,  
Sed de divitibus digno pretio comitante.  
Confusam curam primus projecit eorum,  
Qui plures proprias perdebant quolibet anno  
Depopulando domos depascebant sata cuncta,  
Dilapidando thoros meretrices mille trahebant,  
Horrea frangentes sua firmabant bona regni.

Tam prudens dum præfectos posuit patriarum,  
 Quod cunctis patriis ignotos intitulavit,  
 Jura volens fieri, neque flecti qualibet arte,  
 Ut mihi Mercensi judex Westsaxo veniret;  
 Sed Westsaxo satis ignoto jus sequeretur,  
 In neutram partem portandus amore vel ira;  
 Pervertunt amor vel odium quod judicis iram.  
 Hinc statuit patriis alienum semper adesse,  
 Qui nullo voto loqueretur libera jura.  
 Is non audiret verba potentis amici,  
 Nec contra condemnaret capiens inimicum.

Judiciarios  
 per eum  
 constitutos  
 pro jure  
 servando.

Tam plenus stabili studio mala tollere terræ,  
 Sicut sacrilegos per compita cuncta latrones,  
 Qui pulsi procul a patria quacunque querela  
 In silvis se servabant vacuando vianum  
 Ex nummis loculos, ex vita corpora crebra,  
 Hos multum minuit rex optimus ordine tali.

Statuta  
 domini  
 regis  
 contra  
 juris trans-  
 gressores,  
 et pœnas  
 eisdem  
 debitas  
 adjudican-  
 das.

Archipredones captos post crimina pœnis  
 Taliter absolvit, ut præsidis ante tribunal  
 Discipulos appellarent, agerentque duello,  
 Damnandos furcis, vel digna morte perirent  
 Ipsi prædones qui crimina tanta patrarant.  
 Terruit innumeros tunc turgida lingua latronum.  
 Talia plura darem, sed tandem terminus instat.

Milleque trecenti jam septuagintaque septem  
 Anni sunt Domini, dum tantus transit ad astra;  
 Tantis rex, tam magnificus, tanquam Deus esset,  
 Sed modo tam modicus, quod eum claudit petra  
 parva.

Transitum  
 domini  
 regis ex  
 hoc mundo  
 ad cœlum.

Parvus homo parvo tumulto dum clauditur isto,  
 Conarer cantare dominum, sua singula pensans,  
 Tot palmas, talem prolem, tam nobile tempus,  
 Tot sacra judicia, tam plena fide pretiosa,  
 Ipsum semideum saltem sine fine faterer,  
 Recta reclamaret nisi mors hominem manifestans.  
 Non Deus est, sed homo, quia sic homo terminat omnis.



In Kent this kare began,  
*mox infestando potentes,*  
 In rowte the rybawdus ran,  
*sua pompis arma ferentes ;*  
 Folus dred no mon,  
*regni regem neque gentes,*  
 Churles were hor chevetan,  
*vulgo pure dominantes.*

Thus hor wayes thay wente,  
*pravis prazos æmulantes,*  
 To London fro Kent  
*sunt predia depopulantes ;*  
 Ther was an uvel covent,  
*australi parte vagantes ;*  
 Sythenne they sone were schent,  
*qui tunc fuerant superantes.*

Bondus they blwun bost,  
*nolentes lege domari,*  
 Nede they fre be most,  
*vel nollent pacificari ;*  
 Charters were endost,  
*hos libertate morari ;*  
 Ther hor fredam thay lost,  
*digni pro cæde negari.*

Laddus loude thay loze,  
*clamantes voce sonora,*  
 The bisschop wen thay sloze.  
*et corpora plura decora ;*  
 Maners down thay drowze,  
*in regno non meliora ;*  
 Harmes thay dud inoze,  
*habuerunt libera lora.*



[Jak Strawe made yt stowte  
*in profusa comitiva,*  
 And seyð al schuld hem lowte  
*Anglorum corpora viva.*  
 Sadly can they schowte,  
*pulsant pietatis oliva,*  
 The wycche were wont to lowte,  
*aratrum traducere otiva.*

Hales, that dowghty knyȝht,  
*quo splenduit Anglia tota,*  
 Dolefully was he dyȝht,  
*cum stultus pace remota,*  
 There he myȝht not fyght,  
*nec Christo solvere vota.*

Savoy semely sette,  
*heu ! funditus igne cadebat,*  
 Arcadon there they bett,  
*et eos virtute premebat,*  
 Deth was ther dewe dett,  
*qui captum quisque ferebat.]*

Owre kyng hadde no rest,  
*alii latuere caverna,*  
 To ride he was ful prest,  
*recolendo gesta paterna ;*  
 Jak Straw down he kest  
*Smythfeld virtute superna.*  
 Lord, as thou may best,  
*regem defende, gubernna.*

Vulpes cum cauda caneat. cum cantat alauda,  
 Ne rapide pecus vocus capiat et equus.

ON THE SLAUGHTER OF ARCHBISHOP SUDBURY.<sup>1</sup>*Versus de tempore Johannis Straw.*

Proh dolor ! accrevit nuper confusio rerum ;  
 Dum virtus procerum silet, et vulgus<sup>2</sup> male sævit,  
 Servit nobilitas, et rusticitas dominatur,  
 Ad res illicitas omnis plebs præcipitatur.  
 Garcio bacchatur et ingenuos agitur ;  
 Judex damnatur, reus et in sede levatur ;  
 Lex ancillatur, injuria jugis amatur ;  
 Sanguine mucro satur, actus miseros operatur.  
 Anglia, quid gaudes ? cum sis anathemate cincta ;  
 Quomodo sic audes patriarchæ sanguine tincta.  
 Vel modo perpende tibi quid fortuna paravit,  
 Laus tua cessavit, insurgunt res metuendæ.  
 Rex imbecillis nec adhuc a plebe timetur ;  
 Ruribus et villis hinc vulgus ad arma movetur.  
 Exercent cædes<sup>3</sup> frendentes more ferino ;  
 Præcipitant ædes, spoliant, dant atque camino.<sup>4</sup>  
 Ætatis teneræ quia tunc erat ipse hierarcha,  
 Mactatur temere sine judicio patriarcha ;  
 Ecclesiæ princeps, patronus, et archithronatus,  
 Est decollatus, restat vindicta deinceps.  
 Votis scurrarum caput arripitur patriarchæ,  
 Non procul ex arce quæ fertur Lundoniarum.  
 Insuper a lixis caput est in ponte levatum,  
 Atque capellatum clavis in<sup>5</sup> vertice fixis.  
 Walword tunc<sup>6</sup> miles caput abstulit inde patenter,

<sup>1</sup> From two manuscripts at Cambridge, one in the University Library, with the shelf-mark Dd. 4, 35, fol. 44, r<sup>o</sup>, the other in the Library of Corpus Christi College, No. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *procerum contra vulgus*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>3</sup> *edes*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>4</sup> *canino*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>5</sup> *clavis est in*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>6</sup> *it*, MS. Corp. C.

In pallas habiles involvit idem reverenter.  
 Posteriore die plebs tam fuit impia regi,  
 Scripta sibi veniæ quod rex dedit obvia legi.  
 Regem transfodere ductor vulgi voluisset,  
 Ni Walword propere caput ejus præripuisset;  
 Quod jubet in ponte sursum super altera poni,  
 Ac ea deponi vulgi superaddita sponte.  
 Sic moritur Symon de bacca dictus et austri,  
 Ecclesiæ plaustrum rota, dux, auriga, vel ymon.  
 Rector erat regis et cancellarius iste,  
 O facinus triste! perit hic sine iudice legis.  
 Festo<sup>1</sup> Basilii sexta rutilante diei,  
 Post ictus gladii Symon datus est requiei.  
 Gleba fuit capiti de nocte reddita tandem,  
 Pectore contriti cives comitanter eandem,  
 Versus metropolim, Cantuaria quæ vocitatur,  
 Bustum portatur,<sup>2</sup> quo præsul præfuit olim.  
 Post tempus multum Dorobernia corpus humavit,  
 Atque decoravit cathedrali sede sepultum.  
 Ultio monstratur dum tortores cruciantur,  
 Sensu privantur duo, tertius et jugulatur.  
 Quidam plectuntur, quidam subito moriuntur;  
 Carcere trudentur alii, nec adhuc redimuntur.  
 Multorum capita detruncant Lundonienses,  
 Hæc bene sanctita digno libramine penses.  
 Qui feriunt gladio, gladio debere perire;  
 Hoc in evangelio Christi poteris reperire;  
 Hoc juste fieri dictant civilia jura,  
 Ne pateat sceleri via sed mors inde futura.  
 Nunc gemat ecclesia<sup>3</sup> tanto patre sic viduata,  
 Cujus in opprobria vigilant discrimina lata.  
 Hostes exterius feriunt vibramine guerræ,  
 Vulgus et interius devastant viscera terræ.

<sup>1</sup> *Festa*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>2</sup> *portantur*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>3</sup> *gema ecclesiæ*, MS. Corp. C.

Culpant innocuos ut eos de crimine plectant,  
 Arcant ingenuos ut et <sup>1</sup> ad servilia flectant.  
 Rusticus in magnis <sup>2</sup> aperit temerarius ora,  
 Ac <sup>3</sup> ad dedecora fremit et furit ut lupus agnis.  
 Tandem post modicum procures simul <sup>4</sup> arma resumunt,  
 Pravos consumunt, vulgus capiunt inimicum.  
 Horum pejores et conspirando priores,  
 Ob pravos mores, detruncant ut proditores.  
 Mactant signiferos, nec eis <sup>5</sup> curant misereri,  
 Ut doceant miseros proditoria tanta vereri.  
 Hoc faciunt domini regno pacem reparando,  
 Non debacchando quasi victi robore vini.  
 Sic mediante <sup>6</sup> Deo respirat pax recidiva, <sup>7</sup>  
 Ne duce stramineo pereat plebs crismate diva.  
 Sed mihi <sup>8</sup> lamenta renovant tua, Cantia, facta,  
 Nam nihil es tenta quæ stabas ante beata;  
 Regni metropolis de gestis plaudere nolis,  
 Cum sis facta dolis paternæ <sup>9</sup> conscia molis.  
 Patria plena bonis, grege, milite, sive colonis,  
 Prædita patronis, doctis templo Salomonis. <sup>10</sup>  
 Gratuitate cares, et amoris viribus ares,  
 Indeque plorares quod contigit arte tua res.  
 Quæ fueras prima celebris baptismo Christi,  
 Omne nunc tristi Babylonis mergis in ima.  
 Nec modo diceris solum simplex homicida;  
 Sed quia peior eris lupa, demens, trux, parricida,  
 Et quia peccasti patrem proprium jugulando,  
 Regnum turbasti patriotas depopulando,

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the MS. of the University Lib.

<sup>2</sup> *agnis*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>3</sup> *Hac*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>4</sup> *tunc*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>5</sup> *eos*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>6</sup> *moderante*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>7</sup> *residiva*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>8</sup> *in*, MS. Univ.

<sup>9</sup> *patriciæ*? MS. Corp. C.

<sup>10</sup> These two lines are wanting in the MS. of Corpus Christi College.



Amodo despecta reputaberis ac odiosa,  
 Utpote suspecta, temeratrix, impetuosa.  
 Hanc tibi dat<sup>1</sup> pœnam vindex ingratitude,  
 Ut de peccatis veniæ revoces tibi venam.  
 Est Deus infestus regno pro crimine nostro;  
 Fastus et incestus regnant quia quilibet ostro;  
 Incola vestitur, et philacteria tendit,  
 Crimina defendit, sic sic atrocius itur.  
 Hinc orare Deum lucrum foret atque necesse,  
 Ut miserando reum strages dignetur abesse,  
 Temperet indigenas, et motos<sup>2</sup> terreat hostes,  
 Per fidei postes horas restauret amœnas.  
 Annum mil. ter c. octogesimumque coerce,  
 Sunt mala præfata vulgo furiente patrata;  
 In quarto regis Ricardi posterioris,  
 Anno sunt pestes hæ præsumptæ per agrestes.  
 Jak Chep,<sup>3</sup> Tronche, Jon Wrau,<sup>4</sup> Thom Myllere, Tyler,  
     Jak Strawe,  
 Erle of the Plo, Rak to, Deer, et Hob Carter, Rak-  
     strawe;<sup>5</sup>  
 Isti ductores in plebe fuere priores,  
 Per quos mœrores creverunt atque dolores.  
 Istorum capita collistrigiis<sup>6</sup> modo vernant,  
 Ut populi cernant ne cupiant vetita.

*Explicit.*

<sup>1</sup> *det*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>2</sup> *more*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>3</sup> *Schep*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>4</sup> *Wrau*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>5</sup> *Rakestrawe*, MS. Corp. C.

<sup>6</sup> *super portas*, MS. Corp. C.

AGAINST THE LOLLARDS.<sup>1</sup>

1381.

*Dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt, Domine Jhesu.*

1. Præsta, Jhesu, quod postulo,  
 Fac quod in tuo populo  
     Nulla labes resideat ;  
 Hortolanus in hortulo  
 Secat salutis sarculo  
     Veprem, ne crescens noceat.  
 Fac quod non emineat,  
 Et quod nusquam absorbeat  
     Semen, cum serpit clanculo.  
 Fac quod hortus revireat,  
 Et novo fructu floreat,  
     Vernans ornatu sedulo.
2. Hic hortus est ecclesia,  
 Dudum spirans fragrantia,  
     Fulvis decora floribus,  
 Ut Paradisi patria,  
 Omni repleta copia,  
     Sacris onusta fructibus ;  
 Conclusa magnis mœnibus,  
 Signataque custodibus,  
     Velut regalis curia ;  
 Fructiferis arboribus,  
 Cunctisque aromatibus  
     Fluens in abundantia.

<sup>1</sup> This curious metrical manifesto against the Lollards is taken from a manuscript in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Vespas. D. ix. fol. 165, r°. The confessions extorted from the ex priest John Balle, one of the most active agents in the popular insurrections of the year 1381, had compromised some of the leaders

of the Wycliffite party, and furnished an occasion for a general attack upon the religious reformers. The way in which John Balle is mentioned in this document shows that it was one of the compositions which originated in these circumstances, and it probably appeared in the latter part of the year referred to.

3. Sed hostis tui populi,  
Auctor omnis periculi,  
Gravi spumans invidia,  
In humo hujus hortuli  
De fundo sui sacculi  
Modo jecit zizania ;  
Quæ suffocant virentia,  
Velut frumentum lollia,  
Ac spinæ, vepres, tribuli ;  
Sic florida marcentia,  
Fragrantia foetentia,  
Sicci sunt fontis rivuli.
4. Lollardi sunt zizania,  
Spinæ, vepres, ac lollia,  
Quæ vastant hortum vineæ ;  
Nam pejor pestilentia  
Non fuit in ecclesia,  
Incedens tam erronee.  
Quorum linguæ vipereæ,  
Et dentes sunt ut frameæ,  
Omni pleni fallacia.  
Hi telæ sunt araneæ,  
Parvis et magnis foveæ,  
Cunctis occultant retia.
5. Sub sanctitatis specie  
Virus vomunt malitiæ  
Cunctis qui ipsos audiunt.  
Zelatores ecclesiæ,  
Sectatores justitiæ,  
Scipsos esse gariunt.  
Sic simplices decipiunt,  
Et mobiles inficiunt  
Sub simulata facie.  
Vulpes incautos rapiunt,  
Lupi in agnos sæviunt,  
Hostes omnis clementiæ.

6. Hæc pestis jam in Anglia,  
Et nulla gente alia,  
    Regnat sine remedio ;  
Ni Christus sua gratia  
Reducat hanc in omnia,  
    Ac tollat hanc de medio.  
His tanta fit præsumptio,  
Ex plausu fiet nimio,  
    Quod astruunt enormia.  
Omnis quidem religio,  
Omnis status, conditio,  
    Censetur his stultitia.
7. O terra jam pestifera,  
Dudum eras puerpera  
    Omnis sanæ scientiæ ;  
Hæresis labe libera,  
Omni errore extera,  
    Exsors omnis fallaciæ.  
Jam schismatis, discordiæ,  
Erroris, et insaniæ  
    Extas noster sceptigera ;  
Omnis sectæ nefariæ,  
Omnis doctrinæ variæ,  
    Tu es sectatrix perpera.
8. Villarum in exitibus  
Se nudant sotilaribus  
    Cum populum ludificant.  
Nudis incedunt pedibus,  
Cum appropinquant foribus  
    Locorum quibus prædicant.  
Pœnas foris amplificant,  
Intus tamen lætificant  
    Se multis voluptatibus.  
Seipsos sic magnificant,  
Quod alios parvificant  
    Multis pravis sermonibus.



9. Nullus ut Paulus judicat,  
 Nisi sit missus prædicat,  
 Nec sumit scamnum dogmatis,  
 Nec doctoratum vendicat,  
 Nisi quum judex applicat,  
 Et præbet normam thematis.  
 Sed hi doctrinam schismatis,  
 A nullis missi satrapis,  
 Docent quæ cunctos toxicat.  
 Pestem pravi problematis,<sup>1</sup>  
 Fraudem ficti sophismatis,<sup>2</sup>  
 Docent, quæ plures implicat.
10. Cum prædicant ad populum,  
 Præponunt pacis titulum,  
 Pacem primo pronunciant.  
 Totum post hoc præambulum  
 Est iræ, fellis jaculum,  
 Sic lædunt et sauciant;  
 Omnem statum dilaniant,  
 Et fama bona spoliunt,  
 Per os, sepulcrum patulum.  
 Brigis et rixis satiant,  
 Felle cunctos inebriant  
 Per Babylonis poculum.
11. Omnis prior hæreticus,  
 Insanus, seu schismaticus,  
 Errat in uno aliquo;  
 Nec est quis sic hæreticus,  
 Quin saltem sit catholicus  
 In magno vel in modico.  
 In statu evangelico,  
 In sacramento mystico,  
 Errat Lollardus laicus;  
 Omni dicto prophetico  
 Et scripto apostolico  
 Interpres est falsidicus.

<sup>1</sup> *ple<sup>a</sup>tis*, MS.| <sup>2</sup> *sop<sup>a</sup>stis*, MS.

12. Summa quidem perfectio  
Est veræ pacis unio,  
Qua fulgent regni filii.  
Sic schismatis divisio,  
Ac statuum detractio,  
Erant, qui sunt regni spurii.  
Hi sunt auctores odii  
Cleri, vulgi dissidii,  
Et regni perturbatio.  
Hinc clades, homicidii,  
Venit et fax incendii,  
Servilis ac rebellio.
13. Johannes Balle hoc docuit,  
Quando morti succubuit  
Propter suam nequitiam.  
Quod quidem nidus tenuit  
Pullos pravy, et aluit  
In regni ignominiam.  
Monstrans Wycleffe familiam,  
Causam brigæ primariam,  
Quæ totum regnum terruit.  
Præbens experientiam  
Quam gravidam stultitiam  
Hæc secta vulgus inbuit.
14. Horum fuit contentio,  
Et plebis informatio,  
Atque scriptum pestiferum,  
Quod subditis correctio  
Incumbit et frænatio  
Magnatum sive procerum.  
Ex quo caput sceptigerum  
Ejus agmen belligerum  
Petebant homicidio.  
Sic regnum, olim prosperum,  
Triste fuit et exterum  
Et pronum exterminio.

15. Vetant dari stipendia,  
Decimas ac novalia,  
Curatis dum sunt miseri ;  
Nec dominis servitia,  
Redditus, vel homagia,  
Quamdiu se dant sceleri.  
Non medium plus repperi  
Per quod sic possent conteri  
Cuncta jura civilia.  
Regnarent sic pestiferi,  
Fine claudentur celeri  
Cuncta mundi dominia.
16. Christus a sceptro sceleris,  
Necnon a jugo oneris  
Nullum fidelem excipit ;  
Solvit didragma stateris,  
Et Cæsari quæ Cæsaris  
Cuncta persolvi præcipit.  
Justus perversum suscipit,  
Regem tyrannum recipit,  
Et servus præest liberis.  
Ergo Lollardus decipit,  
Cum contra verum accipit  
Sacris inscriptum literis.
17. Thronum regale numinis,  
Fastigium regiminis,  
Sæpe committit frivolis ;  
Petrus honorem culminis  
Jubet impendi dominis  
Modestis atque discolis.  
Nonne tu scriptum reperis  
Quid nato pravæ indolis  
Commisit parvi luminis ?  
Ergo sicut benevolis,  
Sic dari vult malevolis,  
Quod juris est et hominis.

18. Decimæ ac primitiæ  
Fidelium sunt hostiæ,  
Divino datæ cultui ;  
Deo dantur primariæ,  
Cedentes secundariæ  
Presbyterorum usui.  
Sacrantur primo ritui,  
Secundo darent statui,  
Et non personæ dubiæ.  
Ascribi debet raptui,  
Si ratione fatui  
Quicquid defalces latræ.
19. Hoc Christus plane docuit,  
Quando leprosos instruit  
Offerre legis hostias ;  
Quæque minuta monuit  
Decimare ut congruit,  
Velut res magnas alias.  
Quas pravis in delicias,  
Transireque lacinias  
Sibi satis innotuit.  
Istas tamen excubias,  
Propter horum malitias,  
Omitti nusquam voluit.
20. Ne fiat diis detractio,  
Aut principi rebellio,  
Lex scripti dat Mosaici ;  
Ex quo patet conclusio,  
Quod major non iudicio  
Minoris debet subijci.  
Nec ipsi tanquam iudici  
Parere neque vindici,  
Pro quovis maleficio.  
Nam omnis lex sic instrui,  
Ac omnis rex sic dejici,  
Servorum potest odio.



21. Item grande prodigium  
Erroris et elogium  
    In horum dictis patuit,  
Quod sceleris mancipium  
Nec dare quid sacrarium,  
    Nec sacramenta potuit ;  
Absolvere nec valuit,  
Nec ordines contribuit,  
    Nec celebrat connubium.  
Ergo qui istud astruit,  
Omnem fidem mox destruit,  
    Et totum ponit dubium.
22. Quis novit si quis præsulum  
Peccati portet cumulum,  
    Quando largitur ordines ;  
Et cum confessat populum,  
Si de peccato scrupulum  
    Habet, tu nusquam retines.  
Ergo fidem non obtines,  
Quod sacros ritus detines,  
    Vel an sis mortis pabulum.  
Cœli non intret cardines,  
Qui ponit tot caligines  
    In fidei periculum.
23. An consecret quis hostiam,  
Vel agat idolatriam,  
    Nullus jam novit hominum ;  
Aut si per pœnitentiam,  
Vel confessoris curiam,  
    Remissio si criminum ;  
Vel per baptisma fluminum  
Quis purget catechuminum,  
    Non habet quis scientiam.  
Hic ergo spernit Dominum  
Qui sacramentis terminum  
    Dat, ponens hanc stultitiam.

24. Virtute Christi sanguinis,  
Non consecrantis hominis,  
Vim sacramenta obtinent;  
Vigore Dei nominis,  
Ex flatu sacri flaminis,  
Effectum solum retinent.  
Ad ipsa nihil pertinent,  
Nec ipsis quicquam attinent,  
Res meriti vel criminis;  
Per hoc nec vires possident,  
Nec a virtute desident  
Impulsu turpitudinis.
25. Est argumentum editum  
Cum prophetiæ spiritum  
Pravo dedit pontifici,  
Viri non pensat meritum,  
Sed statum sacrum inclitum,  
Virtus doni deifici.  
Per hoc jam potest conjici  
Stat donum sacri mystici,  
Quamvis per pravos traditum.  
Virtus collati cœlici  
Nequaquam potest infici  
Per virum culpis subditum.
26. Major plebis coercio,  
Profundaque subjectio  
Quæ fuit jam ecclesiæ,  
Vocalis est confessio,  
Per quod curati ditio  
Magnæ fit efficientiæ.  
Nam tantæ est potentiæ,  
Quod solvit vim sententiæ  
Dei, ejus absolutio,  
Clavem exsolvit veniæ,  
Portas cœlestis curiæ  
Ejus linguæ laxatio.

27. Nam proprium consilium,  
Post Adæ primi vitium,  
    Nobis juste secluditur ;  
Sacrum dat hoc eloquium,  
Alius per iudicium  
    Vita nostra nunc regitur.  
Nec sibi quis committitur,  
Sed quisquis reus sequitur  
    Alterius arbitrium.  
Ex hoc plane committitur,  
Sacerdos instituitur  
    Ut fiat directorium.
28. Videtur hoc innuere,  
Præceptaque statuere,  
    Antiquæ legis litera,  
Presbyteris committere  
Sagaciter distinguere  
    Inter leprarum genera ;  
Ac inter legis munera  
Est his potestas libera,  
    Quod juris est discernere ;  
Hinc ratio est propria,  
Bona plebis et scelera  
    Incumbit his discutere.
29. Sed hoc Lollardi renuunt,  
Cum soli Deo instruunt  
    Nostras culpas detergere.  
Ergo qui istud astruunt,  
Ecclesiam destituunt  
    Et gravi lædunt vulnere.  
Vultum gregis agnoscere,  
Ægrorum curas gerere,  
    Isti proterve renuunt ;  
Curati jura spernere,  
Leve jugum abjicere  
    Audacter vulgus instruunt.

30. Dicunt quod est expediens,  
Et nullum inconueniens  
Paparum multiplicitas ;  
Unus non est sufficiens,  
Ut patet aliquotiens,  
Et sacra dat antiquitas.  
Quantorum hæc fatuitas  
Malorum sit causalitas,  
Quid inde sit proveniens,  
Homeri nam loquacitas,  
Maronis seu subtilitas,  
Effari est deficiens.
31. In omni re jam publica,  
Necnon persona mystica,  
Est unum caput omnium.  
Metrum mensura practica  
Oportet quod sit unica,  
Non multitudo plurium.  
Sic corpus Christi varium,  
Membrorumque divortium,  
Compago vitæ lubrica ;  
Sic dissonum est servitium,  
Ac ordinis diffugium,  
Et secta diabolica.
32. Dicunt, siquis fidelium,  
Si melior sit omnium,  
Gradu papali præsidet,  
Penes ipsum jus clavium  
Et iurium papalium  
Plena potestas residet.  
Quantus error hunc obsidet,  
Articulum et possidet,  
Non concipit lux vitium  
Papatui quid insidit,  
Scire quis cunctis eminet,  
Cœli Deo est proprium.



33. Collatæ sunt divitiæ  
Sacrae dudum ecclesiae  
Causa quidem multiplici;  
Ne servientes latræ  
Cogantur ex esurie  
Squalore famis affici.  
Egeni possent refici,  
Honorem queant clerici  
Habere reverentiæ;  
Pravorum cervix dejici,  
Substerni possent laici  
Jugo obedientiæ.
34. Timeret quis ecclesiam  
Jam nisi per potentiam  
Posset pravis resistere?  
Utilitatem aliam  
Si non conferrent quampiam,  
Ista posset sufficere.  
Videntur hi desipere,  
Qui templo Dei demere  
Ejus quærunt substantiam;  
Regnare vellent libere  
Pravos, atque despicere  
Totam Christi familiam.
35. Jam horum est opinio,  
Defensio, dotatio,  
Catholicæ ecclesiæ,  
Necnon Silvestri ditio  
Ac Sancti Thomæ passio  
Sint species insanæ.  
In actu pœnitentiæ  
Quæsissent locum veniæ,  
His esset ignis torsio;  
Sic honor reverentiæ  
Quem damus istis dubie  
Grandis esset abusio.

36. Isti condemnant nimium  
Virorum differentium  
Sectam vivendi variam,  
In clericis dominium,  
In monachis peculium,  
In fratribus penuriam.  
Non curant quam contrariam  
De sectis dent sententiam,  
Et dissonum iudicium ;  
In plausu non lætitiā,  
In planctu non tristitiā,  
Monstrant, sed solum odium.
37. Qui opibus renunciant,  
Et bonis se exspoliant,  
Atque mendicant libere,  
Dicunt quod isti deveniant,  
Et vanam vitam somniant,  
Et velint se occidere.  
Sed nolunt hi perpendere,  
Quod non potest deficere  
Fidem quam ipsi laniant.  
De pietatis opere  
Nulli debent diffidere,  
Sed fidem rectam sapiant.
38. Si Christus panem proprium  
Mendicavit per hostium,  
Sacris non patet literis ;  
Sicut si quod caputium  
Habuerit, vel pallium,  
In libris nusquam reperis.  
Si statim hunc cum cæteris  
Commune sibi dixeris,  
Nullum profers mendacium ;  
Dempta mercede operis,  
Omisso dono muneris,  
Tunc mendicasset prandium.

39. Quod Christus gessit patulum  
Mendicantis titulum,  
Ex multis liquet credere ;  
Hoc dat præsepe, stabulum,  
Ac aliorum pabulum  
Quæ cogebatur sumere.  
Non habuit quæ vendere  
Quibat, nec quicquam emere,  
Nec proprium latibulum ;  
Ex alieno munere  
Ac manuali opere  
Vixit, aut per miraculum.
40. Ut patet intuentibus  
In rebus temporalibus,  
Christus non sumpsit proprium,  
In agris seu pecoribus,  
Thesauris seu proventibus,  
Nec grandi lucro mercium ;  
Nec quovis domicilium,  
Nec castrum nec villagium,  
Nec quicquam in terrestribus.  
Vixit donis fidelium,  
Sive per laboritium,  
Aut mendicatis panibus.
41. Jam mendicantes lacerant,  
Horum statum vituperant,  
Depravunt vitam, opera.  
Ne detur istis imperant,  
Blasphemant et improperant  
Multa nefanda scelera.  
Dicunt quod non ad supera,  
Sed potius ad infera,  
Transire fratres properant,  
Ut inferant pestifera,  
Et quæque dicant aspera,  
Globatim se confederant.

42. Sic horum prædicatio  
Est vilis diffamatio,  
    Probrosumque convitium;  
Fidei extirpatio,  
Statuum detractio,  
    Virtutum exterminium.  
Rancoris est exordium,  
Amoris est exilium,  
    Et morum relegatio;  
Antichristi mysterium,  
Et sectæ lunæ præsagium,  
    Et Satanae delusio.
43. Prælatorum coercio,  
Et fratrum prædicatio,  
    Sunt duæ sacri gladii.  
Satis ex evangelio  
Patet horum incisio  
    Quod lima sit flagitii.  
Sed fumus horum odii  
Rubigoque obloquii  
    Ipsos privat officio,  
Sic quod in die prælii,  
Quo sterna solent impii,  
    In nullo sunt auxilio.
44. Amorem dat extaticum,  
Cum sacramentum mysticum  
    In cibum nobis contulit;  
Arram et pignus cœlitum,  
Jocale quoque unicum  
    Nostris thesauris intulit.  
Cunctis sacris hoc prætulit,  
Suis fastis hoc extulit  
    Cunctis fore viaticum.  
Memoriam quam pertulit  
Mortis, dedit et detulit  
    Munus magis salvificum.



45. Nil fidem sic pulchrificat,  
Nec Dei posse explicat,  
Cum hoc sit mirabilius ;  
Nil iram sic pacificat,  
Nec animam vivificat,  
Cum nil sit hoc salubrius.  
Nil isto unit fortius  
Mentem, nec stringit arctius,  
Quam sibi indemnificat ;  
Nil isto sapit dulcius,  
Nil replet abundantius,  
Nil mentem sic lætificat.
46. Sed hoc Lollardus minime  
Curat, dum struat pessime  
De hoc sacro donario.  
Fidei antiquissimæ  
Repugnat in hoc maxime  
Hujus sectæ opinio.  
Nam transubstantiatio,  
Videtur his delusio,  
Et velut res vanissimæ ;  
Postquam fit consecratio  
Manet ut in principio  
Carnis cibus non animæ.
47. Auctor sectæ primarius  
In hoc erravit stultius,  
Quæ ejus est confessio,  
Quem siquis diligentius  
Attendat, quod profundius  
Sciet quæ est opinio,  
Ut unum in vinario  
Signo, sicut calcario,  
Fit Christus, et non amplius.  
Vestra corda conventio,  
Ut vestra sit discretio,  
Quid potest dici nequius ?

48. Rursus hic doctor asserit,  
 Quod ubicunque fuerit  
 Christus præsentialiter,  
 Septempedalis aderit,  
 Nec hanc mensuram deserit,  
 Nec usquam fuit aliter.  
 Re patet aliquid aliter,  
 Quod Christus corporaliter  
 Sacramento non inerit,  
 Si sic carnis quam nequiter  
 Ecclesia fallaciter  
 Hucusque nos deceperit.
49. Jam nuper hæc opinio  
 Doctorum magno studio  
 Probata fuit frivola.  
 Ergo si hanc discutio,  
 Stillam in mare jaceo,  
 Et silvis do ligneola.  
 Nam cum juris incola  
 Ullam dicar sic sciola  
 Quæ istis sint confusio,  
 Ullam dabo mediola,  
 Concludam seu malevola,  
 Quin pejor sit contentio.<sup>1</sup>
50. Si Christus in hoc ferculo,  
 Ut vinum est in circulo,  
 Falsam do reverentiam,  
 Nonne in loco patulo,  
 Ac coram omni populo,  
 Committo idolatriam?  
 Nam cum adoro hostiam,  
 Impendo sibi latrariam  
 Et sanguini in poculo,  
 Cum colo eucharistiam,  
 Tunc lædo conscientiam,  
 Trabes ponens in oculo.

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<sup>1</sup> This sentence, in which the MS. is followed exactly, is evidently written incorrectly.

51. Universi perfectio  
Est Christi generatio,  
Ut valet quis concludere ;  
Sic perturbatio  
Ejusdem est completio,  
Si quis velit advertere.  
Sic in utroque genere,  
Ac omni Dei opere,  
Est vera circulatio.  
In isto ergo munere  
Nullus debet supponere  
Panem inesse proprio.

52. Non fuit septennario  
Constrictus pedum spatio  
Cum ventre matris latuit,  
Nec cum signato hostio  
Intravit, stans in medio,  
Non hanc mensuram tenuit.  
Cur igitur non potuit,  
Aut cur idem noluerit  
In hoc sacro mysterio,  
In libris non innotuit,  
Nec quisquam auctor docuit,  
Nec hoc concludit ratio.

53. Nullus periculosius  
Errat, vel dicit stultius,  
Quam in hac sacra hostia ;  
Nihil fidem perfectius  
Extollit vel sublimius  
Inter Christi magnalia.  
Quanta ergo dementia  
Vexat horum ingenia,  
Exæcatque profundius !  
Se propria malitia  
Tanta ponunt mendacia,  
Et errant velut ebrius.

54. In hortum nunc introeas,  
Dulcis Jhesu, et videas  
Quot clades ipsum obruunt ;  
Liga vulpes erroneas,  
Quæ sic devastant vineas,  
Et gravem pestem instruunt.  
Ejus sepes jam destruunt,  
Grandes insultus irruunt  
Per bestias extraneas ;  
Ejus flores jam defluunt,  
Et fructus fere renuunt,  
Hinc curam ejus habeas.

55. Ex te fides quam sequimur,  
Ab ipsis omnes pascimur  
Tuæ doctrinæ epulis.  
Hinc, si errore fallimur,  
Per te false decipimur,  
Seducti vanis fabulis.  
De te ac tuis famulis,  
Tanquam de nugigerulis,  
Juste modo conquerimur ;  
Quod tot transactis sæculis  
Cum falsis fictis garrulis  
Hucusque sic deludimur.

56. Sed nefas est hoc credere,  
Quod quemquam vis decipere,  
Cum tu sis ipsa veritas ;  
Aut velis quemquam perdere,  
Vel oberrare temere,  
Cum sis suprema bonitas.  
Hinc hujus sectæ novitas,  
Præsumptio, temeritas,  
Quam fidem vult abducere,  
Erroris est impietas,  
Et Antichristi falsitas,  
Qua mundum habet fallere.



ON THE EARTHQUAKE OF 1382.<sup>1</sup>

Yit is God a courteis lord,  
 And mekeliche con schewe his miht,  
 Fayn he wolde bringe til acord  
 Monkuynde to live in treuthe ariht.  
 Allas ! why set we that lord so liht,  
 And al to foule with hym we fare ?  
 In world is non so wys no wihlt,  
 That thei ne have warnyng to be ware.

We may not sey, but ȝif we lyȝe,  
 That God wol vengauce on us stele.  
 For openly we seo with eize  
 This warnynges beoth wonder and feole.  
 But non this wrecched worldes weole  
 Maketh us live in synne and care ;  
 Of mony merveyles I may of mele,  
 And al is warnynge to be ware.

Whon the comuynes began to ryse,  
 Was non so gret lord, as I gesse,  
 That thei in herte bigon to gryse,  
 And leide heore jolité in presse.  
 Wher was thenne heore worthinesse,  
 Whon thei made lordes droupe and dare ?  
 Of alle wyse men I take witnesse,  
 This was a warnyng to be ware.

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<sup>1</sup> This song is preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum, MS. additional, No. 22,283, fol. 132, v<sup>o</sup>, and in the Vernon MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, fol. 411, r<sup>o</sup>. See before the note on p. 215. It is here printed from the MS. in the British Museum.

Bifore, ȝif men hedde haad a graas,  
Lordes mihte wonder weel  
Han let the rysing that ther was;  
But that God thouȝte ȝit sum del  
That lordes schulde his lordschup feel,  
And of heore lordschipe make hem bare.  
Trust therto as trewe as steel,  
This was a warnyng to be ware.

And also whon this eorthe qwok,  
Was non so proud he nas agast,  
And al his jolité forsok,  
And thouȝt on God whil that hit last.  
And alsone as hit was over past,  
Men wox as uvel as thei dede are.  
Uche mon in his herte may cast,  
This was a warnyng to be ware.

For sothe this was a Lord to drede,  
So sodeynly mad mon agast;  
Of gold and selver thei tok non hede,  
But out of ther houses ful sone thei past.  
Chaumbres, chymeneys, al to-barst,  
Chirches and castelles foule gon fare;  
Pinacles, steples, to grounde hit cast;  
And al was for warnyng to be ware.

The mevyng of this eorthe iwis,  
That [s]chulde bi cuynde be ferm and stabele,  
A pure verrey toknyng hit is  
That mennes hertes ben chaungabele,  
And that to falsed thei ben most abele.  
For with good feith wol we not fare.  
Leef hit wel, withouten fabele,  
This was a warnyng to be ware.

The rysyng of the comuynes in londe,  
 The pestilens, and the eorthe-qwake,  
 Theose threo thinges, I understonde,  
 Beoth tokenes the grete vengauce and wrake  
 That schulde falle for synnes sake,  
 As this clerkes come declare.  
 Now may we chese to leve or take,  
 For warnyng have we to be ware.

Evere I drede, bi my trouthe,  
 Ther may no warnyng stande in sted ;  
 We ben so ful of synne and slouthe,  
 The schame is passed the sched of hede,  
 And we leggen riht hevvy as led,  
 Cumbred in the fendes snare.  
 I leeve this beo ur best red,  
 To thenke on this warnyng and be ware.

Sykerliche I dar wel say,  
 In such a plyt this world is in,  
 Mony for wynnyng wold bitraye  
 Father and moder and al his kyn.  
 Nou were heih tyme to bigyn  
 To amende ur mis, and wel to fare ;  
 Ur bagge hongeth on a cliper pyn,  
 Bote we of this warnyng be ware.

Be war, for I con sey no more ;  
 Be war, for vengauce of trespas ;  
 Be war, and thenk uppon this lore ;  
 Be war of this sodeyn cas.  
 And ȝit be war while we have spas ;  
 And thonke that child that Marie bare,  
 Of his gret godnesse and his gras,  
 Sende us such warnyng to be ware.

ON THE COUNCIL OF LONDON.<sup>1</sup>

1382.

Heu ! quanta desolatio Angliæ præstat,  
 Cujus regnum quodlibet hinc inde minatur,  
 Et hujus navigium pene conquassatur ;  
 Regnum nec consilio nec ope juvatur.

With an O and an I, præ dolore ventris,  
 Meum jam consilium jacet in vi mentis.

Sed ad pœnitentiam convertat Deus gentem,  
 Et dirigat divinitus nostri regis mentem,  
 Ut tortuosum lucide cognoscat serpentem,  
 Monachis et fratribus hypocrisim latentem.

With an O and an I, ne istis attendat,  
 Sanctorum oratio ad cœlos ascendat.

In nos pestilentia sæva jam crescit,  
 Quod virorum fortium jam populus decrescit,  
 Quæ diversis partibus adhuc invalescit,  
 Cum noster jubilus totaliter recessit.

With an O and an I, huic finem ruinæ  
 Addat qui supremus est auctor medicinæ.

<sup>1</sup> This Latin song is taken from MS. Cotton. Cleopatra B. ii. fol. 59, r°. Its date, and the events to which it refers, are indicated by the allusions to the pestilence, to the insurrection of the serfs (*servi*), and to the earthquake which happened at the very moment when the council was proceeding to business, as well as by the names of a certain

number of individuals concerned in the acts of the council. In the manuscript, which contains also the two following English songs of the same class, these compositions have been crossed through, no doubt by some friar, or opponent of the reformers, who had become possessed of it after they were written.



In maligno positus nunc est mundus totus,  
 A viris Angligenis non est Christus notus ;  
 Pro peccato populi venit terræmotus ;  
 In religiosis jam nullus est devotus.

With an O and an I, debacchantur servi,  
 Et in servos Domini nimis sunt protervi.

In hoc terræmotu ab hora diei,  
 Quia tunc convenerant scribæ, Pharisei,  
 Cum summis sacerdotibus contra Christum Dei,  
 Vultus iræ patuit divinæ faciei.

With an O and an I, sanctos diffamarunt,  
 Per hæreses et schismata quæ falsa patrarunt.

Heu ! jam mala plurima de nobis sunt scita ;  
 Per ventos et flumina jacent grana trita ;  
 Ab antiquis patribus hæc sunt inaudita ;  
 Qui campos conspicitis, scitis quod est ita.

With an O and an I, causam si quæeratis,  
 Dico quod hoc accidit nobis pro peccatis.

Si status conspiciamus, nullus excusatur ;  
 Quod in shopis venditur male mensuratur ;  
 Quilibet perjurio vel fraude lucratur ;  
 Sed quod sic acquiritur adquirens furatur.

With an O and an I, res male quæsita,  
 Ut indies conspiciamus, sæpe vadit ita.

Clerici, qui speculum forent laicorum,  
 In fastum libidinis multi laxant lorum.  
 Rectores jam rapiunt bona subditorum.  
 Scitis quod hæc omnia signa sunt dolorum.

With an O and an I, sic est mundus versus,  
 Qui luceret aliis, tenebris est mersus.

Ultra si progredimur, ubi sunt prælati ?  
Nescio ; sed certum est, multi sunt elati,  
Scholis theologicis pauci baptizati,  
Sed prece vel pretio vel penna sublimati.  
With an O and an I, libens scire quare  
Penna viros erigens facit non volare.

Quid dicemus præter hæc de religiosis ?  
Immo mendicantibus, falsis, et mendosis,  
Qui se fingunt similes actu rubris rosis,  
Cum mores odoriferos exemplum morosis.  
With an O and an I, rosæ marcuerunt,  
Instar sterquilinum saporem dederunt.

Hi domos conficiunt miræ largitatis,  
Politis lapidibus, quibusdam quadratis ;  
Totum tectum tegitur lignis levigatis ;  
Sed transgressum regulæ probant ista satis.  
With an O and an I, facta vestra tabent,  
Christus cum sic dixerat, foveas vulpes habent.

Qualiter ædificant vere non est mirum ;  
Ingens opus construunt quasi magnum Tyrum ;  
Qualitercunque fuerit circumvallant gyrum.  
Si decretum verum sit, est totum delirum.  
With an O and an I, destructis fundatis,  
Nova statim construant, pecuniis paratis.

Non est monasterium tam possessionatum,  
Nec rex nec episcopus, ut satis est probatum,  
Habens opus aliquod tam cito paratum,  
Sicut qui cotidie vadunt mendicatum.  
With an O and an I, vel sunt furatores,  
Vel faciunt numismata, regni proditores.

Se mendicos publicos clamant cunctis horis ;  
Non tamen dedecoris, sed magni honoris,  
Habitum se protegunt panni melioris,  
Tunicis, pelliciis frigus claudunt foris.

With an O and an I, dicunt Pharisæi,  
“ Ecce quanta patimur pro amore Dei.”

Si quis impugnat hoc, dant responsum gratum,  
Quod ad usum proprium nobis est hoc datum ;  
Bonum vident intime, non accedunt statum,  
Sed præceptum regulæ sic est vacuatum.

With an O and an I, per idem possunt isti,  
Uti roba rubea pro amore Christi.

Minores induerent pannum viliozem,  
Et de corda cannabi induerent cinctorem ;  
Sed ut locum teneant fastis altiozem,  
Semetipsos induunt regium colorem.

With an O and an I, exivi de Paradiso,  
Absconditur sub modio, papa sit deriso.

Inter fratres griseos sic est ordinatum,  
Quod nullum velle mortuum post erit mutatum ;  
Si conventum videant penuriis gravatum,  
Non donabunt aliquid, sed monstrant legatum.

With an O and an I, Helmebrigge testatum,  
Firmum stat cum Fraunces dicunt dispensatum.

Isti fratres prædicant per villas et forum,  
Quod si mortem gustet quis in habitu minorum,  
Non intrabit postea locum tormentorum,  
Sed statim perducitur ad regna cœlorum.

With an O and an I, habitu cum zona  
Adquiritur ab Helmebrigge fratribus annona.

Si dives in patria quisquis infirmetur,  
 Illuc frater properans et currens monetur ;  
 Et statim cum venerit infirmo loquetur,  
 Ut cadaver mortuum fratribus donetur.

With an O and an I, ore petunt ista,  
 Dum cor et memoria simul sunt in cista.

Quod si pauper adiens fratres infirmetur,  
 Et petat ut inter hos sepulturæ detur,  
 Gardianus absens est, statim respondetur,  
 Et sic satis breviter pauper excludetur.

With an O and an I, quilibet est negans,  
 Quod quis ibi veniat nisi dans vel legans.

Fratres in capitulis solent compilare  
 Literas, suffragia quas solent vocare ;  
 Vere sunt naufragia, debent nominare,  
 Pueros cum præcipitent in profundum mare.

With an O and an I, quod papa non audet,  
 Falsus frater annuit, et spe lucri gaudet.

In his sunt participes omnium missarum,  
 Et precum similiter et abstinentiarum ;  
 Num personæ dignæ sunt, curant valde parum ;  
 Numquid tales literæ sunt de usu Sarum ?

With an O and an I, tot partes dederunt,  
 Quod ipsis non aliquæ credo remanserunt.

Tam vivis quam mortuis tales partes dantur,  
 Sed blasphemi publici doctores probantur ;  
 Hæc et his similia fratres operantur ;  
 Quæ restant gravissima hic non recitantur.

With an O and an I, vos, fratres, valete,  
 In vos capiet pravos, si quis trahat rete.



Quid dicam de monachis sancti Benedicti ?  
 Dicti per antiphrasim, sed sunt maledicti,  
 Nam non servant regulas quibus sunt astricti ;  
 Ab antiquo Mamona minus sunt defecti.

With an O and an I, leporem venari  
 Malunt quam Jeronomi vitam contemplari.

Nulli sunt in sæculo qui magis se dederunt,  
 Quam illi qui sæculo renunciaverunt ;  
 Ut canes ad vomitum, tales redierunt,  
 Manus dantes aratro retro respexerunt.

With an O and an I, hoc peccato rei,  
 Nullo modo dicti sunt apti regno Dei.

Monachus qui proprium solet abnegare,  
 Obbam die quolibet vult appropriare,  
 Nec vult ciphum socii sed proprium potare,  
 Et ni discus plenus sit, hic vult murmurare.

With an O and an I, fuit dictum prisco,<sup>1</sup>  
 Monachus mundo mortuus vivens est in disco.

Hæc ego qui feceram, monachus aggressus,  
 Per hos rasmus fueram, sed nondum professus ;  
 Sed de magnis ocreis cito fui fessus,  
 Et ad Christi regulam statim sum egressus.

With an O and an I, de visis in domo,  
 Cum juratus fuerim, nuncquam sciet homo.

Tantos motus intuens Dominus in mari,  
 Quosdam viros nobiles fecit magistrari,  
 Ut fides ecclesiæ possit restaurari,  
 Wyclif et discipulos voluit vocari.

With an O and I, hi sunt viri nautæ,  
 Ducentes a Domino navem Petri caute.

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<sup>1</sup> *Presto* in the MS.

Hi doctores monachos solent increpare,  
 Quia nolunt proprias regulas servare,  
 Injungentes monachis otium vitare,  
 Et dant per quod medium debent laborare.  
     With an O and an I, monachi pinguati.  
     Laborare manibus hoc non possunt pati.

Tunc fratres ulterius probant delirare,  
 Nullo modo validi debent mendicare,  
 Sed aptantur regula manu laborare,  
 Quia quam accipere beatius est dare.  
     With an O and an I, Fraunces laboravit,  
     Ut posterī sic facerent, primus exemplavit.

Tacto laboritio fratres furiebant,  
 Et ex parte propria monachi timebant.  
 Monachi tunc proprie fratribus mittebant,  
 Qui, læti de nuntio, læti veniebant.  
     With an O and an I, sit Deus beatus,  
     Hic amici facti sunt Herodes et Pilatus.

Armacan,<sup>1</sup> quem cœlo Dominus coronavit,  
 Discordes tantomodo fratres adunavit;  
 Sed magno miraculo Wyclif coruscavit,  
 Cum fratres et monachos simul collocavit.  
     With an O and an I, consortes effecti,  
     Quovis adversario dicunt sunt protecti.

Factum est cum monachis simul concordarenti,  
 Atque falsas fabulas fratres prædicarent,  
 Et doctores ordinum scholis doctrinarent,  
 Per quas famas floridas in sonitum migrarent.  
     With an O and an I, viri veritatis  
     Multum diffamati sunt dictis contractatis.

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Fitz Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, who died in November, 1360. He was a great opponent of the mendicant friars, and may be regarded justly as the precursor of Wycliffe.

Tunc primus determinans est Johannes Wellis,<sup>1</sup>  
 Istos viros reprobans cum verbis tenellis,  
 Multum conversatus est ventis et procellis;  
 Hinc in ejus facie patet color fellis.

With an O and an I, in scholis non prodest,  
 Imago faciei monstrat qualis hic est.

Hic promisit in scholis quod vellet probare  
 Wyclif et Herford<sup>2</sup> simul dictis repugnare;  
 Sed cum hic nescierat plus argumentare,  
 Nichol solvens omnia jussit Bayard stare.

With an O and an I, Wellis replicabat;  
 Sed postquam Nichol solverat, tunc Johannes  
 stabat.

Tunc successit alius, Goydoun nuncupatus,  
 In monachis egregius, et vir magni status;  
 Propter meum dicere nemo sit iratus,  
 Hic non erat clericus, sed laicus literatus.

With an O and an I, sub veste monachatus,  
 Goydoun fere laicus est clam piliatus.

Hic dixit quod monachi non debent laborare,  
 Sed quod fratres validi deberent mendicare;  
 Sed ejus asserere vel sui negare  
 Non est factum aliquod liquide probare.

With an O and an I, magis audax pecus,  
 Quod in biga cernitur extat Bayard cæcus.

<sup>1</sup> John Welles was a monk of Ramsey, and the great enemy of the Wycliffites. He was an active member of the council of London.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Hereford, or Herford,

was one of the most eminent followers of Wycliffe. In the sequel of these proceedings he was obliged to recant his opinions, and is said to have died a Romanist.

Tunc Crophorne accesserat, omnibus ignotus,  
Non Anglicus nec Gallicus, nec Francus nec Scotus,  
Non clauastro, sed sæculo se donabat totus ;  
Apostata jam publicus a nobis sit remotus.

With an O and an I, a clauastro sic dempti,  
Christi non sunt, quare sic? quia sunt adempti.

Tu, Crophorne stultissime, credo quod insanis,  
Ut quod scholas occupas frivolis et vanis ;  
Dicta tua non valent unum stercus canis,  
Omnes isti monachi coaxant cum ranis.

With an O and an I, dixit bufo crati,  
Maledicti desuper sint tot dominati.

Facto fine monachis, frater sequebatur,  
Doctor de minoribus, qui Mertoun vocatur ;  
Sed quia balbutiens tanquam corvus fatur,  
Nihil quod proposuit tunc reportabatur.

With an O and an I, sileat ut mutus,  
Donec per Franciscum sit loquelæ restitutus.

Tunc processit Whappelode, fere cerebrosus,  
Non arguens sed garrulans, et nimis mendosus ;  
Cujus labor quilibet est infructuosus,  
Cum sit pro mendaciis omnibus exosus.

With an O and an I, talis frater fictus,  
Est frater æquivoce, sicut frater pictus.

Tunc accessit alius, Stokis nominatus,  
Rufus naturaliter, et veste dealbatus,  
Omnibus impatiens, et nimis elatus,  
Et contra veridicos dirigens conatus.

With an O and an I, sub tam rubra pelle,  
Animus non habitat nisi unctus felle.



Hic per dies plurimos doctor laboravit,  
 Nihil ad propositum quod argumentavit,  
 Allegans quod fœminæ Christus imperavit,  
 Ut potum porrigeret, ipsa ministravit.  
     With an O and an I, si tunc tacuisses,  
     Tu nunc stulto similis philosophus fuisses.

Si legas a sæculo non erat inventum  
 A quibus hæc religio cepit fundamentum;  
 Pollinitum primitus habebat indumentum;  
 Sed cur hæc despicitur est magnum portentum.  
     With an O and an I, fuerunt pyed freres;  
     Quomodo mutati sunt rogo dicat Pers.

Horum quidam prædicant quod sunt ex Maria;  
 Alii tamen asserunt quod sunt ex Helia.  
 Cum istorum quilibet discordet a via,  
 Nullus talis veniet cœli monachia.  
     With an O and an I, si fundator detur,  
     Ipse dedit regulam quæ rogo monstretur.

Post hæc die postera Nichol<sup>1</sup> veniebat,  
 Et ad tacta singula clare respondebat;  
 Et Philippus Repyndoun<sup>2</sup> omnia solvebat,  
 Quæ Petrus apochryphus in scholis tangebat.  
     With an O and an I, postquam sic voluerunt,  
     Fratres tunc et monachi vultum depresserunt.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Hereford.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Repingdon, or Reppington, canon of Leicester, was also one of the ablest and warmest supporters of the Wycliffite opinions. Nevertheless, he not only recanted his opinions after the council of London, but he was afterwards made

bishop of Lincoln (1405), and became a great persecutor of the Lollards. Philip Repingdon's recantation of his opinions was made at Oxford on the 24th of November, 1382, before which date we must suppose our song to have been written.

Monachi cum fratribus pariter videntes  
 Quæ facere poterant versus innocentes,  
 Pauperum pecuniis loculos replentes,  
 Quantum possunt properant Londonias currentes.

With an O and an I, pro quæstu sanctorum,  
 Largas dant corrigias de bonis aliorum.

Post hæc simul adeunt metropolitanum,  
 Nichol Herford asserunt hæreticum profanum,  
 Et Philippum Repyndoun proclamant insanum,  
 Præsulis pecuniis liniantes manum.

With an O and an I, pecuniis placatus,  
 Quicquid fratres cupiunt, dicit, "sum paratus."

Tunc ipsos episcopus et fratres citabant ;  
 Contra quos cum venerant nihil allegabant ;  
 Qui multis injuriis ipsos aggravabant,  
 Qui visis periculis ad papam appellabant.

With an O and an I, filius et flamen  
 Hos cum patre dirigant in agendis. Amen.

*Explicit.*

#### SONG AGAINST THE FRIARS.<sup>1</sup>

Preste, ne monke, ne ȝit chanoun,  
 Ne no man of religioun,  
 Gyfen hem so to devocioun,  
 As done thes holy frers.  
 For summe gyven ham to chyvalry,  
 Somme to riote and ribaudery ;  
 Bot ffrers gyven ham to grete study,  
 And to grete prayers,  
 Who so kepes thair reule al,  
 bothe in worde and dede ;  
 I am ful siker that he shal  
 have heven blis to mede.

<sup>1</sup> From MS. Cotton. Cleopatra, | script which has furnished the præ-  
 B. ii. fol. 62, v°, the same manu- | ceding song in Latin.

Men may se by thair contynaunce,  
 That thai are men of grete penaunce,  
 And also that thair sustynaunce

Simple is and wayke.

I have lyved now fourty ȝers,  
 And fatter men about the neres  
 Ȝit sawe I never then are these frers,

In contreys ther thai rayke.

Meteles so negre are thai made,  
 and penaunce so puttes ham down,  
 That ichone is an hors-lade,  
 when he shal trusse of toun.

Allas ! that ever it shuld be so,  
 Suche clerkes as thai about shuld go,  
 Fro toun to toun by two and two,

To seke thair sustynaunce.

By God that al this world wan,  
 He that that ordre first bygan,  
 Me thynk certes it was a man

Of simple ordynaunce.

For thai have noght to lyve by,  
 thai wandren here and there,  
 And dele with dyvers marcerye,  
 right as thai pedlers were.

Thai dele with purses, pynnes, and knyves,  
 With gyrdles, gloves, for wenches and wyves ;  
 Bot ever backward the husband thryves

Ther thai are haunted tille.

For when the gode man is fro hame,  
 And the frere comes to oure dame,  
 He spares nauther for synne ne shame,  
 That he ne dos his wille.

Ȝif thai no helpe of houswyves had,  
 when husbandes are not inne,  
 The freres welfare were ful bad,  
 for thai shuld brewe ful thynne.

Somme frers beren pelure aboute,  
For grete ladys and wenches stoute,  
To reverce with thair clothes withoute ;  
    Al after that thai ere.

For somme vaire, and somme gryse,  
For somme bugee, and for somme byse,  
And also many a dyvers spyse,  
    In bagges about thai bere.  
    Al that for women is plesand  
    ful redy certes have thai ;  
    Bot lytel gyfe thai the husband,  
    that for al shal pay.

Trantes thai can, and many a jape ;  
For somme can with a pound of sape  
Gete him a kyrtelle and a cape,  
    And som what els therto.

Wherto shuld I othes swere ?  
Ther is no pedler that pak can bere,  
That half so dere can selle his gere,  
    Then a frer can do.  
For if he gife a wyfe a knyfe  
    that cost bot penys two,  
Worthe ten knyves, so mot I thryfe,  
    he wyl have er he go.

Iche man that here shal lede his life,  
That has a faire doghter or a wyfe,  
Be war that no frer ham shryfe,  
    Nauther loude ne stille.  
Thof women seme of hert ful stable,  
With faire byhest and with fable  
Thai can make thair hertes chaungeable,  
    And thair likynges fulfille.  
Be war ay with the lymitour,  
    and with his felawe bathe,  
And thai make maystries in thi bour,  
    it shal turne the to scathe.



Were I a man that hous helde,  
 If any woman with me dwelde,  
 Ther is no frer, bot he were gelde,  
     Shuld com within my wones.  
 For may he til a woman wynne,  
 In priveyté, he wyl not blynne,  
 Er he a childe put hir withinne,  
     And perchaunce two at ones.  
 Thof he loure under his hode,  
     with semblaunt quaynte and mylde,  
 If thou him trust, or dos him gode,  
     by God, thou ert bygyld.

Thai say that thai distroye synne,  
 And thai mayntene men moste therinne;  
 For had a man slayn al his kynne,  
     Go shryve him at a frere,  
 And for lesse then a payre of shone  
 He wyl assoil him clene and sone,  
 And say the synne that he has done  
     His saule shal never dere.  
 It semes sothe that men sayne of hayme  
     in many dyvers londe,  
 That that caytyfe cursed Cayme  
     first this order fonde.

Nou se the sothe whedre it be swa,  
 That frer Carmes come of a k.,  
 The frer Austynes come of a.,  
     Frer Jacobynes of i.,  
 Of m. comen the frer Menours;  
 Thus grounded Caym thes four ordours,  
 That fillen the world ful of errours,  
     And of ypocrisy.  
 Alle wyckednes that men can telle  
     regnes ham among;  
 Ther shal no saule have rowme in helle,  
     of frers ther is suche throng.

Thai travele ȝerne and bysily,  
To brynge doun the clergy; ;  
Thai speken therof ay vilany,  
    And therof thai done wrong.  
Whoso lyves oght many ȝers,  
Shal se that it shal falle of frers,  
As it dyd of the templers,  
    That wonned here us among.  
For thai held no religioun,  
    bot lyved after lykyng,  
Thai were distroyed and broght adoun,  
    thurgh ordynance of the kyng.

Thes frers haunten a dredful thing,  
That never shal come to gode endyng;  
O frer for eght or nyen shal syng,  
    For ten or for elleven.  
And when his terme is fully gone,  
Conscience then has he none,  
That he ne dar take of ychone  
    Markes sixe or seven.  
Suche annuels has made thes frers,  
    so wely and so gay,  
That ther may no possessioners  
    mayntene thair array.

Tham felle to lyve al on purchace,  
Of almes geten fro place to place,  
And for alle that tham holpen has,  
    Shuld thai pray and syng.  
Bot now this londe so neghe soght is,  
That unnethe may prestes seculers  
Gete any service for thes frers,  
    That is wondre thing,  
This is a quaynt custome  
    ordeyned ham among,  
That frers shal annuel prestes bycome,  
    and so gates selle ther song.

Ful wysely can thai preche and say ;  
 Bot as thai preche no thing do thai.  
 I was a frere ful many a day,  
     Therefor the sothe I wate.  
 Bot when I sawe that thair lyvyng  
 Acordyd not to thair preching,  
 Of I cast my frer clothing,  
     And wyghtly went my gate.  
 Other leve ne toke I none,  
     fro ham when I went,  
 Bot toke ham to the devel ychone,  
     the priour and the covent.

Out of the ordre thof I be gone,  
 Apostota ne am I none,  
 Of twelve monethes me wanted one,  
     And odde days nyen or ten.  
 Away to wende I made me boun ;  
 Or tyme come of professioun,  
 I went my way thurghout the toun,  
     In syght of many men.  
 Lord God, that with paynes ille  
     mankynde boght so dere,  
 Let never man after me have wille  
     for to make him frere.

#### ON THE MINORITE FRIARS.<sup>1</sup>

Of thes frer mynours me thenkes moch wonder,  
 That waxen are thus hauteyn, that som tyme weren  
     under ;  
 Among men of holy chirch thai maken mochel blonder ;  
 Nou he that sytes us above make ham sone to sonder !  
     With an O and an I, thai praysen not seynt Poule,  
 Thai lyen on seyn[t] Fraunceys, by my fader soule.

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<sup>1</sup> From MS. Cotton. Cleop. B. ii. fol. 64, v°.

First thai gabben on God, that alle men may se,  
 When thai hangen him on hegh on a grene tre,  
 With leves and with blossemes that bright are of ble;  
 That was never Goddes son, by my leuté.

With an O and an I, men wenen that thai wede,  
 To carpe so of clergy, thai can not thair crede.

Thai have done him on a croys fer up in the skye,  
 And festned on hym wyenges, as he shuld fle.  
 This fals feyned byleve shal thai soure bye,  
 On that lovelych Lord so for to lye.

With an O and an I, one sayd ful stille,  
 Armachan distroy ham, if it is Goddes wille.

Ther comes one out of the skye in a grey gown,  
 As it were an hog-hyerd hyand to toun;  
 Thai have mo goddes then we, I say by Mahoun,  
 Alle men under ham, that ever beres croun.

With an O and an I, why shuld thai not be shent?  
 Ther wantes noght bot a fyre that thai nere alle  
 brent.

Went I forther on my way in that same tyde;  
 Ther I sawe a frere blede in myddes of his syde;  
 Bothe in hondes and in fete had he woundes wyde.  
 To serve to that same frer, the pope mot abyde.

With an O and an I, I wonder of thes dedes,  
 To se a pope holde a dische whyl the frer bledes.

A cart was made al of fyre, as it shuld be;  
 A gray frer I sawe therinne, that best lyked me.  
 Wele I wote thai shal be brent, by my leauté;  
 God graunt me that grace that I may it se.

With an O and an I, brent be thai alle!  
 And alle that helpes therto faire mot byfalle.



Thai preche alle of povert, bot that love thai noght;  
 For gode mete to thair mouthe the toun is thurgh  
 soght.

Wyde are thair wonnynges, and wonderfully wroght;  
 Murdre and horedome ful dere has it boght.

With an O and an I, for sixe pens er thai fayle,  
 Sle thi fadre, and jape thi modre, and thai wyl  
 the assoile.

### ON THE TIMES.<sup>1</sup>

1388.

Syngyn y wolde, but, alas!  
*descidunt*<sup>2</sup> *prospera grata*;  
 Englund sum tyme was  
*regnorum gemma vocata*;  
 Of manhod the flowre  
*ibi quondam floruit omnis*;  
 Now gon ys that honowr,<sup>3</sup>  
*traduntur talia somnis*.

<sup>1</sup> This piece is found in two manuscripts in the British Museum, MS. Harl., No. 536, fol. 34, r<sup>o</sup> (A), and MS. Harl., No. 941, fol. 21, v<sup>o</sup> (B), and in a third in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, E. 5, 10 (C). It is here printed from the last of these manuscripts, which appears to be on the whole the best, collated with the others. The description of the costume and other circumstances point to the reign of Richard II. as the date of this poem, and some rather obscure

allusions would lead us to think that it was composed among the political troubles of the year 1388. The retreat of "Jacke" accompanied with "Jacke Noble," to "regna remota," in all probability refers to the flight of the king's favourite, Robert de Vere duke of Dublin, with Michael de la Pole earl of Suffolk, to the continent.

<sup>2</sup> *procedunt*, C, with *discidunt* written above it. *Descidunt*, A, with *decedunt* above.

<sup>3</sup> *tour*, A. *oure*, B.

Lechery, lust,<sup>1</sup> and pryde,  
*hæc sunt quibus Anglia paret;*  
 Sone trowyth<sup>2</sup> ys set asyde,  
*dic qualiter Anglia staret.*  
 Where<sup>3</sup> owre frendis were,  
*nostri sunt jam<sup>4</sup> inimici,*  
 With bowes, scheld, and spere;  
*poterunt heu!<sup>5</sup> talia dici.*  
 Oftyn tyme have we here  
*mala nobis esse futura;*  
 But ever have we desire  
*a nobis commoda<sup>6</sup> plura.*  
 Lo! within owre lond  
*insurgunt undique guerræ;*  
 But God put to his hond,  
*fiet destructio terre.*  
 On water and on lond,  
*quæ quondam nos timuerunt,*  
 Now many a thowsand  
*nos parvo<sup>7</sup> per mare quæerunt.*  
 Dred of God is went,  
*humanis sed timor astat;*  
 Ho seythe<sup>8</sup> truth he<sup>9</sup> is schent,  
*regnum violentia vastat;*  
 Rowners<sup>10</sup> and flatrerers,  
*hi regno sunt nocituri;*  
 Wolde God swoch claterers<sup>11</sup>  
*sua subdant colla securi.*  
 Englund, awake now,  
*nunc consurgunt jugiter hostes,*  
 And good heede take thow,  
*fac hostia, dirige postes.*

<sup>1</sup> slouthe, A. slewthe, B.

<sup>2</sup> sith trouthe, A. Sethyn trewth  
was sett o syde, B.

<sup>3</sup> Whiche, A.

<sup>4</sup> nostri fienti., A.

<sup>5</sup> en, A.

<sup>6</sup> commercia, A.

<sup>7</sup> pro ens, C.

<sup>8</sup> sayth the, B.

<sup>9</sup> he is omitted in A and B.

<sup>10</sup> Robberes, C.

<sup>11</sup> flaterars, C.

The ryche make mery,  
*sed vulgus collachrimatur ;*  
 The pepul ys weri,<sup>1</sup>  
*quia ferme depopulatur.*  
 The chyrche is grevyd,  
*quia spiritualia cedunt ;*  
 And so sume be<sup>2</sup> myschevyd,  
*plus damni crescere credunt.*  
 Englund goth to noght,  
*et plus hoc facit ut vitiosus ;*<sup>3</sup>  
 To the lust man is broght,  
*nimis est*<sup>4</sup> *homo deliciosus.*  
 Goddes dere<sup>5</sup> halydayys ar noght,  
*non observantur honeste ;*  
 For onthryfty pley ys worght,<sup>6</sup>  
*regnat in eis manifeste,*  
 Unthryfty lust and yois,<sup>7</sup>  
*steriles et luxuriosi,*  
 Gentyl, gromys, and boyys,  
*socii sunt atque gulosi.*  
 Soget<sup>8</sup> and sovereynys  
*uno quasi fune*<sup>9</sup> *trahuntur ;*  
 Put these to the peynys,<sup>10</sup>  
*ad eos quicunque loquuntur.*  
 At Westmyster halle  
*legis sunt valde scientes ;*  
 Never the lesse for hem alle,<sup>11</sup>  
*ibi vincuntur jura*<sup>12</sup> *potentes.*

<sup>1</sup> *wer, C.*<sup>2</sup> *Som bethe, A.*<sup>3</sup> *plus fecit homo vitiosus, A.*<sup>4</sup> *Nummis, C. ?*<sup>5</sup> *dere* is omitted in A, and the two last words of the line are found in neither of the London MSS.<sup>6</sup> These two words are found only in C.<sup>7</sup> *unthriste and wombe joye, A.*<sup>8</sup> *Sojettys, A.*<sup>9</sup> *fine, A and C.*<sup>10</sup> *put thei be to peyne, A.*<sup>11</sup> *Noght ellys before thayme alle, B. for hem wolle, C.*<sup>12</sup> *jura, omitted in C.*

In that he never herd the cause,<sup>1</sup>  
*juramento moderavit*;<sup>2</sup>  
 The mater wyl he have,<sup>3</sup>  
*et justum damnificabit*;  
 And an obligacion,  
*ac de jure*<sup>4</sup> *valitura*;  
 Thorgh a fals cavelacion,  
*erit affectum*<sup>5</sup> *caritura*.  
 His owyn cause<sup>6</sup> many a man  
*nunc judicat et moderatur*;  
 Law helpyth noght than,<sup>7</sup>  
*ergo lex*<sup>8</sup> *evacuatur*.  
 Manslaught and thefte  
*crucis ad votum redimuntur*;  
 Qwere ille sponne wolle,<sup>9</sup>  
*dona pravos prava sequuntur*.<sup>10</sup>  
 Jerorys han<sup>11</sup> peyntyd slewys,  
*inopes famuli dominorum*;<sup>12</sup>  
 This hurtys and grevys,  
*novit Deus ipse deorum*.  
 Gret hurt to this lond  
*est usurpata potestas*;  
 Therfor put to ys hond  
*regis metuenda majestas*.  
 For harme that wyle<sup>13</sup> falle,  
*non ulla*<sup>14</sup> *statuta parantur*;  
 The kyng knowyth not alle,  
*non sunt qui vera*<sup>15</sup> *loquuntur*.

<sup>1</sup> That never herd the caas, A.<sup>2</sup> j. tunc mediabunt, A.<sup>3</sup> Than the mater wolle thei face, A.<sup>4</sup> de jure satis v., A and B.<sup>5</sup> effectu, A.<sup>6</sup> caas, A.<sup>7</sup> hem, A.<sup>8</sup> ergo heu! lex e., A.<sup>9</sup> Be ware of evel spon weste, A.

Be warre of ylle sponnon west, B.

<sup>10</sup> locuntur, C.<sup>11</sup> Jurroures with, A.<sup>12</sup> inops ficti, C. ?<sup>13</sup> mow, A.<sup>14</sup> nonnulla, A.<sup>15</sup> sunt vera quæ, C.



He and he seyð wel,  
*et sermo placere videtur ;*  
 The cattys nec to bylle<sup>1</sup>  
*hic et hic<sup>2</sup> ligare veretur.*  
 Qwat is the cause of this?  
*vere violatio<sup>3</sup> legis ;*  
 Amen[de] that is amys  
*poterit clementia regis.*  
 Noght with a jake,<sup>4</sup>  
*paucos timuit<sup>5</sup> remanere ;*  
 Sum hath hym on his bak,  
*in<sup>6</sup> bursa mallet habere.*  
 Good Jake, qwere is thi Jon?  
*ubi gratia nunc requiescit ?*  
 Jake, now grace is gon,  
*ad regna remota recessit ;*  
 Jake nobil with hym ys,  
*iter insimul arripuerunt ;<sup>7</sup>*  
 Of bothe ys gret mys,  
*illos multi modo quærunt.*  
 Galauntes, purs penyles.  
*per vicos ecce vagantur ;*  
 Yf yt be as I gesse,  
*male solvunt quod mutuantur.*  
 On with another anon  
*satagit committere guerram ;*  
 Now is he here, and now is he gon,  
*discurrit<sup>8</sup> ut advena terram.*  
 Fresch of<sup>9</sup> the newe towch,  
*incedunt ridiculose,*  
 Lityl or noght in her powch,  
*pascuntur deliciose.*

<sup>1</sup> to the belle, A.<sup>2</sup> ille, A.<sup>3</sup> violentia, A, B.<sup>4</sup> now without a jake, A.<sup>5</sup> pauci metuunt, A. paucos tuimur, B.<sup>6</sup> sed, B.<sup>7</sup> iterum simul accipierunt, C.<sup>8</sup> destruxit, A.<sup>9</sup> freshe and of, B. fresshest of, A.

Bredder than ever God made  
*humeri sunt arte tumentes*;<sup>1</sup>  
 Narow<sup>2</sup> they be, they<sup>3</sup> seme brode,  
*vana sunt hoc facite, gentes.*<sup>4</sup>  
 They bere a newe fascion,  
*humeris in pectore tergo*;  
 Goddes plasmacion  
*non illis complacet*<sup>5</sup> ergo.  
 Wyde coleres and hye,  
*ei gladio sunt colla parata*;  
 Ware ze the prophecye  
*contra tales recitata.*  
 Long sporys on her helys,  
*et rostra*<sup>6</sup> *fovent ocrearum*;  
 They thynke it do welle,  
*cum non sit regula Sarum.*  
 A strayth bende hath here hose,  
*laqueant ad corpora crura*;<sup>7</sup>  
 They may noght, I suppose,  
*curvare genu sine cura*;  
 Qwen oder men knelys,  
*pia Christo vota ferentes,*  
 Thei stond at here helys,<sup>8</sup>  
*sua non curvare valentes.*<sup>9</sup>  
 For hortyng of here hosyn,  
*non inclinare laborant*;  
 I trow, for here long toos,  
*dum stant ferialiter orant.*  
 Many a man<sup>10</sup> thes let  
*et turbant ad sacra stando*;  
 Crystes curse they get,  
*nisi desistant*<sup>11</sup> *aliquando.*

<sup>1</sup> *timentes*, C.<sup>2</sup> *Narugh*, A.<sup>3</sup> *thou; thei*, A.<sup>4</sup> *nova sunt factio gentis*, A.<sup>5</sup> *contulit compacet ergo*, C.<sup>6</sup> *rastra*, C.<sup>7</sup> *laqueantur a corpore crura*, A.<sup>8</sup> *on here helis*, A.<sup>9</sup> *volentes*, C.<sup>10</sup> *Many men*, A.<sup>11</sup> *nisi Deus instat*, A.

Women lo! with here brestes<sup>1</sup>  
*procedunt arte profana*;<sup>2</sup>  
 Prechers ne pristres  
*non possunt hæc pellere vana.*  
 With poyntys ful strong  
*caligas de more sigillant,*  
 Now shorte and now longe,  
*ventus velut*<sup>3</sup> *ecce vacillant.*  
 Her<sup>4</sup> knokelys elbowys.  
*manicæ laqueant laceratæ*;  
 In frost and in snow,  
*ut aves spectant laqueatæ.*  
 Qwhan frost awakys,  
*tunc stringunt frigore gentes,*  
 Here chekys than quakys,<sup>5</sup>  
*sese quasi concutientes.*  
 Qwan men rest takyn,  
*noctis somno recreati,*  
 Swoch felawys wakyn,  
*ad damna patrata parati.*<sup>6</sup>  
 Ful oftyn tyme iwys  
*gelido fervent*<sup>7</sup> *in amore,*  
 Here specialis yf y kys,<sup>8</sup>  
*distillat nasus in ore.*  
 Of a galaunt the towch,<sup>9</sup>  
*unguentum stillat amoris.*  
 I wolde ful were here pouge<sup>10</sup>  
*tanti dulcedine roris!*  
 Lo! this for a gret nede,  
*sua miscent ora libenter.*  
 Ho so ever take hede,  
*manet liquor irreverenter.*

<sup>1</sup> wantounly brestes, A. womonly, B.

<sup>2</sup> pro fama, C.

<sup>3</sup> ut venter, A.

<sup>4</sup> Theyer knokuld, B. Now knokelyd, A.

<sup>5</sup> Than ther teth quakis, A.

<sup>6</sup> These two lines are given further on in A and B.

<sup>7</sup> frement, C.

<sup>8</sup> Ther special whan thei kis, A.

<sup>9</sup> Huf a galaunt thee atowche, A.

<sup>10</sup> pouche, A.

" Wyv sa belle,"<sup>1</sup> thei cry,  
*fragrantia vina bibentes,*  
 Thei drynke tyl they be dry,  
*lingua sensuque carentes.*  
 Thei cry, "Fyl the bowles!  
*" bonus est liquor, hic maneamus;*  
 " For alle crystone sowllys,  
*" dum durant vasa, bibamus!"*  
 Armys, sydus, and bonus,<sup>2</sup>  
*horum quidam recitabit;*  
 Yit whan he ys most wode,  
*tunc blandus sermo donabit.*  
 Paraventure on ware<sup>3</sup>  
*post sumptum temporis plausus,*<sup>4</sup>  
 A cowntur-tenur at Newgat<sup>5</sup>  
*cantabit carcere clausus.*  
 Of the chyrche that I drede,<sup>6</sup>  
*non placet*<sup>7</sup> *sibi psalmus;*  
 Nowt I say for despyte,<sup>8</sup>  
*Sic me Deus adjuvet almus,*  
 Alas, and welawey!  
*decus ecclesiam tenebrascit;*  
 Lyzt wyl falle that y say,<sup>9</sup>  
*Sanctus nunc Spiritus assit.*  
 Symon, that fals man,  
*doctor potat ecclesiarum;*  
 Moch sorow he began,  
*virus diffudit*<sup>10</sup> *amarum.*  
 And that false avys,<sup>11</sup>  
*satis ecclesiam laqueasti,*

<sup>1</sup> *Vive la belle*, A.<sup>2</sup> *blode*, A.<sup>3</sup> *Peraventure at an houre*, A.<sup>4</sup> *poscunt hi tempora plausis*, A.<sup>5</sup> *at Newgat*, omitted in the London MSS.<sup>6</sup> *write*, A.<sup>7</sup> *non forte placet*, A.<sup>8</sup> *Now sey I for this dispite*, A.<sup>9</sup> *Lyght wol fayle, I dar say*, A.<sup>10</sup> *vino defendit*, C.<sup>11</sup> *And than false avarise*, A;



With many other a vys<sup>1</sup>  
*Christi sponsam violasti.*  
 Here mych more myght I say,<sup>2</sup>  
*cum ordo vetat seriarum;*  
 Of swche more se he<sup>3</sup> may  
*in libris ecclesiarum.*  
 The lanterne of lyghtte  
*non fulget luce serena;*  
 Yt ys not alle aryght,  
*populus bibit ecce venena.*  
 Ouer kynges and his lond  
*servet, regat, et teneatur;*<sup>4</sup>  
 Oo God with ys hond  
*cælum, terram moderatur.*  
 In age as he growyt,  
*sua crescat gratia fructu;*  
 Ful welle that he knowe,  
*quanto dolet*<sup>5</sup> *Anglia luctu.*

O rex, si rex es, rege te, vel eris sine re rex,  
 Nomen habes sine re, nisi te recteque regas rex.

*Explicit autem scriptum. Nunc finem feci, da mihi  
 quod merui.*

#### DISTICH ON THE YEAR 1391.<sup>6</sup>

The ax was sharpe, the stokke was harde,  
 In the xiiij. yere of kyng Richarde.

<sup>1</sup> *eyl vice*, A. *With mony other*  
*vice*, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Here myght I more sey*, A.  
*Here mchyl more myght I sey*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *ze*, A.

<sup>4</sup> *t'a tudatur*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *quantum sit*, C.

<sup>6</sup> From a manuscript in the  
 library of St. John's Coll., Oxford,  
 No. 209.

ON THE PESTILENCE.<sup>1</sup>

Ecce dolet Anglia luctibus imbuta,  
 Gens tremit tristitia sordibus polluta,  
 Necat pestilentia viros atque bruta,  
 Cur? quia flagitia regnant resoluta.

Heu! jam totus vertitur mundus in malignum,  
 Inter gentes quæritur ubi cor benignum;  
 Christus non recolitur mortuus per lignum,  
 Ergo plebs perimitur in vindictæ signum.

Pax et patientia penitus orbantur;  
 Amor et justitia domi non morantur;  
 Errores et vitia gentes amplexantur;  
 Patrum pro malitia parvuli necantur.

Pastorum pigritia greges disperguntur;  
 Insontes astutia mercantum falluntur;  
 Fraus et avaritia sorores junguntur;  
 Divitum nequitia pauperes plectuntur.

Simonia colitur, Simon Magus vivit;  
 Æquitas opprimitur, veritas abivit.  
 Christi grex dispergitur, lupus insanivit;  
 Pestisque diffunditur, agnoscit deglutivit.

<sup>1</sup> This short poem is printed from a manuscript in the University Library, Cambridge, Ee. vi. 29, fol. 27, r<sup>o</sup>. The MS. appears to belong to the close of the fourteenth century, and its allusions, which are vague and general, may, and

probably do, apply to the great pestilence of 1391, but there is no internal evidence of a direct kind which will enable us to fix its date with certainty, while its form of versification resembles that of an earlier date.

Favor non scientia promovet rectores ;  
Intrudit potentia servos ob labores ;  
Et regum clementia quosdam per favores  
Æs et amicitia invadit provisos.

Fortes Christi milites modo recesserunt ;  
Sathanæ satellites templum subverterunt ;  
Laceras et debiles oves perdiderunt ;  
Cuculi degeneres nisis successerunt.

Patres quondam nobiles pestes fugarunt,  
Et in fide stabiles languidos sanarunt ;  
Vita venerabiles signis coruscarunt,  
Actus per laudabiles Christo militarunt.

Tales erant vestibus asperis vestiti,  
Ut moderni mollibus raro sunt potiti ;  
Hi præclaris moribus erant insigniti.  
Juvenes a sordibus sacris eruditi.

Heu ! nunc mercenarii, nec veri pastores,  
Rectores, vicarii mutaverunt mores ;  
Ambitu denarii subeunt labores.  
Tales operarii merentur mœrores.

Isti pro ciliciis utuntur pellura ;  
Farciunt deliciis ventres tota cura ;  
Dant post spurcitiis se sine mensura ;  
Suffulti divitiis vivunt contra jura.

Dum capella tegitur nobili vestura,  
Sponsa Christi capitur nudata tectura ;  
Vinea destruitur porcorum usura,  
Et vitis evellitur carens jam cultura.

Sacerdotes Domini sunt incontinentes ;  
Actus suo nomini non sunt respondentēs  
Sacra dantes homini forent et docentes ;  
Sui mores ordini non sunt congruentes.

Ista super æthera sanguine scribantur,  
Ut patenti litera sæculis legantur ;  
Ignibus cum vetera peccata purgantur,  
Sua ferant onera jam qui dominantur.

En ! amor et caritas regnis refrigescunt ;  
Livor et severitas gentibus ardescunt ;  
Cleri, plebis veritas et fides tepescunt.  
Hinc regni nobilitas et fama quiescunt.

Fœminæ fragilitas omni caret laude ;  
Mercantum subtilitas versatur in fraude ;  
Et fratrum dolositas jungit caput caudæ.  
Homo, si jam veritas te gubernat, gaude.

*Explicit.*



THE RECONCILIATION OF RICHARD II. WITH THE CITY  
OF LONDON.

By Richard de Maidstone.<sup>1</sup>

*Richardi Maydiston de concordia inter regem Ric. II.  
et civitatem London.*

Tullius in laudem tantam sustollit amicos,  
Quod licet, his demptis, optima nil valeant:  
"Stes," ait, "in cœlis, videas ibi quæque beata,  
"Hauriat auris in his utraque dulce melos,  
"Quicquid adhuc sensus poterit tibi pascere quinos  
"Nil valet acceptum, si nec amicus adest.  
"Si careas socio, cui sata placentia narres,  
"Hæc eadem senties non placuisse tibi."  
Hinc tibi, Ricarde, duplante jugo mihi juncte,  
(Nomen et omen habes, sic socius meus es,)   
Gaudia visa mihi Trenovantum nuper in urbe,  
Actus amicitia, glisco referre modo.  
Et licet incultum carmen tibi condere curem,  
Parce precor curæ, parcere debet amor.  
M. cape, ter quoque c. deciesque novem, duo junge,  
Hunc numerum anni supputo dando notis.

<sup>1</sup> This Latin poem is preserved in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Bodl. E Musæo, No. 94, fol. 8, v<sup>o</sup>. The author is said to have been a native of Maidstone, in Kent, and, after being a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, he became a Carmelite friar in the convent of Aylesford, near Maidstone, where he died and was buried in 1396. He took the

degree of doctor in theology in the hostel of the Carmelites in Oxford, and seems to have been chiefly known by his theological writings. He was, however, in favour at court, and this poem, which commemorates the king's visit to London to be publicly reconciled with the citizens on the 29th of August, 1393, seems to have been the produce of his zeal as a courtier.

Tunc bis ter Phœbo fuerat soror associata,  
 Cum bona felici sunt, Nova Troja, tibi.  
 Mensis ut Augusti ter septima fulsit in orbem  
 Lux, tibi, Londoniæ, rumor amœnus adest.  
 Namque tuum regem, sponsum, dominumque tuumque,  
 Quem tibi sustulerat perfida lingua, capis.  
 Invidiosa cohors regem tibi vertit in iram,  
 Desereret thalamum sponsus ut ipse suum.  
 Sed quia totus amor tuus est, et amantis imago  
 Formosior Paride, nescit odisse diu.  
 Adde quod in miseros semper solet hic misereri,  
 Nec habet ultrices rex pius iste manus.  
 Quot mala, quot mortes tenero sit passus ab ævo,  
 Quamque sit inultus, Anglia tota videt.  
 Quid cupit hic servire Deo, nisi semper et esse  
 Pacificum, lætum, nilque perire bonum?  
 Sic fovet ecclesiam statuens statuum moderamen,  
 Sternere ne liceat quod statuere patres.  
 Effugat ingratos, cupidos, stolidos, truculentos,  
 Quæque decent regem hæc rapit ipse sibi.  
 Talis adolescens toto non restat in orbe,  
 Qui sciat ut Salomon regna tenere sua.  
 Hic licet accensus foret in te, Troja, parumper,  
 Grata modo facies se docet esse piam.  
 Non poterat mordax detractans lingua tenere,  
 Quin cuperet thalamum sponsus adire suum.  
 Qui libertates solitas tibi dempserat omnes,  
 Nunc redit, et plures reddere promptus eas.

*Hic præparat se civitas in occursum regis.*

Urbis custodem miles quem rex ibi signat,  
 Alloquitur cives sic, rutilante die:  
 " Regis in occursum vestri vos este parati,  
 " Percipiatque palam quam bene nunc veniat."

“ Totius ecclesiæ fiat processio cleri,  
“ Omnis et ordo suas se ferat ante cruces.  
“ Nulla sit ars urbis, quæ non distincta seorsum  
“ Splendidius solito trans vada vadat eques.  
“ Quicquid in urbe probum fuerit promatur, in ista  
“ Nam gaudete die, pax tribuetur,” ait.  
His animata loquelis tota cohors sociatur,  
Præparat et cultu se meliore suo.  
Ornat et interea se pulchre quæque platea,  
Vestibus auratis urbs micat innumeris.  
Floris odoriferi specie fragrante platea,  
Pendula perque domos purpura nulla deest ;  
Aurea, coccinea, bissinaque, tinctaque vestis,  
Pinxerat hic cælum arte juvante novum.  
Quos tulit ante dies istos plebs ista labores,  
Quas tulit expensas, os reserare nequit.  
Quid moror ? ecce dies transit ! properatur ab urbe  
Regis in occursum conjugis atque suæ.  
Quis numerare queat numerum turbæ numerosæ,  
Quæ velut astra poli densius inde fluit ?  
Millia viginti juvenes numerantur equestres ;  
Qui pedibus pergunt, non capit hos numerus.  
Custos præcedit, comitantur eumque quater sex,  
Quos aldirmannos urbs habet ut proceres.  
Jure senatorio urbs his regitur quasi Roma,  
Hisque præest major, quem populus legerit.  
Hic erat ornatus albus color et rubicundus,  
Hos partita toga segregat a reliquis.  
Clavibus assumptis, urbis gladio quoque, custos  
Præcedit proceres, subque sequuntur eum.  
Hos sequitur phalerata cohors cujuslibet artis ;  
Secta docet sortem quæque tenere suam.  
Hic argentarius, hic piscarius, secus illum  
Mercibus hic deditus, venditor atque meri.  
Hic apothecarius, pistor, pictor, lathomusque ;  
Hic cultellarius, tonsor, et armifaber.

Hic carpentarius, scissor, sartor, ibi sutor ;  
 Hic pelliparius, fulloque, mango, faber.  
 Hic sunt artifices, ibi carnifices, ibi tector ;  
 Hic lorinarius, pannariusque simul.  
 Ibi vaginator, hic zonarius, ibi textor ;  
 Hic candelarius, cerarius pariter.  
 Hic pandoxator, ibi streparius, ibi junctor ;  
 Est ibi pomilio, sic anigerulus hic.  
 A super r gratis stat in artibus hic numeratis,  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Hic cirothecarius, bursistaque, caupo, coquusque :  
 Ars patet ex secta singula quæque sua.  
 Cerneret has turmas quisquis, puto non dubitaret  
 Cernere se formas ordinis angelici.  
 Tam valido solet auxilio, qui martius exstat,  
 Prælia suffultus nulla timere pugil.  
 Quælibet ut proprias est ars sortita phalangas,  
 Mille quatuor stadiis omne repletur iter.

*Hic occurrunt cives regi.*

Psallite nunc, cives, regi nunc psallite vestro,  
 En ! rex vester adest, psallite quod sapit hic.  
 Rege propinquante comites glomerantur heriles,  
 Ha mihi ! quam pulchrum cernere credis eos.  
 Dum niveo resideret equo, se quique retractant,  
 Ut pateat populo rex pius ipse suo.  
 Vernula quam facies fulvis redimita capillis,  
 Comptaque sub serto præradiante coma !  
 Fulget et ex auro vestis sua rubra colore,  
 Quæ tenet interius membra venusta nimis.  
 Iste velut Troilus, vel ut Absolon ipse decorus,  
 Captivat sensum respicientis eum.  
 Non opus est omnem regis describere formam,  
 Regibus in cunctis non habet ille parem.



Larga decoris ei si plus natura dedisset,  
 Clauderet hunc thalamis invida forte Venus.  
 Sistit ut in medias super arva repleta catervas,  
 Nobilibus regni cingitur, ut decuit.  
 Nec procul est conjunx regina suis comitata,  
 Anna sibi nomen, re sit et Anna precor!  
 Pulchra quidem pulchris stat circumcincta puellis,  
 Vincit Amazonibus Troja novella sub his.  
 Sternitur ex gemmis nitidis sparsim sua vestis,  
 Ad caput a planta nil nisi gemma patet.  
 Nulla deest adamas, carbunculus, atque beryllus,  
 Qui lapis est pretii, sternitur inde caput.  
 Quod nitet in fronte nitida, radiatque per aures,  
 Verberat obtutum, ne foret inde satur.

*Hic reddit se civitas domino regi.*

Aurea rex dum fræna trahit, et sistere cogit  
 Dextrarium, procures mox populusque silent.  
 Accessit propius custos, secumque togati,  
 Claves læva manus, dextra tenet gladium.  
 Ad se converso puncto mucronis ad instar  
 Tristis captivi, sic sua verba refert:  
 "En! rex, cujus ut est nimium metuenda potestas,  
 "Sic et amanda nimis, nec reverenda minus.  
 "En! humiles cives, vestris pedibus provoluti,  
 "Reddunt se vobis, et sua cuncta simul.  
 "Clavibus his gladioque renunciat urbs modo sponte,  
 "Vestræ voluntati prompta subesse venit.  
 "Hoc rogat assidue lachrymis madefacta deintus,  
 "Mitis ut in cameram rex velit ire suam.  
 "Non laceret, non dilaniet pulcherrima regni  
 "Mcenia, nam sua sunt, quicquid et exstat in his.  
 "Non oderit thalamum sponsus quem semper amavit,  
 "Nulla subest causa cur minuatur amor."

Sumit ad hæc gladium, claves quoque Londoniarum  
 Rex, cito militibus tradit utrosque suis.  
 "Acceptamus," ait, "tam vos, quam reddere vestrum,  
 "Et placet ornatus exhibitus mihi nunc.  
 "Sed quid in urbe mea geritur modo tendo videre,  
 "Si scierit regem gens mea nosse suum."

*Hic veniunt cives ad reginam.*

Transit et interea custos comitatus eisdem  
 Sex quater, et sistunt regia terga retro.  
 Reginam propius veniunt humili quoque vultu  
 Valde precantur eam, spondet et ipsa bonum.  
 Corde favet, sed valde dolet, quia regis in iram  
 Urbs tam clara ruit; "spes tamen exstat," ait.

*Hic tendit rex cum tota cohorte versus urbem.*

His velut est dictum gestis, properatur ad urbem;  
 Ars artem sequitur, est prior ultima nunc.  
 Ut valor est artis retinet loca digna valori,  
 Gaudet honore suo quælibet atque gradu.  
 Nigris, purpureis, albis, fulvis, bene tinctis,  
 Viridibus, rubris, puniceisque togis,  
 Ac bipartitis sunt vestibus atque phalangis  
 Artes distinctæ, quod decet artifices.  
 Illa prius, hæc posterius ars tendit ad urbem,  
 Vix exercitui sufficebat iter;  
 Turba premit turbam, jacet hic, ruit hic, cadit iste,  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Musica nulla tacet, cantus, strepitus, neque clangor,  
 Altaque concussit æthera dulce melos.  
 Dumque chori fratrum psallunt, regemque salutant,  
 Incipit amplecti mox venerando cruces.  
 Basia dat crucibus, imitatur eum sua conjunx,  
 Et rogat ut regnum servat uterque Deus.

*De pluvia quæ tunc accidit.*

Tunc respirare cœpit tristis prius aura,  
 Tempestas etenim turbinis ante fuit.  
 Sic pluebat quod tristis erat tunc sexus uterque,  
 Turbari metuens turbine tam valido.  
 Ast notus ut distat, lenisque favonius astat,  
 Aura serena micat, urbs modo nil trepidat.

*De venia data exuli in Southwerk.*

Strata foras urbem, qua pulchra suburbia restant,  
 Hæc Opus Australe dicitur, est etenim.  
 Obviat hic regi vir in exilium modo missus,  
 Arboreamque crucem fert homicida reus.  
 Pronus ut ante pedes jacuit prostratus equinos,  
 Flens rogitat veniam, rex sibi donat eam.  
 Sicque pium miseri miseret solitum misereri,  
 Gratia quam tribuat, restituatur ei.

*Hic fuit regina coronata.*

Aurea reginæ super erigitur caput Annæ  
 Pulchra corona, parum non valet illa putes.  
 Mirificum opus hoc lapidum radiosa venustas  
 Ditat, et eximiam efficit illa lucem.  
 Grata fuit facies vario redimita monili,  
 Cultus enim patriæ pulchrius ornat eam.

*Hic præsentat civitas regi duos dextrarios per custodem.*

Pontis ut usque pedem propiat rex, stant ibi cives,  
 Dextrariiue duo, inclita dona nimis.  
 Purpura cum bisso tegit hos partita caballos,  
 Cæsar honorifice supra sederet eos.

Hos ducit ad regem custos deputatus in urbe,  
 Urbis et ex parte talia verba refert :  
 “ Rex pie, rex prudens, rex pacifice, dominator,  
 “ Nil nisi pax petitur vestra, rogamus eam.  
 “ En ligios vestros lætos foris, intus ovantes !  
 “ Gaudia magna nimis his tulit ista dies.  
 “ Quod ducitis dignum thalamum jam visere vestrum,  
 “ Quas valet urbs grates, tota referre cupit.  
 “ Sed quia quicquid habet nimis parvum dare regi,  
 “ Hos tamen optat equos vestra manus capiat.  
 “ Dantur in hoc signum, quod se reddunt modo cives  
 “ Corpora, divitias, pergama quæque sua.  
 “ In vestris manibus sit eorum vitæ morsque,  
 “ Et regat ad libitum regia virga suos.”  
 Rex contentus ad hæc, “ Et nos,” ait, “ ista placent  
 “ Munera suscipimus, iraque nostra cadit.  
 “ Concedimus pacem genti quæ restat in urbe,  
 “ Plebs mea nunc erit hæc, rex et ero sibi nunc.”  
 Hæc ut ait vultu solido satis atque sereno,  
 Lætificat mœstos vox ea mille viros.

*Hic præsentant reginæ palefridum.*

Ordine consimili conjunx ubi regia pausat  
 Pergitur, et custos taliter inquit ei :  
 “ O generosaque nobilis imperatoria proles,  
 “ Stipite nata quidem magnifici generis.  
 “ Vos Deus elegit ad sceptræ Britannica digne,  
 “ Imperii consors estis et apta fore.  
 “ Flectere regales poterit regina rigores,  
 “ Mitis ut in gentem rex velit esse suam.  
 “ Mollit amore virum mulier, Deus huic dedit illam ;  
 “ Tendat ad hoc vester, o pia, dulcis amor.  
 “ Læta cupit faciem plebs hæc modo cernere vestram,  
 “ In qua consistunt et salus et sua spes.

“ En ! præsentat equum vobis, licet hoc minus æquo  
“ Extiterit donum, corde tamen hilari.  
“ Est nam qui teneros vestros leniter ferat artus,  
“ Ambulat, et nunquam cespitat in phaleris ;  
“ Partiti tegitur equus hic ex veste coloris  
“ Purpurei bissi, sic fuerant reliqui.  
“ Accipiat domina, modicum licet hoc modo munus,  
“ Supplicat instanter integra nostra cohors.”  
Suscipit jam datum grates referendo benignas,  
Spondet et auxilium quod valet illa suum.  
Voce licet tenui loqueretur, et ut muliebri,  
Grata tamen facies urbis amica fuit.

*Hic progreditur rex cum tota cohorte versus Chepe.*

Taliter his gestis gaudenter itur in urbem,  
Turba premit turbam, sic iter aretat eam.  
Venit ut ad portam pontis regina, patenter  
Sors bona prodigium mox dedit, ecce ! novum.  
Namque sequuntur eam currus duo cum dominabus ;  
Rexerat hos Phaeton, unus enim cecidit.  
Fœmina fœminea sua dum sic fœmina nudat,  
Vix poterat risum plebs retinere suum.  
Causa et iste placet, veniat, rogo, quod mihi signat,  
Corruat ut luxus et malus omnis amor.  
Pergitur hinc, rutilant, fulgent, splendentque plateæ,  
Omnibus in vicis plauditur et canitur.  
Spectantur pulchræ dum spectant ista puellæ ;  
Nulla fenestra fuit has nisi quæ tenuit.  
Virgineas facies qui cerneret urbis in alto,  
Quod pecus est imo sperneret ut nihilum.  
Quippe satis lento passu transitur in urbe,  
Concursu populi præpediente viam.  
At ubi perventum medium fuit urbis et usque  
Introitum vici (dicitur ille Forum),



Quales texturæ picturarumque figuræ,  
 Qualis et ornatus, scribere quis poterit?  
 Nempe videtur ibi de summis usque deorsum  
 Nil nisi divitiæ, vultus et angelici.

*Quomodo aquæductus det vinum, et de ornatu ejus.*

Stillat aquæductus Bacchum, nec adest ibi Thetis,  
 Rubra dat iste liquor pocula mille viris.  
 Hujus et in tecto steterat cœlicus ordo,  
 Qui canit angelicos arte juvante melos.  
 Densa velut folia seu flores sic volat aurum,  
 Undique virginea discutiente manu.

— 276

*De turri mirabili in medio Chepe.*

Itur abhinc mediam dum rex venit usque plateam,  
 Cernit ibi castrum, stat, stupet hinc nimium.  
 Pendula per funes est fabrica totaque turris,  
 Ætheris et medium vendicat illa locum.  
 Stant et in hac turri juvenis formosaque virgo,  
 Hic velut angelus est, hæc coronata fuit.  
 Cerneret has facies quisquis, puto, non dubitaret  
 Nil fore sub cœlo quod sibi plus placeat.  
 Rex reginaque tunc astant bene discutientes  
 Quid velit hæc turris alta, vel hi juvenes.  
 Descendunt ab ea juvenis simul ipsaque virgo,  
 Nulla fuit scala, nec patuere gradus.  
 Nubibus inclusi veniunt, et in æthere pendunt,  
 Quo tamen ingenio nescio, crede mihi.  
 Iste tenet ciphum, geminas gerit illa coronas,  
 Hæc nitidis gemmis, plenus et iste mero.  
 Hæc rutilante novo fabricata quidem satis auro  
 Singula, testatur fulgida materies.

Materiam superavit opus, patet hoc et in artis  
 Et simul artificis subtilitate nova.  
 Obtulit ergo suas custodi virgo coronas,  
 Quas in utraque manu sic eloquendo tenet:

*Hic offert custos coronas regi et reginæ.*

“ Rex,” ait, “ illustris, reginaque nobilis, ambos  
 “ Custodiat semper vos Deus incolumes!  
 “ Qui dat terreni vobis diademata regni,  
 “ Regna perennia cœlestia donet item.  
 “ Cernite jam plebem vestram quam læta salutatur  
 “ Vos, et honorare gliscit, ut ipsa valet.  
 “ Nititur ex studio sensum quoque quod habet omne,  
 “ Pendere nunc vobis intime quod placeat;  
 “ Mittit et hinc, binas vobis referendo coronas,  
 “ Innumeras grates, si capiatas eas.  
 “ Non decet hoc alios donum, rogatur tamen ipsa,  
 “ Sumat ut hoc placite vestra benigna manus.”  
 Contentantur ad hæc tam rex quam regia conjux,  
 Subridendo parum sumit uterque datum.  
 Ridet et ad vinum roseum quod ridet in auro,  
 Quodque propinat eis portitor angelicus.  
 Spem tulit ex ridente gena tunc plebs, utriusque  
 Obsequiis animos se quietasse suos.  
 Invisis gradibus simul angelus ipsaque virgo  
 Nubibus inclusi mox loca prima petunt.

*De ornatu secundi aqueductus ad portam Pauli.*

Usque monasterium Pauli cito tunc properatur,  
 Cujus et ante fores mira patet species.  
 Trino thronus ibi circumdatus undique giro  
 Angelici præfert ordinis effigiem.

Angelicisque choris sic virginei sociantur,  
 Psallentes pariter quisque canore suo.  
 Sicque micat facies juvenum tam in his quam in illis,  
 Fiat ut extaticus intime respiciens.  
 Nam puerilis ætas juvenum sexus utriusque  
 Extat ut est major sedibus inferior.  
 Supra sedebat eos juvenis, quasi sit Deus ipse,  
 Lux radiosa sibi solis ad instar inest.  
 Flammigerum vultum gerit hic, niveas quoque vestes,  
 Supra hierarchias cœlicas ille sedet.  
 Organa pulsat ibi, mentem rapit hæc melodia,  
 Vocibus angelicis dum canit ille chorus.  
 Hinc decor, hinc dulcor oculos recreatur et aures,  
 Singula cernentes obstupere simul.  
 Quot putas hic musas, quot et instrumenta canora,  
 Quam quoque multimodum hic genus organicum!  
 Fistula, cistula, tibia, timpana, cum monacordo,  
 Organa, psalteria, cimbala, cumque lyra.  
 Zambuca, citharæ, situlæque, tubæque, viellæ,  
 Buccina cum nablis, simphonicisque choris.  
 Singula scripturo deerit mihi sensus et hora,  
 Plurima namque mihi sustulit ipse stupor.

*Hic intravit rex monasterium sancti Pauli, equis  
 relictis.*

Rex reginaque mox post hæc pedites adierunt  
 Sacra monasterii tunc visitare loca.  
 Occurrunt pariter primas et episcopus urbis,  
 Obviat et clerus illius ecclesiæ.  
 Concomitatur eos in cultu pontificali  
 Ad Erkenwaldi sancta sepulchra simul.  
 Quippe Deo precibus sanctoque datis venerato,  
 Concito scandit equum, qui fuit ante pedes.  
 Est plus adhuc, transitur abhinc, in Lud quoque porta  
 Consimilis cultus stat, similisque nitor.

Ad fluvii pontem nimium bene culta refulgent  
 Agmina spirituum, hi quoque dulce canunt.  
 Hi dant incensum, hi psallunt, hi quoque salutant,  
 Floribus hi sternunt singula subter eos.

*De deserto et Johanne Baptista ad barram Templi.*

359 Ast ubi perventum fuit ad barram cito Templi,  
 Silva super portæ tecta locata fuit.  
 Hæc quasi desertum tenuit genus omne ferarum,  
 Mixtum reptilibus, vermibus et variis.  
 Sunt ibi spineta, sunt dumi, suntque rubeta,  
 Fraxinus et corulus, quercus et alta pirus.  
 Prunus, acer, populus, populus quoque, tilia, fagus,  
 Ulmus, lentiscus, palma, salix tremulus.  
 Hic lupus, hic leo, pardus, et ursus, et hic monacornus,  
 Hic elephas, castor, simia, tigris, aper.  
 Hic onager, cervus celer, hic panteraque, dama,  
 Hic vulpes foetens, taxus, ibique lepus.  
 Currunt, discurrunt, pugnant, mordent, saliuntque,  
 Ut solet ad vastum bestia sæva nemus.  
 Astitit his medius sanctus Baptista Johannes,  
 Indicat hic digito, agnus et ecce Dei!  
 Inspicit attente rex hunc, quia quem notat iste,  
 Illius ut meminit mitior inde fuit.  
 Nam quia devotus colit hunc constanter, eidem  
 Præ reliquis sanctis porrigit ipse preces.  
 Hujus ad intuitum, si quid sibi manserat iræ,  
 380 Extitit extinctum protinus usque nihil.

*Hic datur regi et reginæ duæ tabulæ pretiosæ cum  
 imaginibus.*

Angelus a tecto descendens mox satis alto,  
 Splendida dona nimis fert in utraque manu.  
 \* Sunt etenim tabulæ sacris altaribus aptæ,  
 Quas nequit inspiciens immemor esse Dei.

Inde crucifixi Christi stat sculpta figura,  
 Discipuli flentis, matris et extaticæ.  
 Sculptur hic et uterque latro velut in cruce pendens ;  
 Ut Deus est passus, tota patet series.  
 Quod minus extat in his, quod vilius hoc fuit aurum,  
 Multimodis gemmis pingitur istud opus.  
 Non fuerant visæ tabulæ prius orbis in amplo,  
 Quæ deceant velut hæc tam bene sceptrigeram.  
 Sumit ab angelicis manibus tabulas modo dictas  
 Custos, sicque sua publice verba refert.

*De verbis custodis ad regem in dando tabulas.*

- “ Salve, pater populi, rex, dux, princeps, modo salve,  
 “ Salvete et omnipotens vos Deus, alma salus !  
 “ Quam fuit hæc præclara dies his civibus, in qua  
 “ Constituit regem vos Deus esse suum !  
 “ Prole patrissante Ricardi, quod fuit ante  
 “ Nomen, adhuc repetit quicquid honoris erat.  
 “ Regibus ergo probis patribusque bonis bona proles  
 “ Successura fuit, sors dedit ut decuit.  
 “ Nobilitas generis, virtus proba, formaque pulchra,  
 “ Gratia, prosperitas, ingeniumque sagax.  
 “ Quæque decent regem persona simul capit una,  
 “ Una proculdubio non nisi vestra scio.  
 “ Sed super hæc pietas, compassio veraque cordis,  
 “ Dignificans animum, vos probat esse probum.  
 “ Spes etenim populi potior fit, et ad pietatem  
 “ Qua datur his venia, regis et ira cadit.  
 “ Significant satis hoc tabulæ quas cernitis istæ,  
 “ Quas regi pia plebs obtulit ecce pio.  
 “ Orat ut inspiciat has rex cum tangitur ira,  
 “ Mortis et ut Christi mox vellet esse memor.  
 “ Pareat et ignaris, veluti rex cœlicus ille  
 “ Hostibus indulgens semper inultus erat.  
 “ Principis est, potuisse suas extendere vires  
 “ In tantum externos quos oderit populos.



- " Rex et apum caret omnis acu, tamen extat eo plus  
 " Sponte tinendus ab his quos ferit ipse nihil.  
 " Sumat et hinc vestra manus hoc modicum modo  
 " munus,  
 " In signum pacis quam rogat hic populus."

*Hic tetigit rex tabulas aureas sibi datas.*

- Extendendo manum rex tunc sacra munera tangens,  
 " Pax," ait, " huic urbi, civibus atque meis ;  
 " Intuitu Christi, matrisque suæ generosæ,  
 " Baptistæque Johannis mihi præcipui,  
 " Neenon sanctorum quorum modo cerno figuras,  
 " Sponte remitto meæ crimina cuncta plebis.  
 " Sed veniatis," ait " ad nostra palatia cuncti,  
 " Plenis enim finis pax quoque fiet ibi."

*Hic dantur tabulae dominæ reginæ, ejusdem figuræ.*

- Rex transit, regina venit, conformia custos  
 Munera præsentans, intulit ista sibi :  
 " Inclita Cæsareo soboles propagata parente,  
 " Quam decor et forma nobilitant nimium,  
 " Matris Christiferæ nomen sortita Mariæ,  
 " Quod titulis Anna gratia sonat idem.  
 " Non decet hunc titulum vacuum fore, num gerit illum  
 " Gratia quæ populis nunc valet esse suis.  
 " Vos ideo meminisse decet, pia dux dominarum,  
 " Sanguinis et generis, nominis et proprii.  
 " Grata loqui pro gente sua regina valebit,  
 " Quod vir non audet, sola potest mulier.  
 " Hester ut Assueri trepidans stetit ante tribunal,  
 " Irritat dicta quæ prius ipse tulit.  
 " Nec dubium quin ob hoc vos omnipotens dedit hujus  
 " Participem regni, sitis ut Hester ei.  
 " Propterea petit urbs vestrum prostrata benignum  
 " Auxilium, in quo plus habet ipsa spei.

“ Donat et has vobis tabulas altaribus aptas,  
 “ Ut stent ante Deum, vos tamen ante virum.  
 “ Cernitis has quotiens, totiens meminisse velitis  
 “ Urbis, et efficere rex sit amicus ei.”  
 Illa refert grates nimias pro munere tanto :  
 “ In me, si quid erit, perficietur,” ait.

*Hic progreditur rex versus Westmonasterium, et  
 cives sequuntur.*

Itur abhinc, cunctis equitantibus ordine pulchro,  
 Westque monasterium, rege jubente, petunt.  
 Quis fuit ornatus, aulæ quis cultus ibidem,  
 Scribere difficile, nec reserare leve.  
 Nam ea textrili fuit arte domus cooperta,  
 Jam prius insolita, quod stupet intuitus.  
 Summa tenet summi thronus regis loca scamni,  
 Aurea tegmina quem splendida sola tegunt.  
 Sceptryger hoc nitidum scandit rex ecce tribunal,  
 Circumstant proceres, moxque silere jubent.

*Quomodo regina corruii ante regem pro civibus.*

465 Ingreditur regina suis comitata puellis,  
 Pronaque regales corruii ante pedes.  
 Erigitur, mandante viro, “ Quid,” ait, “ petis, Anna,  
 “ Exprime, de votis expediere tuis.”

*Supplicatio reginæ pro eisdem civibus.*

“ Dulcis,” ait, “ mi rex, mihi vir, mihi vis, mihi vita,  
 “ Dulcis amor, sine quo vivere fit mihi mors.  
 “ Regibus in cunctis similem quis possidet urbem,  
 “ Quæ velut hæc hodie magnificaret eum?  
 “ Quis cultus! quis honor! qui sumptus! munera quanta  
 “ Sunt impensa modo, rex venerande, tibi!

- " Nos quoque mortales, et ut hi velut umbra caduci,  
 " Simus in his mortis absit ut immemores.  
 " Quo majorem sumit honorem quisquis, eo plus  
 " Est humilis et erit, si sapiens fuerit.  
 " Hinc, mi rex, mi dulcis amor, memor esse velitis,  
 " Supplico prostrata, quid modo contigerit.  
 " Tempora post Bruti regumque peracta priorum,  
 " Quamvis et Arthurus annumeretur eis,  
 " Non fuerat cuiquam regi datus hic morituro  
 " Tantus honor quantum contulit ista dies.  
 " Major enim si facta foret reverentia regi,  
 " Tangeret injuria publica forte Deum.  
 " Hinc super hos cives, super urbem sic reverentem  
 " Tam vos quam vestros, intime condoleo ;  
 " Et rogo constanter per eum quem fertis amorem  
 " Ad me, condignum si quid amore gero,  
 " Parcere dignemini plebibus, qui tanta dedere  
 " Munera tam prompte nobis ad obsequia.  
 " Et placeat veteri nunc urbem reddere juri,  
 " Ac libertates restituisse suas."

*Responsio domini regis ad reginam.*

- " Sumo placenter," ait tunc rex, " carissima conjux,  
 " Quæque petita modo, nec nego quod rogitas.  
 " Consessura mecum scandas dulcissima thronum,  
 " Namque loquar populo paucula verba meo."  
 Sedibus ut teneros regina sedens locat artus,  
 Rege loquente, duces, plebs quoque tota silet.

*Hic alloquitur rex cives, et reddit libertates.*

- " Vos," ait, " o cives, vos regia gens specialis,  
 " Nostri quos aliis plus refovere patres.  
 " Vobis in hoc regno nullos fore liberiores  
 " Constat, et extollit vos favor hic nimium.

- " Propter opes nimias, magnos quoque propter honores,  
 " Degenerasse potest urbs mea forte modo.  
 " Nunc ubi sunt justæ leges, ubi rectaque jura,  
 " Quo timor in dominos, quo modo fugit amor?  
 " Quo bona nunc pietas, inopum protectio grata,  
 " Quo socialis amor omnis abhinc periit?  
 " Quippe potest tantæ fieri modo causa ruinæ,  
 " Quæ generat fastum tam bona prosperitas.  
 " Quod ego si scirem, sciat urbs hæc, nam bene sciret,  
 " Urbibus in reliquis non foret ista prior.  
 " Antiquus tamen ille favor, quem pristina regum  
 " Approbat auctoritas, non minuetur adhuc.  
 " Sentit enim vestrum mea mens per signa timorem,  
 " Vos quoque spero per hoc ad meliora trahi.  
 " Sumptus enim video vestros, data munera penso,  
 " Conjugis atque meæ pondero valde preces.  
 " Vos ideoque cavete deinceps principis iras,  
 " Contemptu procures non habetote meos.  
 " Antiquam servate fidem, nova dogmata semper  
 " Spernite, quæ veteres non didicere patres.  
 " Ecclesiam quoque catholicam defendite totam,  
 " Non habet illa gradum, quin colat ipse Deum.  
 " Judicibus vestris insit timor omnipotentis,  
 " Pauperis in causam fraus mala ne veniat.  
 " Sic et in urbe mea bona pax, contentio nulla,  
 " Nec conventiculum fœderis insoliti.  
 " Si nostras etenim rumor penetraverit aures  
 " Obvius his monitis, urbs luet, haud dubium.  
 " Sed modo suscipite claves, gladium quoque vestrum,  
 " Legibus antiquis hanc regitote plebem.  
 " Antea quod licuit, liceat modo, dum tamen æquum  
 " Extiterit, solitum non variando modum.  
 " Præmineat major electus, qui regat urbem,  
 " Regis et ut solito suppleat ille vices.  
 " Vos quoque felices dulci jam pace potiti,  
 " Pergite gaudentes ad loca quisque sua."

*Congratulatio civium pro restitutione libertatum, et  
recessus eorum.*

Gaudet ad hæc turba, prostrata ruit, jacet humo,  
Acclamat laudes vocibus altisonis.  
“ Vivat rex ! vivat semper ! vivat ! bene vivat !  
“ Longa sit in regno sospite vita suo !  
“ Sint sibi felices anni, mensesque, diesque,  
“ Floreat et victis hostibus ipse suis ! ”  
Dumque strepunt abeunt, redeunt, regem benedicunt ;  
Exitus est operi terminus iste rei.

ON THE TRUCE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE,  
1394.<sup>1</sup>

By Eustache Deschamps.

Antre Beuraym<sup>2</sup> et le parc de Hedin,  
Ou moys d'Aoust, qu'on soye les fromens,  
M'en aloye jouer par un matin ;  
Si vi bergiers et bergieres aux champs,  
Qui tenoient là leurs parliers moult grans,

[TRANSLATION.]

Between Beurain and the park of Hédin,—in the month of August, when they reap the wheat,—I went to seek recreation one morning ;—and I saw shepherds and shepherdesses in the fields,—who held there great talk,—

<sup>1</sup> This short “ balade ” is by the French poet Eustache Deschamps, the friend and admirer of our own poet Chaucer. It is here printed from a manuscript in the Imperial Library in Paris, No. 7219, fol. 113, v<sup>o</sup>.

It is interesting as showing the general feeling in France at this time with regard to the occupation of Calais by the English.

<sup>2</sup> Beurain, a small town near Hédin in Artois.



Tant que Bochiers dist à Margot la broingne,  
 Que l'en aloit au traittié à Bouloigne,  
 Et que François et Anglois feront paix.  
 Elle respont : " Foy que doy Magueloigne,  
 " Paix n'arez jà s'ilz ne rendent Calays."

Lors vint avant Berthelot du Jardin,  
 Qui respondit : " La paix suis desirans ;  
 " Car je n'ose descouchier le matin,  
 " Pour les Anglois qui nous sont destruisans ;  
 " Mais dire oy, il a passé dix ans,  
 " Qu'à leur dessoulz quierent toudis aloingne  
 " Pour mettre sus leur fait et leur besoinne,  
 " Et puis courent le regne à grans eslays ;  
 " Maint l'ont veu, et pour ce je tesmoigne,  
 " Paix n'arez jà s'ilz ne rendent Calays."

Après parla par grant courroux Robin  
 A Berthelot, et lui dist : " Tu te mens,  
 " Car les François et les Anglois enfin  
 " Veulent la paix, il en est dès or temps ;  
 " Trop a duré la guerre et li contens,

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till Bochiers said to Margot the stout,—that people were going to the treaty at Boulogne,—and that French and English will make peace.—She replied : " By the faith I owe the Magdalene,—you will never have peace unless they restore Calais."

Then came forward Berthelot of the Garden,—who replied : " Of the peace I am desirous ;—for I dare not rise from bed in a morning,—for the English who go about destroying us ;—but I have heard say, ten years ago,—that underneath they seek always delay—to cover what they do and want,—and then overrun the kingdom with great rapidity ;—many have seen it, and therefore I bear witness, —you will never have peace unless they restore Calais."

Next spoke in great rage Robin—to Berthelot, and said to him : " Thou liest,—for the French and the English at length—will have peace, it is high time for it ;—too long has lasted the war and contention,—nor do I see any one

“ Ne je ne voy nul qui ne la ressoingne.”  
 “ Certes tout ce ne vault une escaloingne,”  
 Ce lui respont Henris li contrefais :  
 “ Encor faultra chascun [prengne] sa broingne ;  
 “ Paix n’arez jà s’ilz ne rendent Calays.  
  
 “ Car l’autre jour oy maistre Martin,  
 “ Qui racontoit le roy est mendre d’ans,  
 “ Et qu’il estoit une loy en Latin  
 “ Qui deffendoit rien vendre des enfans.  
 “ En Guyenne sont deux mille et cinq cens  
 “ Villes, chasteauls, qu’Angleis veulent qu’on doingne,  
 “ Et grant tas d’or, et que le roy esloigne  
 “ De roy en duc l’ommaige qui est fais.”  
 “ Qui fera ce ? ” respon sote Caroingne ;  
 “ Paix n’arez jà s’ilz ne rendent Calays.”

Guichars li bruns, qui fu nez à Seclin,  
 Dist que cilz faiz est doubteux et pesans ;  
 Voire, et qu’Englès y pensent mal engin  
 De retenir ce port, qui est constans.  
 “ Se ce ne fust, bien le fussent rendans ;

“ who does not fear it.”—“ Truly all that is not worth an  
 “ onion,”—replied Henri the deformed ;—“ every one will  
 “ still have to take his cuirass ;—you will never have peace  
 “ unless they restore Calais.

“ For the other day I heard master Martin,—who related  
 “ that the king is a minor,—and that there was a law in  
 “ Latin—which prohibited the selling of any property of  
 “ children.—In Guienne there are two thousand and five  
 “ hundred—towns and castles, which the English will have  
 “ given to them,—and a great heap of gold, and that the  
 “ king alienate—from king to duke the homage which is  
 “ made.”—“ Who will do that,” replied fool Caroigne ;—  
 “ you will never have peace unless they restore Calais.”

Guichard the brown, who was born at Seclin,—said that  
 this fact is doubtful and grave ;—it is true that the English  
 have an ill design in their thoughts—to retain this port,  
 which is constant.—“ If this were not the case, they would

“ Mais ils pensent barat, guerre, et alloingne  
 “ Faire au derrain. Ne le duc de Bourgoingne  
 “ Et de Berry ne feroient jamais  
 “ Tel paix à eux. Qui voudra si me perdoingne ;  
 “ Paix n’arez jà s’ilz ne rendent Calays.”

*Envoy.*

Princes, là fu Bertrisons, et Hersans,  
 Et Alizons, qui moult orent de sens ;  
 Et jugierent, quand li parlers fu fait,  
 Que telle paix seroit orde et meschans ;  
 Et conclurent aux bergiers eulx disans :  
 “ Paix n’arez jà s’ilz ne rendent Calays.”

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“ surely restore it ;—but they think only strife, war, and  
 “ delay—to make it last. Nor will the duke of Burgundy—  
 “ or [the duke] of Berri ever make—such a peace with  
 “ them. Who will, let him pardon me ;—you will not have  
 “ peace unless they restore Calais.”

*Envoy.*—Princes, there was Bertrison, and Hersant,—  
 and Alison, who had much sense ;—and judged, when the  
 talk was ended,—that such a peace would be disgraceful  
 and injurious ;—and concluded with the shepherds by  
 saying to them :—“ You will not have peace unless you  
 “ restore Calais.”

THE COMPLAINT OF THE PLOUGHMAN.<sup>1</sup>

A sterne strife is stirred newe,  
 In many steedes in a stound,  
 Of sundry seeds that ben sewe,  
 It seemeth that some been unsound.  
 For some be great growne on ground,  
 Some been soukle, simple, and small;  
 Whether of hem is falser found,  
 The falser foule mote him befall.

<sup>1</sup> This poem seems to have created considerable interest in the sixteenth century, when it was foisted into the black-letter folio editions of Chaucer as one of the Canterbury Tales, under the title of the Plowman's Tale. Speght, in inserting it in his edition, says, "I have seene it in written hand in John Stowes librarie in a booke of such anti-quitie as seemeth to have been written neare to Chaucers time." Unfortunately no manuscript of it appears now to exist, but internal evidence is in favour of its belonging to the latter part of the reign of Richard II. The writer, in the character of course of the ploughman, refers to another work for his opinion of the friars:—

"Of freres I have told before  
 "In a making of a crede."

There can be no doubt that this refers to the well-known satire entitled *Piers Ploughman's Crede*, and it implies that the present poem was written soon after the publication of

that work, and when it was in vogue among the party of reform. The allusions in *Piers Ploughman's Crede*, especially that to the proceedings against Walter Brut, which took place in 1391, would lead us to fix the date of it to the end of that year, or more probably to the year following, and I have ventured to suppose that this complaint of the ploughman was written as early as 1393 or 1394. We appear to have no better text than the printed editions of the sixteenth century, which are of no value in a philological point of view. Todd, in his *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer* (Introduc. p. xxxix.), describes an early separate edition, in a black-letter tract, formerly in the possession of Conybeare, the Anglo-Saxon professor at Oxford, the text of which varied considerably from the one now printed; but I have not been able to ascertain what has become of this book. I have therefore here printed it from the black-letter of Speght.

That one side is, that I of tell,  
Popes, cardinals, and prelates,  
Parsons, monkes, and freres fell,  
Priours, abbots, of great estates ;  
Of heaven and hell they keepe the yates,  
And Peters successours they been all ;  
This is deemed by old dates,  
But falshed foule mote it befall.

The other side ben poore and pale,  
And people put out of prease,  
And seeme caitives sore a-cale,  
And ever in one without encrease ;  
Icleped lollers and londlese ;  
Who toteth on hem, they ben untall,  
They ben araied all for the peace,  
But falshed foule mote it befall.

Meny a countrey have I sought,  
To know the falser of these two ;  
But ever my travaile was for nought,  
All so ferre as I have go.  
But as I wandred in a wro,  
In a wood beside a wall,  
Two foules saw I sitten tho  
The falser foule mote him befall.

That one did plete on the popes side,  
A griffon of a grimme stature ;  
A pellicane withouten pride  
To these lollers laied his lure ;  
He mused his matter in measure,  
To counsaile Christ ever gan he call ;  
The griffon shewed a sharpe fuyre,  
But falshed foule mote it befall.



The pellicane began to preach  
 Both of mercie and of meekenesse ;  
 And saied that Christ so gan us teach,  
 And meeke and merciable gan blesse,  
 The evangely beareth witnesse ;  
 A lambe he likeneth Christ over all,  
 In tokening that he meekest was,  
 Sith`pride was out of heaven fall.

And so should every christened be ;  
 Priestes, Peters successours,  
 Beth lowliche and of low degree,  
 And usen none earthly honours ;  
 Neither croune, ne curious covetours,  
 Ne pillour, ne other proud pall,  
 Ne nought to cofren up great treasours ;  
 For falshed foule mote it befall.

Priestes should for no cattell plede,  
 But chasten hem in charité ;  
 Ne to no battaile should men lede,  
 For inhaunsing of her owne degree ;  
 Nat wilne sittings in high see,  
 Ne soveraignty in hous ne hall ;  
 All wordly worship defie and flee ;  
 For who willeth highnes, foule shal fall.

Alas ! who may such saints call,  
 That wilneth welde earthly honour,  
 As low as Lucifere such shal fall  
 In balefull blackesse to builden her boure ;  
 That eggeth the people to errour,  
 And maketh them to hem thrall ;  
 To Christ I hold such one traitour,  
 As low as Lucifer such one shal fall.

That willeth to be kings peeres,  
And higher than the emperour ;  
And some that were but poore freres,  
Now wollen waxe a warriour.  
God is not her governour,  
That holdeth no man his permagall ;  
While covetisse is her counsailour,  
All such falshed mote need fall.

That high on horse willeth ride  
In glitterande gold of great array,  
Ipainted and portred all in pride,  
No common knight may go so gay ; .  
Chaunge of clothing every day,  
With golden girdles great and small ;  
As boistous as is beare at bay ;  
All such falshed mote need fall.

With pride punisbeth they the poore,  
And some they sustaine with sale ;  
Of holy church make they an hore,  
And filleth her wombe with wine and ale ;  
With money fill they many a male,  
And chaffren churches when they fall,  
And telleth the people a leaud tale ;  
Such false faitours foule hem befall.

With chaunge of many manner meates,  
With song and solas sitting long,  
And filleth her wombe, and fast tretes,  
And from the meat to the gong ;  
And after meat with harpe and song ;  
And each man mote hem lords call ;  
And hote spices ever among ;  
Such false faitours foule hem fall.

And miters mo than one or two,  
Ipearled as the queenes head ;  
A staffe of gold, and perrie, lo,  
As heavie as it were made of lead ;  
With cloth of gold both new and redde,  
With glitterande gold as greene as gall ;  
By dome they damne man to dedde ;  
All such faitours foule hem fall.

And Christs people proudly curse,  
Withe broad boke, and braying bell ;  
To put pennies in her purse,  
They wol sell both heaven and hell.  
And in her sentence and thou wilt dwell,  
They willen gesse in her gay hall,  
And thou the sooth of hem will tell,  
In great cursing shalt thou fall.

That is blessed, that they blesse,  
And cursed that they curse woll ;  
And thus the people they oppresse,  
And have their lordships at full.  
And many be marchaunts of wull,  
And to purse pennies woll come thrall ;  
The poore people they all to-pull ;  
Such false faitours foule hem fall.

Lords also mote to hem loute,  
Obeysaunt to her brode blessing.  
They riden with her royall route  
On a courser, as it were a king ;  
With saddle of gold glittering,  
With curious harneis quaintly crallit,  
Stirrops gay of gold mastling ;  
All such falshed foul befall it.

Christes ministers clepen they beene,  
And rulen all in robberie;  
But Antichrist they serven clene,  
Attired all in tyrannie.  
Witnesse of Johns prophecie,  
That Antichrist is her admirall;  
Tiffelers attired in trecherie;  
All such faitous foule hem fall.

Who saith that some of hem may sinne,  
He shall be dome to be ded:  
Some of hem woll gladly winne,  
All ayenst that which God forbed.  
All holiest they clepen her head,  
That of her rule is regall:  
Alas! that ever they eaten bread,  
For all such falshed wol foule fall.

Her head loveth all honour,  
And to be worshipped in word and dede;  
Kings mote to hem kneele and coure,  
To the apostles that Christ forbede.  
To popes hestes such taketh more hede,  
Than to keepe Christs commaundement.  
Of gold and silver mote been her wede,  
They holdeth him hole omnipotent.

He ordaineth by his ordinaunce  
To parish priestes a powere;  
To another a greater avaunce,  
A greater point to his mistere.  
Bot for he is highest in earth here,  
To him reserves he many a point;  
But to Christ, that hath no pere,  
Reserves he neither opin ne joint.

So seemeth he above all,  
And Christ above him no thing ;  
When he sitteth in his stall,  
He damneth and saveth as him thinke.  
Such pride tofore God stinke ;  
An angell bad John to him knele,  
But onely to God doe his bowing ;  
Such willers of worship must need evil feele.

They ne clepen Christ but *sanctus Deus*,  
And clepen her head *sanctissimus* ;  
They that such a sect sewis,  
I trowe they taken hem amisse ;  
In earth here they have her blisse ;  
Her high maister is Beliall ;  
Christes people from hem wisse,  
For all such false will foule fall.

They mowe both binde and lose,  
And all is for her holy life ;  
To save or damne they mow chose,  
Betweene hem now is great strife.  
Many a man is killed with knife,  
To wete which of hem have lordship shall ;  
For such Christ suffred wounds five  
For all such falshed will foule fall.

Christ said, *qui gladio percutit*,  
With swerd surely he shall die ;  
He bad his priests peace and grith,  
And bad hem not drede for to die.  
And bad them be both simple and slie,  
And carke not for no cattell,  
And trusteth on God that sitteth on hie,  
For all false shall full foule fall.



These wollen make men to swere  
Ayenst Christes commaundement ;  
And Christes members all to-tere,  
On rood as he were new yrent.  
Such lawes they maken by common assent,  
Each one it throweth as a ball ;  
Thus the poore be fully shent,  
But ever falshed foule it befall.

[ They usen no simonie,  
But sellen churches and priories ;  
Ne they usen no envie,  
But cursen all hem contraries,  
And hireth men by daies and yeares,  
With strength to hold hem in her stall ;  
And culleth all her adversaries ;  
Therefore falshed foule thou fall.

With purse they purchase personage ;  
With purse they paynen hem to plede ;  
And men of warre they woll wage  
To bring her enemies to the dede ;  
And lords lives they woll lede,  
And much take, and give but small.  
But he it so get, from it shall shede,  
And make such false right foule fall.

They halow no thing but for hire,  
Church, ne font, ne vestement ;  
And make orders in everie shire,  
But priestes pay for the parchement.  
Of riotours they taken rent,  
Therewith they smere the shepes skall ;  
For many churches ben oft suspent,  
And all such falshed foule it fall.

Some liveth not in lecherie,  
 But haunt wenches, widowes, and wives,  
 And punisheth the poore for putrec;  
 Them selfe it useth all their lives.  
 And but a man to them him shrives,  
 To heven come he never shall;  
 He shall be cursed as be caitives;  
 To hell they saine that he shall fall.

There was more mercy in Maximien,  
 And in Nero, that never was good,  
 Than is now in some of them,  
 When he hath on his furred hood.  
 They follow Christ that shed his blood  
 To heaven, as buckette into the wall.  
 Such wretches ben worse than wood,  
 And all such faitours foule hem fall.

They give her almes to the riche,  
 To mainteynours, and men of lawe;  
 For to lords they woll be liche,  
 An harlots sonne not worth an hawe.  
 Sothfastnesse all such han slawe;  
 They kembe her crokettes with christall;  
 And drede of God they have doune drawe;  
 Al such faitours foule hem fall.

They maken parsons for the pennie,  
 And canons, and her cardinals;  
 Unnethes amonges hem all is any,  
 That he ne hath glosed the gospell fals.  
 For Christ made never no cathedrals,  
 Ne with him was no cardinall,  
 With a redde hatte, as usen minstrals;  
 But falshed foule mote it befall.

Their tithing, and her offering both,  
They clemeth it by possession ;  
Thereof nil they none forgo,  
But robben men as raunsome.  
The tithing of *turpe lucrum*  
With these massters is urniall ;<sup>1</sup>  
Tithing of brybry and larsen  
Will make falshood full foule to fall.

They taken to ferme her sompnours,  
To harme the people what they may ;  
To pardoners and false faitours  
Sell her seales, I dare well say ;  
And al to holden great araie,  
To multiply hem more metall ;  
They drede full little domes-day,  
When all such falshed shal foule fall.

Such harlottes shul men disclaunder,  
For they shullen make hem gree ;  
And ben as proude as Alexander,  
And saine to the poore, "Woe be ye!"  
By yere eche priest shal pay his fee,  
To encrease his lemmans call ;  
Such heerdes shul wel ivel thee,  
And al such false shul foule fall.

And if a man be falsely famed,  
And wol make purgatioun,  
Than woll the officers be agramed,  
And assigne him fro toune to toun.  
So need he must pay raunsome,  
Though he be clene as is christall ;  
And then have an absolution ;  
But al such false shull foule fall.

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<sup>1</sup> So in Speght; *meynall*, in the earlier edition.

Though he be gilty of the dede,  
 And that he may money paie,  
 Al the while his purse wol blede,  
 He may use it fro day to day.  
 The bishops officers gone ful gay,  
 And this game they usen over al;  
 The poore to pill is all their pray;  
 Al such false shul foule fal.

Alas! God ordained never such lawe,  
 Ne no such craft of covetise:  
 He forbad it by his sawe,  
 Such governours mowen of God agrise.  
 For al his rules is rightwise;  
 These new points ben papall;  
 And all Gods lawe they dispise;  
 All such faitours shul foule fall.

They saine that Peter had the key  
 Of heven and hel, to have and hold.  
 I trowe Peter tooke no money  
 For no sinnes that he sold.  
 Such successours ben to bold,  
 In winning al their wit they wral;  
 Her conscience is waxen cold;  
 And al such faitours foule hem fal.

Peter was never so great a fole  
 To leave his key with such a lorell,  
 Or take such cursed soch a tole,  
 He was advised no thing well.  
 I trowe they have the key of hell;  
 Their master is of that place marshall;  
 For there they dresen hem to dwel,  
 And with false Lucifer there to fall.

They been as proud as Lucifarre,  
As angry, and as envious;  
From good fayth they been full farre,  
In covetise they been curious;  
To catch cattle as covetous  
As hound that for hunger woll yall;  
Ungodly and ungracious;  
And needly such falshed shall foule fall.

The pope, and he were Peters heire,  
Me thinke he erreth in this case,  
When chose of bishops is in dispaire  
To chosen hem in divers place.  
A lord shall write to him for grace,  
For his clerke anone pray he shall;  
So shall he speed his purchase;  
And all such false foule hem fall.

Though he can doe no good,  
A lords praier shall be sped;  
Though he be wild of will or wood,  
Not understanding what men han red,  
A leud boster, and that God forbed,  
As good a bishop is my horse Ball;  
Such a pope is foule bested,  
And at last he woll foule fall.

He maketh bishops for earthly thanke,  
And no thing at all for Christs sake;  
Such that been full fat and ranke,  
To soule-heale none heed they take.  
All is well done whatever they make,  
They shall answer at ones for all;  
For worlds thanke such worch and wake,  
And all such false shall foule fall.



Such that cannot say her crede,  
With praier shull be made prelates ;  
Nother can the gospell rede,  
Such shull now weld high estates.  
The high Gods friendship hem makes ;  
They toteth on her summe totall ;  
Such bere the keyes of hell yates ;  
And such false shal foule fall.

They forsake, for Christs love,  
Travaile, hunger, thirst, and cold ;  
For they ben ordred over all above,  
Out of youth till they ben old.  
By the dore they goe not into the fold,  
To helpe their sheep they nought travall ;  
Hired men all such I hold,  
And all such false foule hem fall.

For Christ our king they woll forsake,  
And know him nought for his poverté.  
For Christs love they wol wake,  
And drinke piement and ale aparte.  
Of God they seeme no thing aferd,  
As lusty liveth as did Lamual ;  
And driven her sheepe into desert ;  
All such faitours shul foule fal.

Christ hath xij. apostles here ;  
Now say they, there may be but one,  
That may not erre in no manere ;  
Who leveth not this ben lost echone.  
Peter erred, so did not Jhon ;  
Why is he cleped the principall ?  
Christ cleped him Peter, but himselfe the stone ;  
All false faitours foule hem fall.

Why cursen they the croisery  
Christes christen creatures?  
For betweene hem is now envy,  
To be enhanssed in honours.  
And christen livers with her labours,  
For they levin on no man mortal,  
Been do to death with dishonours;  
And al such false foule hem fal.

What knoweth a tillour at the plow  
The popes name and what he hate?  
His crede suffiseth to him inow,  
And knoweth a cardinall by his hatte.  
Thus is the poore unrightly latte,  
That knoweth Christ his God royal;  
Such matters be no worth a gnatte;  
But such false faitours foule hem fal.

A king shall kneele and kisse his show;  
Christ suffered a sinful to kisse his fete.  
Me thinketh he holdeth him high ynow;  
So Lucifer did, that high set.  
Such one me thinketh himselfe foryet,  
Either to the trouth he was not cal;  
Christ, that suffered wounds wete,  
Shal make such falshed foule fal.

They laieth out her large nettes,  
For to take silver and gold;  
Fillen coffers, and sakes fettes,  
There as they soules catch shold.  
Her servants be to them unhold,  
But they can doublin their rentall,  
To bigge hem castles, and bigge hem hold;  
And all such false foule hem fall.

*Here endeth the first part of this tale, and hereafter  
followeth the second.*

To accorde with this worde fall,  
No more English can I finde;  
Shewe another nowe I shall,  
For I have much to say behinde;  
How priests han the people pinde,  
As curteis Christ hath me kende,  
And put this matter in my minde,  
To make these manner men amend.

Shortly to shend hem and shew now  
How wrongfully they werch and walke;  
O high God! nothing they tell, ne how,  
But in Gods word tilleth many a balke;  
In hernes hold hem and in halke,  
And preachen of tithes and offrend,  
And untruly of the gospel talke.  
For his mercy God it amend.

What is Antichrist to say,  
But even Christs adversarie?  
Such hath now ben many a day,  
To Christs bidding ful contrarie,  
That from the truth cleane varry,  
Out of the way they ben wend,  
And Christs people untruly carry;  
God for his pitie amend.

They liven contrary to Christs life,  
In high pride against meekenesse;  
Against suffraunce they usen strife,  
And anger ayenst sobernesse;  
Against wisdom wilfulnesse;  
To Christs tales little tend;  
Against measure outrageousnesse;  
But when God wol, it may amend.

Lordly life ayenst lowlinesse,  
And demin al without mercie ;  
And covetise ayenst largesse,  
Against treweth trecherie ;  
And against almesse envie ;  
Against Christ they comprehend,  
For chastitie they maintaine lecherie ;  
God for his grace this amend !

Against pennaunce they use delights ;  
Against suffraunce strong defence ;  
Ayenst God they usen evil rights ;  
Ayenst pitie punishments ;  
Open evil ayenst continence ;  
Her wicked winning they worse dispend ;  
Sobernesse they sette into dispense ;  
But God for his goodnesse it amend !

Why cleimen they wholly his powere,  
And wranglen ayenst al his hests ?  
His living folow they no thing here,  
But liven worse than witlesse beests.  
Of fish and flesh they loven feests,  
As lords they ben brode ykende ;  
Of Gods poore they haten gests.  
God for his mercy this amend !

With Dives such shal have her dome,  
That saine that they be Christes friendes,  
And do no thing as they should done ;  
All such been falsen than ben fiendes.  
On the people they ley such bendes,  
As God is in earth they han offend.  
Succour fro such Christ now send us,  
And for his mercy this amend !

A token of Antichrist they be,  
His careckes ben now wide iknow.  
Received to preach shal no man be,  
Without token of him, I trow.  
Ech christen priest to preachen owe ;  
From God above they ben send,  
Gods word to al folke for to show,  
Sinful man for to amend.

Christ sent the poore for to preach,  
The royall rich he did not so ;  
Now dare no poore the people teach,  
For Antichrist is. over all her foe.  
Among the people he mote go,  
He hath bidden all such suspend ;  
Some hath he hent, and thinketh yet mo ;  
But al this God may well amend.

All they that han the world forsake,  
And liven lowly, as God bad,  
Into her prison shullen be take,  
Betin and bounden, and forth lad.  
Hereof I rede no man be drad,  
Christ said, his should be shend ;  
Ech man ought hereof be glad,  
For God ful wel it wol amend.

They take on hem royall powere,  
And say they have swerds two,  
One curse to hel, one slee men here ;  
For at his taking Christ had no mo.  
Yet Peter had one of tho ;  
But Christ, to Peter smite gan defend,  
And into the sheath bad put it tho ;  
And all such mischeves God amend.



Christ bad Peter keepe his sheepe,  
And with his sword forbade him smite;  
Swerd is no toole with sheepe to keepe,  
But to shepheards that sheepe wol bite.  
Me thinketh such shepheards ben to wite,  
Ayen her sheepe with swerd that contend;  
They drive her sheepe with great despite;  
But all this God may well amend.

So successours to Peter be they nought,  
Whom Christ made cheefe-pasture.  
A swerd no shepheard usen ought,  
But he would slea, as a butchoure.  
For who so were Peters successoure,  
Should bere his shepe til his backe bend,  
And shaddow hem from every shoure;  
And al this God may well amend.

Successours to Peter ben these  
In that, that Peter Christ forsooke,  
That had lever the love of God lese,  
Than a shepheard had to lese his hooke.  
He culleth the sheepe as doth the cooke,  
Of hem seeken the wool to rend,  
And falsely glose the gospell booke;  
God for his mercy them amend!

After Christ had take Peter the kay,  
Christ said, he must die for man;  
That Peter to Christ gan withsay,  
Christ bad him go behind Sathan.  
Such counsailours many of these men han,  
For worlds wele, God to offend.  
Peters successours they ben for than;  
But al such God may wel amend.

For Sathan is to say no more  
 But he that contrary to Christ is  
 In this they learne Peters lore,  
 They sewen him when he did misse.  
 They follow Peter, forsooth, in this,  
 In al that Christ would Peter reprehend;  
 But not in that that longeth to heven blisse.  
 God for his mercy hem amend.

Some of the apostles they sewen in case  
 Of ought that I can understand,  
 Him that betrayed Christ, Judas,  
 That bare the purse in every lond;  
 And al that he might set on hond,  
 He hidde and stale, and mispend;  
 His rule these traitors han in hond;  
 Almightte God, hem all amend!

And at the last his Lord gan tray,  
 Cursedly, through his false covetise;  
 So would these traine him for money,  
 And they wisten in what wise.  
 They be seker of the selfe ensise,  
 From all soothnesse they ben friend,  
 And covetise chaungen with queintise.  
 Almighty God, all such amend!

Were Christ on earth here eftsoone,  
 These would damne him to die;  
 All his hestes they han fordone,  
 And saine his sawes ben heresie;  
 And ayenst his commaundements they crie,  
 And damne all his to be brend.  
 For it liketh not hem such losengerie;  
 God Almighty hem amend!

These han more might in England here,  
Than hath the king and all his lawe :  
They han purchased hem such powere,  
To taken hem whom list not knawe ;  
And say that heresie is her sawe,  
And so to prison wol hem send ;  
It was not so by elder dawe ;  
God for his mercy it amend !

The kings law wol no man deme  
Angerliche without answeere ;  
But if any man these misqueme,  
He shal be baighteth as a bere ;  
And yet wel worse they wol him tere,  
And in prison woll him pende,  
In gives, and in other gere ;  
When God woll, it may amend.

The king taxeth not his men  
But by assent of the comminalté ;  
But these ech yeare woll raunsome hem  
Maisterfully, more than doth he.  
Her seales by yeare better be  
Than is the kings in extend ;  
Her officers han greater fee ;  
But this mischeefe God amend !

For who so woll prove a testament,  
That is not all worth tenne pound,  
He shall pay for the parchement  
The third of the money all round ;  
Thus the people is raunsound.  
They say such part to hem should apend ;  
There as they gripen, it goeth to ground ;  
God for his mercy it amend !

For a simple fornication  
 Twenty shillings he shall pay ;  
 And then have an absolution,  
 And al the yere usen it forth he may.  
 Thus they letten hem go astray,  
 They recke not though the soule be brend.  
 These keepen evill Peters kay ;  
 And all such shepheards God amend !

Wonder is that the parliament,  
 And all the lords of this lond,  
 Hereto taken so little entent,  
 To helpe the people out of her hond.  
 For they ben harder in their bond,  
 Worse beat and bitter brend,  
 Than to the king is understand.  
 God him helpe this to amend !

What bishops, what religions,  
 Han in this lande as muche lay fee,  
 Lordshippes and possessions  
 More than lordes, it semeth me.  
 That maketh hem lese charité ;  
 They mowe not to God attende,  
 In earth they have so high degré.  
 God for his mercie it amende !

The emperour yafe the pope somtime  
 So high lordeship him about,  
 That at last the silly kime  
 The proude pope put him out.  
 So of this realme is in dout ;  
 But lords beware, and them defende ;  
 For now these folkes be wonders stout ;  
 The king and lordes now this amende !

*Thus endeth the second part of this tale, and hereafter  
 followeth the third.*

Moyseſe lawe forbode it tho,  
That priestes should no lordshippes welde ;  
Christes gospels biddeth also  
That they should no lordshippes helde.  
Ne Christes apostles were never so bold,  
No such lordshippe to hem embrace ;  
But smeren her shepe and kepe her fold ;  
God amend hem for his grace !

For they ne ben but counterfete,  
Man may know hem by her fruite,  
Her greatnesse maketh hem God foryete,  
And take his mekenesse in dispite.  
And they wer pore, and had but lite,  
They nold nat demen after the face,  
But nourish her shepe, and hem not bite.  
God amend hem for his grace !

*Griffon.* What canst thou preach ayenst chanons  
That men clepen seculere ?

*Peli.* They ben curates of many tounes,  
On earth they have great powere ;  
They have great prebendes and dere,  
Some two or three, and some mo ;  
A personage to ben a playing fere,  
And yet they serve the king also.

And let to ferme all that fare,  
To whom that woll most give therefore ;  
Some woll spend, and some woll spare,  
And some woll lay it up in store.  
A cure of soule they care not fore,  
So that they mowe much money take,  
Whether her soules be wonne or lore,  
Her profites they woll not forsake.



They have a gadering procuratour,  
That can the poore people enplede,  
And robben hem as a ravinour,  
And to his lord the money lede;  
And catch of quicke and eke of dede,  
And richen him, and his lord eke;  
And to robbe can give good rede,  
Of olde and yonge, of hole and sicke.

Therewith they purchase hem lay fee,  
In londe there hem liketh best;  
And builde also as brod as a cité,  
Both in the east, and eke in the west.  
To purchase thus they ben full prest,  
But on the poore they woll nought spende,  
Ne no good give to Goddes gest,  
Ne sende him some that all hath sende.

By her service such woll live,  
And trusse that other into treasure;  
Though all her parish die unshrive,  
They woll not give a rose floure.  
Her life should be as a mirrour,  
Both to lered and to leude also;  
And teache the people her lele labour;  
Soche mister men been all misgo.

Some of them been hard nigges;  
And some of hem been proude and gaie;  
Some spende her goodes upon gigges,  
And finden hem of great araic.  
Alas! what thinke these men to saie,  
That thus dispenden Goddes good?  
At the dreadfull domesdaie,  
Soche wrechis shull be worse than wood.

Some her churches never ne sie,  
Ne never o pennie thider ne send;  
Though the poore parishens for hunger die,  
O pennie on hem woll they not spend.  
Have they receiving of the rent,  
They recke never of the remenaunt.  
Alas! the devill hath cleane hem blent,  
Soche one is Sathanas sojournaunt.

And usen horedome and harlottrie,  
Covetise, pompe, and pride,  
Slothe, wrath, and eke envie,  
And sewen sinne by everie side.  
Alas! where thinke such tabide?  
How woll they accomptes yelde?  
From high God they mowe hem not hide;  
Soche willers witte is not worth a nelde.

They ben so rooted in richesces,  
That Christes povert is foryet;  
Served with so many messes,  
Hem thinketh that manna is no meat.  
All is good that they mowen geat;  
They wene to live evermore;  
But when God at dome is seat,  
Soch treasour is a feble store.

Unneth mote they matins saie,  
For counting and court-holding;  
And yet he jangleth as a jaie,  
And understont him selfe no thing.  
He woll serve both erle and king  
For his finding and his fee;  
And hide his tithing and his offering;  
This is a feble charité.

Other they been proude, or covetous ;  
Or they been hard, or hungrie ;  
Or they ben liberall, or lecherous ;  
Or els medlers with marchandry ;  
Or maintainers of men with mastery ;  
Or stewards, countours, or pleadours,  
And serve God in ypocrisie ;  
Soch priests been Christes false traitours.

They been false, they been vengeable,  
And begilen men in Christs name ;  
They been unstedfast and unstable,  
To traie her Lord hem thinketh no shame.  
To serve God they been full lame,  
Gods theeves, and falsely steale,  
And falsely Gods worde defame ;  
In winning is her worldes weale.

Antichrist these serve all.

I praie thee who may say naie ?  
With Antichrist soch shull fall,  
They followen him in deede and faie ;  
They serven him in rich arraie,  
To serve Christ such falsely fain.  
Why, at the dreadfull domes-day  
Shull they not folowe him to pain ?

That knowen hem selfe that they doen ill,  
Ayenst Christes commaundement ;  
And amend hem never ne will,  
But serve Sathan by one assent.  
Who saieth sothe he shall be shent,  
Or speaketh ayenst her false living ;  
Who so well liveth shall be brent ;  
For soche been greater than the king.

Popes, bishops, and cardinals,  
Chanons, parsons, and vicare,  
In Goddes service I trowe been fals,  
That sacraments sellen here ;  
And been as proude as Lucifere ;  
Eche man looke whether that I lie.  
Who so speketh ayenst her powere,  
It shal be holden heresie.

Loke how many orders take  
Onely of Christ, for his service,  
That the worldes goodes forsake.  
Who so taketh orders otherwise,  
I trowe that they shall sore agrise,  
For all the glose that they conne.  
All sewen not this assise,  
In evill time they thus begonne.

Loke how many among hem all  
Holden not this hie waie ;  
With Antichrist they shullen fall,  
For they wullen God betraie.  
God amende them that best maie !  
For many men they maken shende ;  
They weten well the sothe I say,  
But the devill hath foule hem blende.

Some on her churches dwell,  
Apparailled poorely, proude of port ;  
The seven sacraments they doen sell,  
In cattel catching is her comfort.  
Of eche matter they wullen mell,  
To doen hem wrong is her disport ;  
To afraie the people they been fell,  
And hold hem lower than doeth the lord.

For the tithing of a ducke  
 Or of an apple, or an aie,  
 They make man swere upon a boke ;  
 Thus they foulen Christes faie.  
 Soche bearen evill heaven kaie ;  
 They mowen assoile, they mowe shrive  
 With mennes wives strongly plaie,  
 With true tillers sturte and strive

At the wrastling, and at the wake,  
 And chiefe chauntours at the nale ;  
 Market-beaters, and medling make,  
 Hoppen and houten with heve and hale.  
 At faire fresh, and at wine stale ;  
 Dine and drinke, and make debate :  
 The seven sacraments set a saile ;  
 How kepe soche the kaies of heaven gate ?

Mennes wives they wollen hold,  
 And though that they been right sorye,  
 To speake they shall not be so bold,  
 For sompning to the consistorye ;  
 And make hem saie mouth I lie,  
 Though they it sawe with her iye ;  
 His lemmen holden openly,  
 No man so hardy to aske why.

He woll have tithing and offring,  
 Maugré who so ever it grutch ;  
 And twise on the day he woll sing ;  
 Goddes priestes nere none soche.  
 He mote on hunting with dogge and bich,  
 And blowen his horne, and crien, hey !  
 And sorcerie usen as a witch.  
 Soche kepen evill Peters key.



Yet they mote have some stocke or stone,  
Gaily painted, and proudly dight,  
To maken men leven upon,  
And saie that it is full of might.  
About such men set up great light  
Other soche stockes shull stande thereby,  
As darke as it were midnight,  
For it maie make no mastrie.

That it leud people see now,  
Thou, Mary, thou worchest wonder things :  
About that, that men offren to now,  
Hongen broches, ouches, and rings.  
The priest purchaseth the offerings,  
But he will offer to none image ;  
Woe is the soule that he for'sings,  
That preacheth for soche a pilgrimage.

To men and women that been poore,  
That been Christes awne likenesse,  
Men shullen offer at her doore,  
That suffre hunger and distresse ;  
And to soche images offer lesse,  
That now not feelee thirst ne cold ;  
The poore in spirite gan Christ blesse,  
Therefore offreth to feble and old.

Bucklers brode, and sweardes long,  
Baudrike, with baselardes kene,  
Soche toles about her necke they hong :  
With Antichrist soche priestes been.  
Upon her deedes it is well seen  
Whome they serven, whom they honouren ;  
Antichristes they been clene,  
And Goddes goodes falsely devouren.

Of scarlet and grene gaie gounes,  
 That mote bee shape of the newe;  
 To clippen and kissen they counten in tounes  
 The damoseles that to the daunce sewe;  
 Cutted clothes to shewe her hewe,  
 With long pikes on her shone.  
 Our Goddes gospell is not true,  
 Either they serven the devill or none.

Now been priestes pokes so wide,  
 That men must enlarge the vestiment;  
 The holy gospell they doen hide,  
 For they contrarien in raiment.  
 Soche priestes of Lucifer been sent,  
 Like conquerours they been araied,  
 The proude pendaunts at her arsis ipent;  
 Falsely the trueth they han betraied.

Shrift-silver soche wollen aske,  
 And woll men crepe to the crouche;  
 None of the sacraments save aske  
 Without mede shall no man touch.  
 On her bishop their warant vouch,  
 That is lawe of the decreté;  
 With mede and money thus they mouch;  
 And this they sain is charité.

In the middes of her masse  
 They nill have no man but for hire;  
 And full shortly let forth passe,  
 Such shall men find in each shire,  
 That parsonages for profite desire,  
 To live in liking and in lusts;  
 I dare not saine, *sans ose je dire*,  
 That such been Antichrists priests.

For they yef the bishops why,  
Or they mote been in his service,  
And holden forth her harlottry ;  
Such prelates been of feeble emprise.  
Of Gods graine such men agrise,  
For such matters that taken mede ;  
How they excuse hem, and in what wise,  
Me thinketh they ought greatly drede.

They saine that it to no man longeth  
To reprove them though they erre ;  
But falsely Goddes goodes they fongeth,  
And therewith meintein wo and werre.  
Her deedes should be as bright as sterre,  
Her living leud mannes light ;  
They saie the pope may not erre,  
Nede must that passe mannes might.

Though a priest lye with his lemman all night,  
And tellen his felowe, and he him ;  
He goth to masse anon right,  
And saieth he singeth out of sinne.  
His birde abideth him at his inne,  
And dighteth his diner the meane while.  
He singeth his masse, for he would winne ;  
And so he weneth God begile.

Hem thinketh long till they be met,  
And that they usen forth all the yere ;  
Emong the folke whan he is set,  
He holdeth no man halfe his pere.  
Of the bishop he hath powere  
To soile men or els they been lore ;  
His absolution may them skere,  
And wo is the soule that he singeth for.

- The griffon began for to threte,  
And saied : " Of monkes canst thou ought ? "  
The pellican said : " They been full grete,  
" And in this world much wo hath wrought.  
" Saint Benet, that her order brought,  
" Ne made hem never on such manere ;  
" I trowe it came never in his thought,  
" That they should use so great powere.
- " That a man should a monke lord call,  
" Ne serve on knees, as a king ;  
" He is as proud as prince in pall,  
" In meat, and drinke, and all thing.  
" Some wearen mitre and ring,  
" With double worsted well ydight,  
" With royall meat and rich drinke,  
" And rideth on a courser as a knight,
- " With hauke and with hounds eke,  
" With brooches or ouches on his hood.  
" Sume say no masse in all a week,  
" Of deinties is her most food.  
" They have lordships and bondmen ;  
" This is a royall religion ;  
" Saint Benet made never none of hem  
" To have lordshipe of man ne toun.
- " Now they ben queint and curious,  
" With fine cloth clad, and served cleane :  
" Proud, angrie, and envious ;  
" Mallice is much that they meane.  
" In catching, craftie and covetous,  
" Lordly they liven in great liking ;  
" This living is not religious,  
" According to Benet in his living.

“ They ben clerkes, her courts they oversee,  
“ Her poore tenaunce fully they slite ;  
“ The higher that a man amerced be,  
“ The gladlier they woll it write.  
“ This is farre from Christes poverty,  
“ For all with covetise they endite,  
“ On the poore they have no pity,  
“ Ne never hem cherish, but ever hem bite.

“ And commonly such been comen  
“ Of poore people, and of hem begete,  
“ That this perfection han inomen,  
“ Her fathers riden not but on her fete,  
“ And travailen sore for that they eate,  
“ In povert liveth yong and old ;  
“ Her fathers suffreth drought and weate,  
“ Many hungrie meales, thurst, and cold.

“ And all this these monkes han forsake,  
“ For Christes love and Saint Benete ;  
“ To pride and ease have take ;  
“ This religion is evill beseate.  
“ Had they been out of religion,  
“ They must have hanged at the plowe,  
“ Threshing and diking fro toune to toune,  
“ With sorrie meat, and not halfe ynowe.

“ Therefore they han this all forsake,  
“ And taken to riches, pride, and ease ;  
“ Full few for God woll monkes hem make,  
“ Little is such order for to praise.  
“ Saint Benet ordained it not so,  
“ But bad hem be churchliche,  
“ In churliche manner live and go,  
“ Boistous in earth and not lordliche.



“ They disclaunder Saint Benet,  
“ Therefore they have his holy curse.  
“ Saint Benet with hem never met,  
“ But if they thought to robbe his purse.  
“ I can no more hereof tell,  
“ But they ben like tho before,  
“ And cleane serve the devill of hell,  
“ And ben his treasure and his store.

“ And all such other counterfaitours,  
“ Chanons, canons, and such disguised,  
“ Been Gods enemies and traitours,  
“ His true religion han foule despised.  
“ Of freres I have told before,  
“ In a making of a Crede;  
“ And yet I could tell worse and more,  
“ But men would verien it to rede.

“ As Gods goodnesse no man tell might,  
“ Write ne speake, ne thinke in thought,  
“ So her falsched, and her unright,  
“ May no man tell that ever God wrought.”  
The griffon saied: “Thou canst no good,  
“ Thou came never of no gentle kind;  
“ Other I trowe thou waxest wood,  
“ Or els thou hast lost they mind.

“ Should holy church have no hedde?  
“ Who should be her governaile?  
“ Who should her rule, who should her redde?  
“ Who should her forthren, who should availe?  
“ Ech man shall live by his travaile,  
“ Who best doeth shall have most mede.  
“ With strength if men the church assaile,  
“ With strength men must defend her nede.

- “ And the pope were purely poore,  
“ Needie, and nothing ne had,  
“ He should be driven from doore to doore ;  
“ The wicked of him nolde not be drad.  
“ Of such an head men would be sad,  
“ And sinfully liven as hem lust ;  
“ With strength to amend such be made,  
“ With wepen wolves from sheepe be wust.
- “ If the pope and prelates would  
“ So begge and bid, bow, and borrow,  
“ Holy church should stand full cold,  
“ Her servaunts sit and soupe sorrow.  
“ And they were noughtie, foule, and horow,  
“ To worship God men would wlate,  
“ Both on even and on morow ;  
“ Such harlottrie men would hate.
- “ Therefore men of holy church  
“ Should be honest in all thing,  
“ Worshipfully Gods workes werch.  
“ So seemeth it to serve Christ her king  
“ In honest and in cleane clothing,  
“ With vessels of gold and clothes rich,  
“ To God honestly to make offering ;  
“ To his lordship none is liche.”

The pellican cast an huge crie,

And saied : “ Alas ! why saiest thou so ?

“ Christ is our head that sitteth on hie,

“ Heads ne ought we have no mo.

“ We ben his members both also,

“ And father he taught us to call him als ;

“ Masters to be called defended he tho ;

“ All other masters ben wicked and fals.

“ That taketh maistrie in his name  
“ Ghostly, and for yearthly good,  
“ Kings and lords should lordship have,  
“ And rule the people with mild mood.  
“ Christ for us that shed his blood,  
“ Bad his priests no maistership have,  
“ Ne carke not for cloth ne food,  
“ From every mischeefe he will hem save.

“ Her rich clothing shall be rightwisenesse ;  
“ Her treasure true life shall be ;  
“ Charity shall be her richesse ;  
“ Her lordship shall be unité ;  
“ Hope in God her honesté ;  
“ Her vessel cleane conscience ;  
“ Poore in spirit and humilité.  
“ Shall be holy churches defence.”

“ What,” saied the griffon, “ may thee greve,  
“ That other folkes faren wele ?  
“ What hast thou to doen with her live ?  
“ Thy falshed ech man may fele.  
“ For thou canst no cattell gete,  
“ But livest in lond as a lorell,  
“ With glosing gettest thou thy mete ;  
“ So fareth the devill that wonneth in hell.

“ He would that ech man there should dwell,  
“ For he liveth in cleane envie ;  
“ So with the tales that thou doest tell  
“ Thou wouldest other people destrie,  
“ With your glose and your heresie ;  
“ For ye can live no better life,  
“ But cleane in hypocrisie,  
“ And bringest thee in woe and strife.

- “ And therewith have not to doen,  
“ For ye ne have here no cure ;  
“ Ye serve the devill, neither God ne man,  
“ And he shall paie you your hire.  
“ For ye woll fare well at feastes,  
“ And warme clothed for the cold,  
“ Therefore ye glose Goddes heestes,  
“ And begile the people yong and old.
- “ And all the seaven sacraments  
“ Ye speake ayenst, as ye were slie,  
“ Ayenst tithinges, offringes, and tents,  
“ And on our Lordes bodie falsely lie.  
“ And all this ye doen to live in ease,  
“ As who saieth, there been none soche ;  
“ And sain, the pope is not worth a pease,  
“ To make the people ayen him groche.
- “ And this commeth in by fendes,  
“ To bring the christen in distaunce,  
“ For they would that no man were frendes.  
“ Leave thy chattring with mischaunce ;  
“ If thou live well, what wilt thou more ?  
“ Let other men live as hem list ;  
“ Spende in good, or keepe in store ;  
“ Other mens conscience never thou nist.
- “ Ye han no cure to answeere fore,  
“ What meddle ye, that han not to doen ?  
“ Let men live as they han doen yore,  
“ For thou shalt answeere for no man.”  
The Pellican sayd : “ Sir, naie,  
“ I dispised not the pope ;  
“ Ne no sacrament, soth to saie,  
“ But speake in charité and god hope.

“ But I dispise her hye pride,  
“ Her richesse, that should be poore in spirite;  
“ Her wickednesse is known so wide,  
“ They serve God [in] false habite;  
“ And tournen mekenesse into pride,  
“ And lowlinesse into high degree;  
“ And Goddes wordes tourne and hide;  
“ And that am I moved by charité,

“ To let men to live so,  
“ With all my cunning and my might,  
“ And to warne men of her wo,  
“ And to tellen hem trouth and right.  
“ The sacraments be soule-heale,  
“ If they been used in good use;  
“ Ayenst that speake I never a deale,  
“ For then were I no thing wise.

“ But they that usen hem in misse manere,  
“ Or set hem up to any sale,  
“ I trow they shall abie hem dere,  
“ This my reason, this is my tale.  
“ Who so taketh hem unrightfulliche,  
“ Ayenst the ten commaundements,  
“ Or by glose wrechedliche  
“ Selleth any of the sacraments,

“ I trow they doe the devill homage,  
“ In that they weten they doe wrong;  
“ And thereto I dare well wage,  
“ They serven Sathan for all her song.  
“ To tithen and offren is holesome life,  
“ So it be done in due mannere;  
“ A man to houselin and to shrive,  
“ Wedding, and all the other in fere.



“ So it be nother sold ne bought,  
“ Ne take ne give for covetise ;  
“ And it be so taken, it is nought,  
“ Who selleth hem so may sore agrise.  
“ On our Lords body I doe not lie,  
“ I say sooth through true rede,  
“ His flesh and blood through his misterie  
“ Is there, in the forme of brede.

“ How it is there it needeth not strive,  
“ Whether it be subget or accident,  
“ But as Christ was when he was on live,  
“ So is he there verament.  
“ If pope or cardinall live good live,  
“ As Christ commaunded in his gospels,  
“ Ayenst that woll I not strive ;  
“ But me thinketh they live not well.

“ For if the pope lived as God bedde,  
“ Pride and highnesse he should despise,  
“ Richesse, covetise, and croune on hedde ;  
“ Meekenesse and poverte he should use.”  
The griffon saied he should abie ;  
“ Thou shall be brent in balefull fire,  
“ And all thy sect I shall destrie ;  
“ Ye shall be hanged by the swire.

“ Ye shullen be hanged and to-draw,  
“ Who giveth you leave for to preach ?  
“ Or speake against Gods law,  
“ And the people thus falsely teach ?  
“ Thou shalt be cursed with booke and bell,  
“ And dissevered from holy church,  
“ And cleane ydamned into hell,  
“ Otherwise but ye woll worch.”

The pellican saied : "That I ne drede,  
" Your cursing is of little value ;  
" Of God I hope to have my mede,  
" For it is falshed that ye sewe.  
" For ye been out of charité,  
" And wilneth vengeaunce, as did Nero  
" To suffren I woll ready be,  
" I drede not that thou canst do.

" Christ bad ones suffer for his love ;  
" And so he taught all his servaunts.  
" And but thou amend for his sake above,  
" I drede not all thy maintenaunce.  
" For if I drede the worlds hate,  
" Me thinketh I were little to praise ;  
" I drede no thing your high estate,  
" Ne I drede not your disease.

" Woll ye tourne and leave your pride,  
" Your high port, and your richesse ?  
" Your cursing should not go so wide,  
" God bring you into rightwisenesse !  
" For I drede not your tirannie,  
" For no thing that ye can done ;  
" To suffer I am all readie,  
" Siker I recke never how soone."

The griffon grinned as he were wood,  
And looked lovely as an owle,  
And swore by cocks heart blood,  
He would him teare every doule.  
" Holy church thou disclaundrest foule ;  
" For thy reasons I woll thee all to-race,  
" And make thy flesh to rot and moule,  
" Losell, thou shalt have hard grace."

The griffon flew forth on his way ;

The pellican did sit and weepe,

And to himselfe he gan say :

“ God would that any of Christ shepe

“ Had heard, and ytaken keepe

“ Of each word that here saied was ;

“ And would it write and well it keepe ;

“ God would it were all for his grace ! ”

*Plowman.* I answerd, and saied I would,

If for my travaile any man would pay.

*Pelli.* He saied : “ Yes, these that God han sold,

“ For they han store of money.”

*Plowman.* I saied : “ Tell me and thou may,

“ Why tellest thou mens trespase ? ”

*Pellican.* He saied : “ To amend hem in good fay,

“ If God woll give me any grace.

“ For Christ himselfe is likened to me,

“ That for his people died on rood ;

“ As fare I, right so fareth he,

“ He feedeth his birds with his blood.

“ But these doen evill agenst good,

“ And ben his foen under friends face ;

“ I told hem how her living stood ;

“ God amend hem for his grace ! ”

*Plowman.* “ What aileth the griffon, tell why

“ That he holdeth on the other side ? ”

*Pelli.* “ For they two been likely,

“ And with her kinds roven wide.

“ The foule betokeneth pride,

“ As Lucifer, that high flew was,

“ And sith he did him in evill hide ;

“ For he agilted Gods grace.

" As bird flieth up in the aire,  
 " And liveth by birds that been meke,  
 " So these been flow up into despaire,  
 " And shenden silly soules eke.  
 " The soules that been in sinnes seke,  
 " He culleth hem kneele ; therefore, alas !  
 " For briberie Gods forbode breke ;  
 " God amend it for his grace !

" The hinder part is a lioun,  
 " A robber and a ravinere,  
 " That robbeth the people in earth doune,  
 " And in earth holdeth none his pere ;  
 " So fareth this foule both ferre and nere,  
 " And with temporell strength the people chase,  
 " As a lion proud in earth here ;  
 " God amend hem for his grace !"

*Pellican.* He flew forth with his wings twaine,  
 All drouping, dased, and dull ;  
 But soone the griffon came againe,  
 Of his foules the earth was full ;  
 The pellican he had cast to pull,  
 So great a number never seene there was,  
 What manner of foules tellen I woll,  
 If God woll give me of his grace.

With the griffon comen foules fele,  
 Ravins, rokes, crowes, and pie,  
 Gray foules, agadred wele,  
 I gurde above they would hie ;  
 Gledes and buzzards werren hem by,  
 White moles, and puttockes token her place,  
 And lapwings, that well conneth lie ;  
 This fellowship han forgard her grace.

Long the pellican was out,  
But at last he commeth againe ;  
And brought with him the phenix stout.  
The griffon would have flow full faine ;  
His foules that flew as thicke as raine,  
The phenix tho began hem chace.  
To fle from him it was in vaine,  
For he did vengeaunce, and no grace.

He slew hem downe without mercie,  
There astart neither free ne thrall ;  
On him they cast a rufull crie,  
When the griffon down was fall.  
He beat hem not, but slew hem all,  
Whither he hem drove no man may trace ;  
Under the earth me thought they yall,  
Alas ! they had a feeble grace.

The pellican then asked right,  
For my writing if I have blame,  
Who woll for me fight or flight ?  
Who shall sheld me from shame ?  
He that had a maid to dame,  
And the lambe that slaine was  
Shall sheld me from ghostly blame,  
For earthly harme is Gods grace.

Therefore I pray every man,  
Of my writing have me excused ;  
This writing writeth the pellican,  
That thus these people hath despised.  
For I am fresh fully advised,  
I nill not maintaine his menace ;  
For the devill is often disguised,  
To bring a man to evill grace.



Witeth the pellican and not me,  
 For hereof I will not avow ;  
 In high ne in low, ne in no degree,  
 But as a fable take it ye mowe.  
 To holy church I will me bow  
 Ech man to amend him Christ send space ;  
 And for my writing me allow  
 He that is almighty for his grace.

ON THE CORRUPTIONS OF THE AGE. 1396-7.<sup>1</sup>

By John Gower.

*Carmen super multiplici vitiorum pestilentia unde  
 tempore Ricardi secundi partes nostræ specialius  
 inficiebantur.*

Non excusatur qui verum non fateatur,  
 Ut sic ponatur modus unde fides recolatur.  
 Qui magis ornatur sensu sua verba loquatur,  
 Ne lex frangatur qua Christus sanctificatur.  
 Hoc res testatur, virtus ita nunc vitiatur,  
 Quod vix firmatur aliquis quin transgrediatur.  
 Hinc contristatur mea mens, quæ sæpe gravatur,  
 Dum contemplatur vitium quod continuatur.  
 Sed quia speratur quod vera fides aperatur,  
 Quod Deus hortatur mihi scribere penna paratur.  
 Ut describatur cur mundus sic variatur,  
 Ecce malignatur quæ modo causa datur.

Putruerunt et corruptæ sunt cicatrices a facie  
 insipientiæ, sed priusquam mors ex morbo finem

<sup>1</sup> The date of this poem is given  
 by Gower himself. It is here  
 printed from MS. Cotton. Tiber.  
 A. iv. fol. 167, r<sup>o</sup>. Other copies

are found in the MSS. of Gower's  
 Latin poems, but they present no  
 variations of any importance, as far  
 as I have collated them.

repente concludat, sapientiæ medicinam detectis plagis cum omni diligentia sapienter investigare debemus; unde ego, non medicus sed medicinæ procurator, qui tanti periculi gravitatem deplangens intime contristor, quædam vulnera majori corruptione putrida evidenti distinctione, ut inde medicos pro salute interpellam, consequenter declarare propono, anno regni regis Ricardi secundi vicesimo.

*Contra dæmonis astutiam in causa Lollardicæ.*

Quod patet ad limen instanti tempore crimen  
Describam primo, quo pallent alta sub imo.  
Nescio quid signat, plebs cœlica jura resignat,  
Dum laicus clausas fidei vult solvere causas,  
Quæ Deus incepit, et homo servanda recepit.  
Jam magis enervant populi quam scripta reservant,  
Unde magis clarum scribere tendo parum.  
Lollia messis habens granum perturbat, et ipsum  
Talia qui patitur horrea sæpe gravat.  
Semina perfidiæ sacros dispersa per agros  
Ecclesiæ turbant subdola sicque fidem.  
Inventor sceleris, sceleratus apostata, primus  
Angelicas turmas polluit ipse prius,  
Postque ruit nostros Paradisi sede parentes,  
Morteque vitales fecerat esse reos.  
Callidus hic serpens, nec adhuc desistit in orbe,  
Quin magis in Christi lollia messe serit.  
Ecce novam sectam mittit, quæ plebis in aures  
Ad fidei damnum scandala plura canit.  
Sic vetus insurgit hæresis, quasi Joviniani,  
Unde moderna fides commaculata dolet.  
Usurpando fidem vultum mentitur honestum,  
Cautius ut fraudem palleat inde suam.  
Sub grossa lana linum subtile tenetur,  
Simplicitas vultus corda dolosa tegit.

Fermento veteri talis corrumpit acervum,  
Qui nova conspergit, et dubitanda movet.  
Dum magis incantat, obtura tu magis aures,  
Fortius et cordis ostia claude tui.  
Simplicitate tua ne credas omne quod audis,  
Quæ docet ambiguus auctor aborta cave.  
Nil novitatis habens tua mens fantastica cedat,  
Ut pater ante tuus credidit acta cole.  
Vera fides Christi non hæsitat, immo fideles  
Efficit ut credant cordis amore sui.  
Nil valet illa fides ubi res dabit experimentum,  
Spes tamen in Christo sola requirit eum.  
Recta fides quicquid rectum petit, omne meretur,  
Quicquid possibile creditur ipsa potest.  
Argumenta fides dat rerum quæ neque sciri  
Nec possunt verbo nec ratione capi.  
Subde tuam fidei mentem, quia mortis imago  
Judicis æterni mystica scire nequit.  
Ut solus facere voluit, sic scire volebat  
Solus, et hæc nulli participavit opus.  
Una quid ad solem scintilla valet, vel ad æquor  
Gutta, vel ad cælum quid cinis esse potest?  
Lætitiam lucus, mors vitam, gaudia fletus,  
Non noruit, nec quæ sunt deitatis homo.  
Non tenebræ solem capiunt, non lumina cæcus,  
Infima mens hominis non capit alta Dei.  
Nempe sacri flatus arcanum nobile nunquam  
Scrutari debes, quod penetrare nequis.  
Cum non sit nostrum vel mundi tempora nosse,  
Unde creaturas nosse laborat homo?  
Nos sentire fidem nostra ratione probatam,  
Non foret humanis viribus illud opus.  
Humanum non est opus ut transcendat ad astra,  
Quod mortalis homo non ratione capit.  
Ingenium tantæ transit virtutis in altum,  
Transcurrit superos, in deitate manet.

Qui sapienter agit sapiat moderanter in istis,  
 Postulet ut rectam possit habere fidem.  
 Committat fidei quod non poterit rationi,  
 Quod non dat ratio det tibi firma fides.  
 Quod vocet ecclesia tu tantum crede, nec ultra  
 Quam tibi scire datur quomodocumque stude.  
 Sufficit ut credas, est ars ubi nulla sciendi,  
 Quanta potest Dominus scire nec ullus habet.  
 Est Deus omnipotens, et qui negat omnipotenti  
 Credere posse suum, denegat esse Deum.  
 Sic incarnatum tu debes credere Christum  
 Virginis ex utero, qui Deus est et homo.  
 Vis salvus fieri, pete, crede, stude, revereri,  
 Absque magis quæri lex jubet ista geri.  
 Has phantasias aliter quæ dant hæresias  
 Damnat Messias, sobrius ergo scias,  
 Tempore Ricardi super his quæ fata tulerunt,  
 Schismata Lollardi de novitate serunt.  
 Obstet principiis tribulos, purgareque vadat  
 Cultor in ecclesiis, ne rosa forte cadat.

*Contra mentis sævitiam in causa superbiæ.*

Deficit in verbo sensus quo cuncta superbo,  
 Scribere delicta nequeo quæ sunt mihi dicta.  
 Radix peccati fuit ille prius scelerati  
 Ex quo damnati perierunt prævaricati.  
 Desuper a cœlis dejecit eum Michaelis  
 Ensis ad inferni tenebras de luce superni.  
 Nec Paradisus ei præbere locum requiei  
 Spondet, ubi vere sibi gaudia posset habere.  
 Sic quia deceptus alibi nequit esse receptus,  
 Mundum deposcit, ut in illo vivere possit.  
 Sic adhibendo moram venit ille superbus ad horam,  
 Quem mea mens tristis in partibus asserit istis.  
 Hunc ubi ponemus hostem quem semper habemus,  
 Nam magis infecta veniens facit omnia tecta.

Laus ibi non lucet, ubi vana superbia ducet  
Regna superborum, docet hoc vestitus eorum.  
Cum valet ornatum sibi vanus habere paratum,  
Non quasi mortalis sed ut angelus evolat alis.  
Militis ad formam modo pauper habet sibi normam,  
Vana sit ut vestis, erit inde superbia testis.  
Exterius signum cor signat habere malignum,  
Cordis et errore fortuna carebit honore.  
Nos igitur talem non consociare sodalem  
Expedit, ut tuti reddamur in orbe salutem.  
Quod Deus odivit reprobos, David hoc bene scivit,  
Ipseque Psalmista scripsit de talibus ista.  
Elatas mentes posuit de sede potentes,  
Et sublimavit humiles quos semper amavit;  
Vanus non durat, quem vana superbia curat;  
Hæc sed eum ducet ubi gratia nulla reducit.  
Culpa quidem fontes, latices dabit hæc Acherontis,  
Unde bibunt vani mortem quasi quotidiani.  
Omne quod est natum stat ab hoc vitio vitiatum,  
Quo magis immundum vir vanus habet sibi mundum;  
Sed qui mentali de pondere judiciali  
Istud libraret, puto quod meliora pararet.  
Hoc nam mortale vitium stat sic generale,  
Quod mundum fregit, ubi singula regna subegit.  
Hæc etenim cædes nostras ut dicitur ædes  
Vertit, et insana dat tempora quotidiana.  
O Deus æterne, culpæ miserere modernæ,  
Facque pias mentes sub lege tua pœnitentes.  
Corpus, opes, vires, sapiens, non sic stabilires.  
Dumque superbires subita quin sorte perires.  
Sunt quæ majores humiles patientia mores  
Nutrit, et errores vitii facit esse minores.  
Ergo tuam vera mentem moderare statera,  
Sit laus, vel labes, pectore pondus habes.



*Contra carnis lasciviam in causa concupiscentiæ.*

O sexus fragilis, ex quo natura virilis  
Carnea procedit, animæque robora legit.  
O natura viri carnalis, quæ stabiliri  
Non valet ut pura carnalia sint sibi jura.  
Fœdera sponsorum quæ sunt sacrata virorum,  
Heu! caro dissolvit, nec ibi sua debita solvit.  
Tempore præsentis de carne quasi furienti  
Turpia sunt plura quæ signant damna futura;  
Hæc desponsatis sunt metuenda satis.  
Philosophus quidam, carnis de labe remorsus,  
Plebis in exemplum talia verba refert.  
Unam de variis pœnam sortitur adulter,  
Ejus ut amplexus vivus in orbe luat.  
Aut membrum perdet, aut carceris antra subibit,  
Aut cadet infamis non reputandus homo.  
Aut sibi pauperies infortunata resistet,  
Aut moriens subito transit ab orbe reus.  
Et sic luxuries fatuis sua dona refundit,  
Vertit et e contra quicquid ab ante tulit.  
Quod prius est dulce, demonstrat finis amarum,  
Quo caro non tantum spiritus immo cadit.  
Sic oculus cordis, carnis caligine cæcus,  
Errat, et in damnum decedit ipse suum.  
Sic jubar humani sensus fuscatur in umbra  
Carnis, et in carnem mens rationis abit.  
Dum carnalis amor animum tenet illaqueatum,  
Sensati ratio fit rationis egens.  
Stans hominis ratio calcata per omnia carni  
Servit, et ancillæ vix tenet ipsa locum.  
Non locus est in quo maneant consueta libido  
Et ratio pariter, quin magis una vacat.  
Bella libido movet, favet et vecordia carnis,  
Et sua dat fœdo colla premenda iugo.

Libera sed ratio mentem de morte remordet,  
Carnis in obsequio, statque pudica Deo.  
Nil commune gerunt luxus sibi cum ratione,  
Ista Deum retinet, illa cadaver habet.  
Sic patet ut nihil est quicquid peritura voluptas,  
Appetit in carne quæ velut umbra fugit.  
Pluribus exemplis tibi luxus erit fugiendus,  
• Biblia quæ docuit ; respice facta David.  
Consilio Balaam luxus decepit Hebræos,  
Quos caro commaculat, carnea culpa premit.  
Discat homo juvenis, celeri pede labitur ætas,  
Nuncia dum mortis curva senecta venit.  
Ecce senilis hyems tremulo venit horrida passu,  
Et rapit a juvene quod reparare nequit.  
Vir sapiens igitur sua tempora mente revolvat,  
Erigat et currum quam prius inde cadat.  
Heu ! sed in hoc vitio plebis quasi tota propago  
Carnis in obsequio stat vitiata modo.  
Ex causa fragili causatur fictilis ætas,  
Quo nunc de facili frangitur omnis homo.  
Carnis enim vitia sunt sic communiter acta,  
Quod de continuis vix pudet usus eis.  
Cæcus amor fatuos cæcos sic ducit amantes,  
Quod sibi quid deceat non videt ullus amans.  
Pendula res amor est, subito collapsa dolore,  
Ordine præcipiti miraque facta parat ;  
Sique tuam velles flammam compescere tutus,  
Artem provideas quam prius inde cadas.  
Cum vitiis aliis pugna, jubet hæc tibi Paulus.  
Carnis et a bello tu fuge solus homo.  
Et quia vulnifico fixurus pectora telo  
Vibrat amor caute, longius inde fuge.  
Vinces si fugias, vinceris sique resistas ;  
Ne leo vincaris, tu lepus ergo fuge.  
Mente tui cordis memorare novissima carnis,  
Et speculo mortis respice qualis eris.

Oscula fœtor erunt, amplexus vermis, et omne  
 Quod fuerat placidum pœna resolvet opus.  
 Occupat extrema stultorum gaudia luctus,  
 Et risum lachryma plena dolore madet.  
 Vana salus hominis quam terminat ægra voluptas,  
 Tollit et æternum vivere vita brevis.  
 Crede satis tutum tenet hoc natura statutum,  
 Quo caro pollutum reddet ad ima lutum.  
 Cum fera mors stabit, et terram terra vorabit,  
 Tunc homo gustabit quid sibi culpa dabit.  
 Est ubi munditia carnis sine labe reatus,  
 Casta pudicitia gaudet ad omne latus.  
 Sat nota bina solo quo luxus non dominatur,  
 Pax manet absque dolo, longaue vita datur.

*Contra mundi fallaciam in causa perjurii et  
 avaritiæ.*

Sunt duo cognati vitiorum consociati,  
 Orbem qui lædunt pariter, nec ab orbe recedunt.  
 Iste fidem raram perjurat, et alter avaram  
 Causam custodit; socios tales Deus odit.  
 Primo perjurum describam, postque futurum.  
 Est ubi jus rarum scriptura remordet avarum,  
 Ex vitio tali fertur origo mali.  
 Nemo Dei nomen assumere debet inane,  
 Falsa nec ut juret os prohibere malo.  
 Lex vetus hoc statuit, sed proh dolor! ecce modernos  
 Munere corruptos jam novus error agit.  
 Nil nisi dona videt, dum se perjurat avarus;  
 Ejus enim sensum census ubique regit.  
 Sic non liber homo librum sine pondere librat,  
 Servit et ad libras quas sua libra trahit.  
 Sed quia perjurus defraudat jura superni,  
 Jurat eum Dominus jure perire suo.  
 Sic lucrum sitiens laqueos incurrit, et ejus  
 Lingua prius mendax præmia mortis habet.

Sic vendens et emens vacuus non transiet, immo  
Munera quæ capiet sulphur et ignis erunt.  
Vendere justitiam nihil est nisi vendere Christum,  
Expectat damnum qui facit inde forum.  
Testis erit Judas quid erit sibi fine doloris,  
Dum crepuit medius culpa subibat onus.  
Pœnituit culpamque semel nisi fecerat illam,  
Quot tulit et lucrum reddidit ipse statim.  
Sic nec eo veniam meruit, nec habere salutem,  
Jam valet exemplum tale movere virum.  
Vendidit ipse semel justum, nos quotidianum,  
Ob lucri pretium vendimus omne malum.  
Ille restauravit sed nos restringimus aurum ;  
Pœnituit, sed nos absque pavore sumus.  
Sic et avaritia tanta feritate perurget  
Corda viri, quod ab hoc vix homo liber abit.  
Cessat justitia, cessatque fides sociata,  
Fraus, dolus atque suum jam subiere locum.  
Plebs sine jure manet, non est qui jura tuetur,  
Non est qui dicat jura tenere decet.  
Omnibus in causis ubi gentes commoda quærunt,  
Nunc modus estque fides non habuisse fidem.  
Vox levis illa Jacob, Esau manus hispida nuper,  
Quæ foret ista dies signa futura dabant.  
Alterius casu stat supplantator, et ejus  
Qui fuerat socius fraude subintrat opes.  
Ex damno fratris frater sua commoda quærît ;  
Unus si præsit, invidet alter ei.  
Filius ante diem patruos jam spectat in annos,  
Nec videt ex oculis cæca cupido suis.  
Nunc amor est solus, nec sentit habere secundum,  
Stans odioque tibi diligit ipse tua.  
Quid modo cumque manus mentitur dextra sinistræ  
Dicam, sed caveat qui sapienter agit.  
Vivitur en velle, non amplius est via tuta,  
Cuncta licent cupido, dum vacat ipse lucro.

Arma, rapina, dolus, amor ambitiosus habendi,  
 Amplius ad proprium velle sequuntur iter.  
 Lex silet, et nummus loquitur, jus dormit, et aurum  
 Pervigil insidiis vincit ubique suis.  
 Hasta nocet, ferri gladius, sed plus nocet auri,  
 Regna terit mundi, nilque resistit ei.  
 Sed quia mors dubium concludit ad omnia finem,  
 Est nihil hic certum præter amare Deum.  
 Rebus in humanis semper quid deficit, et sic  
 Ista nihil plenum fertile vita tenet.  
 Quod tibi dat proprium, mundus tibi tollit id ipsum,  
 Deridensque tuum linquit inane forum.  
 Quam prius in finem mundi devenerit hujus,  
 Nulla potest certo munere vita frui.  
 Heu! quid opes opibus cumulas, qui propria quæris,  
 Cum se nemo queat appropriare sibi?  
 Hunc igitur mundum quia perdes, quære futurum,  
 Est aliter vacuum tempus utrumque tuum.

Mammona transibit, et avara cupido peribit,  
 In cineres ibit, mors tua fata bibit.  
 Pauper ab hac vita, sic princeps, sic heremita,  
 Mortuus ad merita transiit omnis ita.  
 Quicquid homo volvit, mors mundi cuncta revolvit,  
 Nemoque dissolvit quum morti debita solvit.  
 Hæc qui mente capit gaudia raro sapit.  
 Sed sibi viventi qui consilio sapienti  
 Providet ingenti merito; placet omnipotenti.  
 Tempore præsentis quæ sunt mala proxima genti,  
 Ex oculo flenti Gower canit ista legenti.  
 Quisque suæ menti qui concipit aure patenti  
 Mittat, et argenti det munera largus egenti.  
 Stat nam mortalis terra repleta malis.

Salomon.  
 Memorare  
 novissima  
 et in æter-  
 num non  
 peccabis.

Item.  
 Omnia fac  
 cum con-  
 silio, et in  
 æternum  
 non pœni-  
 tebis.

Hoc ego bis deno Ricardi regis in anno  
 Compatiens animo carmen lacrimabile scribo.  
 Vox sonat in populo, fidei jam deficit ordo,  
 Unde magis solito cessat laus debita Christo.-



Quem peperit virgo genitum de flamine sacro,  
 Hic Deus est et homo, perfecta salus manet in quo.  
 Ejus ab imperio processit pacis origo,  
 Quæ dabitur justo patiens qui credit in ipso.  
 Vir qui vult ideo pacem componere mundo,  
 Pacificet primo jura tenenda Deo.

ON THE VICES OF THE DIFFERENT ORDERS OF  
 SOCIETY.<sup>1</sup>

By John Gower.

*Incipit tractatus de lucis scrutinio, quam ad diu  
 vitiorum tenebræ, proh dolor! suffocarunt, se-  
 cundum illud in evangelio, Qui ambulat in  
 tenebris nescit quo vadat.*

Heu! quia per crebras humus est vitiata tenebras,  
 Vix iter humanum locus ullus habet sibi planum.  
<sup>a</sup>Si Romam pergas, ut ibi tua lumina tergas,  
 Lumina mira cape, quia Romæ sunt duo papæ.  
 Et si plus cleri jam debent lumina quæri,  
 Sub modio tecta latitat lucerna rejecta.  
 Præsulis officia mundus tegit absque sophia;  
 Stat sua lux nulla, dum Simonis est ibi bulla.  
 Est iter hoc vile, qui taliter intrat ovile,  
 Nec bene discernit lucem, qui lumina spernit.  
 Sic caput obscurum de membris nil fore purum,  
 Efficit et secum sic cæcus habet sibi cæcum.

<sup>a</sup> Nota, quod eorum lucerna minime clarescit quos in ecclesia per  
 antipapam avaritia promotos ditiescit.

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<sup>1</sup> From MS. Cotton. Tiberius A. iv. fol. 171, v<sup>o</sup>, compared with MS. Harl. No. 6291, fol. 156, r<sup>o</sup>. It is found also, with Gower's other Latin poems, in the MS. in All Souls' College, Oxford.

<sup>b</sup>Aut si vis gressus claros, non ordo professus  
 Hos tibi præstabit, quos cautius umbra fugabit.  
 Ordine claustrali manifestus in speciali,  
 Lux ibi pallescit, quam mens magis invida nescit;  
 Lux et mortalis tenebrescit presbyteralis.  
 Clara dies transit, nec eis lucerna remansit;  
 Sunt ibi lucernæ jocus, otia, scorta, tabernæ,  
 Quorum velamen vitiis fert sæpe juvamen.  
 Sic perit exemplum lucis, quo turbida templum  
 Nebula perfudit, quæ lumina quæque recludit.  
 Sic vice pastorum quos Christus ab ante bonorum  
 Legerat, ecce chorum statuit jam mundus eorum.

<sup>c</sup>Si lux præsentum scrutetur in orbe regentum,  
 Horum de guerra pallet sine lumine terra.  
 Ne pereant leges, jam Romæ petit sibi reges,  
 Noscat ut ille pater quæ sit sibi credula mater.  
 Schisma modernorum patrum novitate duorum  
 Reges delerent, si Christi jura viderent.  
 Lux ita regalis decet ecclesiam specialis,  
 Qua domus alma Dei maneat sub spe requiei.  
 Teste paganorum bello furiente deorum,  
 Raro fides crescit, ubi regia lux tenebrescit.  
 Hæc tamen audimus, sed et hæc verissima scimus,  
 Nec capit hæc mentis oculis de luce regentis.  
 Ulterius quære, cupias si lumen habere;  
 Lumina namque David sibi cæca magis titulavit.

<sup>d</sup>Si regni proceres aliter pro lumine quæres,  
 Aspice quod plenum non est ibi tempus amœnum.  
 Dumque putas stare, palpabis iter quia clare,  
 Nemo videt quando veniet de turbine grando.  
 Divitiæ cæcæ fallunt sine lumine sese;

<sup>b</sup> De luce ordinis professi.

<sup>c</sup> Nota, quod si regum lucerna in manu charitatis devotius gestaretur, ecclesia nunc divisa eorum auxilio discretius reformaretur, etiam et incursus paganorum a Christi finibus eorum probitate eminus expelleretur.

<sup>d</sup> De luce procerum.

Quam prius ille cadat vix cernit habens ubi vadat.  
 Sic via segura procerum non est sine cura ;  
 Stans honor ex onere sibi convenit acta videre.  
 Qui tamen extentum modo viderit experimentum,  
 De procerum sphaera non surgunt lumina vera.

<sup>e</sup> Si bellatorum lucem scrutabor, eorum  
 Lucernæ lator tenebrosus adest gladiator.  
 Sunt ibi doctrina, luxus, jactura, rapina,  
 Quæ non splendorem quærent, sed habere cruorem.  
 Et sic armatus lucem præ labe reatus  
 Non videt, unde status suus errat in orbe gravatus.

<sup>f</sup> Si lex scrutetur, ibi lux non invenietur,  
 Quin vis aut velle jus concitat esse rebelle.  
 Non populo lucet judex quem Mammona ducet,  
 Efficit et secum quo sæpe reflectitur æquum.  
 Jus sine jure datur si nummus in aure loquatur,  
 Auri splendore tenebrescit lumen in ore.  
 Omnis legista vivit quasi lege sub ista,  
 Quo magis ex glosa loculi fit lex tenebrosa.

<sup>g</sup> Si mercatorum quærantur lumina morum,  
 Lux non fulgebit ubi fraus cum cive manebit.  
 Contegit usuræ subtilis forma figuræ,  
 Vultum larvatum quem dives habet similatam.  
 Si dolus in villa tua poscit habere sigilla,  
 Vix reddes clarus bona quæ tibi præstat avarus.  
 Et sic majores fallunt quam sæpe minores ;  
 Unde dolent turbæ sub murmure plebis in urbe.  
 Sic inter cives errat sine lumine dives,  
 Dumque fidem nescit, lux pacis ab urbe recessit.

<sup>h</sup> Si patriam quæro, nec ibi mihi lumina spero ;  
 Nam via vulgaris tenebris vitiatur amaris.  
 Plebs ratione carens, hæc est sine moribus arens,  
 Cujus subjectam vix Christus habet sibi sectam.

<sup>e</sup> De luce militum et aliorum qui bella sequuntur.

<sup>f</sup> De luce legistarum.

<sup>g</sup> De luce mercatorum.

<sup>h</sup> De luce vulgari, quæ patriam conservat.

Sunt aliqui tales quos mundus habet speciales,  
 Fures, raptores, homicidæ, turbidiores ;  
 Sunt et conducti quidam pro munere ducti,  
 Quos facit assisa perjuros luce recisa.  
 Rustica ruralis non est ibi spes aliqualis,  
 Quo nimis obscura pallent sine lumine rura.  
 Sic magis illecebras mundanas quisque tenebras  
 Nunc petit, et vota non sunt ad lumina mota.  
 Sic prior est mundus, et si Deus esse secundus  
 Posset, adhuc talis foret in spe lux aliqualis.  
 Sed quasi nunc totus Deus est a luce remotus ;  
 Sic absente duce perit orbis iter sine luce.

<sup>i</sup>Ominis orbatus varii de labe reatus,  
 Omnis in orbe status modo stat quasi prævaricatus.  
 Cum tamen errantes alios, sine lege vagantes,  
 Cæcos deplango, mea propria viscera tango ;  
 Cæcus ut ignorat quo pergere dumque laborat,  
 Sic iter explorat mea mens, quæ flebilis orat.  
 Et quia perpendo quod lucis ad ultima tendo,  
 Nunc iter attendo quo perfruar in moriendo.  
 Tu qui formasti lucem, tenebrasque creasti,  
 Crimina condones, et sic tua lumina dones.  
 In terram sero tunc quando cubicula quæro,  
 Confer candelam, potero qua ferre medelam.

Hæc Gower scribit, lucem dum quærere quibit,  
 Sub spe transibit ubi gaudia lucis adhibet.

Lucis solamen det sibi Christus. Amen.

<sup>i</sup> Hic in fine tenebras deplangens pro luce obtinenda Deum exorat.

ON KING RICHARD II.<sup>1</sup>

By John Gower.

*Carmen quod Johannes Gower tempore regis Ricardi  
dum vixit ultimo composuit.*

O Deus immense, sub quo dominantur in ense  
 Quidam morosi reges, quidam vitiosi,  
 Disparibus meritis, sic pax, sic motio litis,  
 Publica regnorum manifestant gesta suorum.  
 Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi,  
 Quo mala respirant ubi mores sunt fugitivi.  
 Laus et honor regum foret observatio legum,  
 Ad quas jurati sunt prima sorte vocati,  
 Ut cœleste bonum puto concilium fore donum,  
 Quo prius in terris pax contulit oscula gueris.  
 Concilium dignum regem facit esse benignum;  
 Est aliter signum quo spergitur omne malignum.  
 In bonitate pares sumat sibi conciliares  
 Rex bonus, et cuncta venient sibi prospera juncta.  
 Qui regit obtentum de concilio sapientum,  
 Regnum non lædit, sed ab omni labe recedit.  
 Concilium tortum scelus omne refundit ab ortum  
 Regis in errorem, regni quo perdit amorem.  
 Væ! qui prædaris, Ysaïas clamat avaris;  
 Sic verbis claris loquitur tibi qui dominaris.  
 Rex qui plus aurum populi quam corda thesaurum  
 Computat, a mente populi cadit ipse repente.  
 Os ubi vulgare non audet verba sonare,  
 Stat magis obscura sub murmure mens locutura.

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<sup>1</sup> From MS. Cotton. Tiberius A. | MS. Harl. 6291, fol. 158, v<sup>o</sup>, and in  
 iv. fol. 174, r<sup>o</sup>. It is found also in | the All Souls' College MS.



Quæ stupet in villa citius plebs murmurat illa,  
Unde malum crescit, sapiens quo sæpe pavescit.  
Est tibi credendum murmur satis esse timendum,  
Cum sit commune, tunc se super omnia mune.  
Lingua nequit fari mala, cor nec præmeditari,  
Quæ parat obliquus sub fraude dolosus amicus.  
Mundus erit testis vir talis ut altera pestis  
Inficit occulto regnum de crimine multo.  
Blandus adulator, et avarus conciliator,  
Quamvis non velles, plures facit esse rebelles.  
Sæpius ex herbis morbus curatur acerbis;  
Sæpe loquela gravis juvat, et nocet illa suavis.  
Qui falsum pingunt sub fraudeque vera refingunt,  
Hi sunt qui blando sermone nocent aliquando.  
Rex qui conducit tales, sibi scandala ducit,  
Nomen et abducit quod nobile raro reducit.  
Quod viguit mane sibi vespere transit inane,  
Dummodo creduntur quæ verba dolosa loquuntur.  
Concilio tali regnum magis in speciali  
Undique turbatur, quo regis honor variatur.  
Nunc ita sicut heri poterit res ista videri,  
Unde magis plangit populus quem læsio tangit.  
Sed præmunitus non fallitur, inde peritus,  
Quod videt ante manum, fugit omen notabile vanum.  
Cum laqueatur avis, cavet altera, sicque suavis  
Rex pius in cura semper timet ipse futura.  
Rex insensatus nullos putat esse reatus,  
Quam prius ante fores casus sibi sint graviores;  
Sed qui præscire vult causas, expedit ire  
Plebis et audire voces, per easque redire.  
Si sit in errore regis vel in ejus honore,  
Hoc de clamore populi præfertur ab ore.  
Est qui morosus rex, non erit ambitiosus,  
Sed sub eo tutum regni manet omne statutum.  
Nomine præclarus nunquam fuit ullus avarus,  
Larga manus nomen cum laude meretur et omen.  
Nomen regale populi vox dat tibi, quale,  
Sit bene sive male, Deus illud habet speciale.

Rex qui tutus eris, si temet noscere quæris,  
Ad vocem plebis aures sapienter habebis.  
Culpæ vel laudis ex plebe creatur ut audis  
Fama, ferens verba quæ dulcia sunt et acerba.  
Fama cito crescit, subito tamen illa vanescit;  
Saltem fortuna stabilis quia non manet una.  
Principio scire fortunam seu stabilire,  
Non est humanum super hoc quid ponere planum.  
Fine sed expertum valet omnis dicere certum  
Qualia sunt facta, quia tunc probat exitus acta.  
Rex qui laudari cupit et de fine beari,  
Sint sua facta bona, recoletur ut inde corona.  
Regia præcedant benefactaque crimina cedant,  
Vivat ut æterno sic rex cum rege superno.  
Absque Deo vana cum sit tibi quotidiana  
Pompa, recorderis sine laude Dei morieris.  
Rex sibi qui mundum præfert Christumque secundum  
Linquit, adhærebit ubi finis laude carebit.  
Regis enim vita cum sit sine laude sopita,  
Nomen erat quale dabit ultima chronica tale.  
Et sic concludo breviter de carmine nudo,  
Ordine quo regnant reges sua nomina prægnant.  
Quo caput infirmum nihil est de corpore firmum,  
Plebs neque firmatur ubi virtus non dominatur.  
Rex qui securam laudis vult carpere curam,  
Christum præponat, reges qui laude coronat.  
Nam qui præsumit de se, cum plus sibi sumit,  
Fine carens laude stat fama retrograda caudæ.  
Omni viventi schola pertinet ista regenti,  
Displicet hic genti qui non placet omnipotenti.  
Gratia succedit meritis ubi culpa recedit,  
Qui sic non credit sua rex regalia lædit.  
Non ex fatali casu sed judiciali  
Pondere regali stat medicina mali.  
Plebs ut ovile gregis, mors, vitæque, regula legis  
Sub manibus regis sunt ea quanta legis.  
Tanta licet pronus pro tempore det sibi thronus,  
Sit nisi fine bonus non honor est sed onus.

Rex igitur videat cum curru quomodo vadat,  
 Et sibi provideat ne rota versa cadat.  
 Cœlorum regi pateant quæ scripta peregi,  
 Namque sub legi res nequit ulla tegi.

ON KING RICHARD'S MINISTERS.<sup>1</sup>

1399.

Ther is a busch <sup>2</sup> that is forgrowe ;  
 Crop hit welle, and hold hit lowe,  
     or elles hit wolle be wilde.  
 The long gras that is so grene,<sup>3</sup>  
 Hit most be mowe, and raked clene ;  
     forgrowen hit hath the fellde.

The grete bagge,<sup>4</sup> that is so mykille,  
 Hit schal be kettord, and maked litelle ;  
     the bothom is ny ouzt.  
 Hit is so roton on ych a side,  
 Ther nul no stych with odor abyde,  
     to set theron a clout.

Thorw the busch a swan <sup>5</sup> was slayn ;  
 Of that sclawtur fewe wer fayne ;  
     alas ! that hit betydde !  
 Hit was a eyrer good and able,  
 To his lord ryzt profitable ;  
     hit was a gentel bryde.

<sup>1</sup> This curious song is preserved in a MS. formerly in the possession of W. Hamper, Esq., of Deritend House, Birmingham, from which it was printed in the twenty-first volume of the *Archæologia*.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Bushey.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Henry Greene.

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Bagot.

<sup>5</sup> The duke of Gloucester (Thomas of Woodstock), who was arrested in his castle of Plescy, and carried to Calais, where he was murdered, in 1397.

The grene gras that was so long,  
 Hit hath slayn a stede<sup>1</sup> strong,  
     that worthy was and wyth.  
 Wat kyng had that stede on holde,  
 To juste on hym he myȝt be bold,  
     als schulde he go to fyth.

A bereward<sup>2</sup> fond a rag;  
 Of the rag he made a bag;  
     he dude in gode entent.  
 Thorwe the bag the bereward is taken;  
 Alle his beres han hym forsaken;  
     thus is the berewarde schent.

The swan is ded; his make is woo;  
 Her eldes[t] bryd<sup>3</sup> his taken her fro,  
     into an uncod place.  
 The stedes colt<sup>4</sup> is ronnon away;  
 An eron<sup>5</sup> hath taken hym to his praye;  
     hit is a wondur casse.

The berewardes sone<sup>6</sup> is tendur of age,  
 He is put to mariage,  
     askyng wille ȝowe telle.  
 Ȝut he hoputh, thorw myth and grace,  
 With the beres to make solas,  
     and led hem at his wille.

<sup>1</sup> A horse was the crest of the earl of Arundel, who was beheaded in the 21st Ric. II.

<sup>2</sup> The earl of Warwick banished to Isle of Man.

<sup>3</sup> Humphrey, Gloucester's only son, was, after his father's death, carried to Ireland and imprisoned in the castle of Trim.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas earl of Arundel, son of the earl beheaded in the 21st Ric. II.

<sup>5</sup> Henry duke of Lancaster.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Beauchamp, under nineteen, was at this time married to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas lord Berkeley.

A eron is up, and toke his flyt;  
In the noth contré he is lizt;  
    thus here ze alle men saye.  
The stede colt with hym he brynges;  
These both wonder and y thinges,  
    to se hem thus to playe.

The gees han mad a parlement,  
Toward the eron are they went,  
    mo then I con telle.  
The pecokes, that both so fayr in syzt,  
To hym ben comen with alle hur myzt,  
    they thenke with hym to dwelle.

Upon the busch the eron wolte reste,  
Of alle places it liketh hym beste,  
    to loke aftur his pray.  
He wolte falle upon the grene;  
There he falleth, hit wille be sene,  
    they wille not welle away.

The bag is ful of roton corne,  
So long ykep, hit is forlorne,  
    hit wille stonde no stalle.  
The pecokes and the ges alleso,  
And odor fowles mony on mo,  
    schuld be fed withalle.

The busch is bare and waxus sere,  
Hit may no lengur leves bere;  
    now stont hit in no styde.  
Ywys I con no nodur bote,  
But heye hit downe crop and rote,  
    and to the toun hit lede.



The long gras that semeth grene,  
 Hit is roton alle bydene,  
     hit is non best mete.  
 Til the roton be dynged ouzt,  
 Our lene bestes schul not rouzt,  
     hur liflode to gete.

The grete bage is so ytoron,  
 Hit nyl holde neyther mele ne corne;  
     hong hit up to drye.  
 Wen hit is drye, then schalt thou se  
 ȝyf hit wil amended be,  
     a beger for to bye.

Now God, that mykelle is of myzt,  
 Grant us grace to se that syzt,  
     ȝyf hit be thy wille;  
 Our lene bestes to have reste  
 In place that hem lyketh [beste],  
     that were in point to spylle.

ON THE EXPECTED ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF  
 LANCASTER.<sup>1</sup>

O Deus in cœlis disponens cuncta fidelis,  
 Deprecor exaudi reddentes nos tuæ laudi,  
 Ab blue pennatos fallentes perfide natos,  
 Ut tormentorum noscant recepisse dolorem.

De regno flores nostros tollunt meliores,  
 Taxas de gente pro defectu moriente.  
 Hi sunt inflati, pro nummis infatuati,  
 Quærunť ditari, pro gazis delapidari.

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<sup>1</sup> From the Bodleian Library, | It must have been composed in  
 MS. Rawlinson, No. 429, fol. 94, r<sup>o</sup>. | June or July, 1399.

Illustrent vulpes fraude lividi sine laude,  
Plus quærent aurum quam cœli terræ thesaurum ;  
Dissimulant verba ponentes mortis acerba ;  
Hos regni terra mactent et aspera ferra.

Gens male taxatur, provocante furta sequatur ;  
Consilium tale pareat a sede regali ;  
Dux, perlustrator constans sis an dominator,  
Et fac tractari falsos et decapitari.

Milleni fantur quod plures associantur,  
Privatur vita, clamat gens cœlitus ita.  
Quondam pejores sunt facti jam meliores,  
Tales pomposi de stercore sunt generosi.

Fraus latet illorum propter thesaurum,  
Scrope,<sup>1</sup> Bagge,<sup>2</sup> Ver,<sup>3</sup> dumus,<sup>4</sup> tormentorum parat  
humus.

Damnarunt forti justorum corpora morti,  
Sanguis qui quorum vindicta clamat eorum.

Invidia centum revocatur parliamentum,  
Ut cunctas digna quæ plurima passa maligna,  
Ad nostrum ducem Lancastriæ reddite lucem,  
Hujus consortes estote per omnia fortes.

Heu! pereunt jura, nisi sint beneficia plura ;  
Lux, laus, Henricus Lancastriæ factus amicus,  
Scutis et armis nos protegat undique pronos,  
Taxa regnante semper post cessit et ante.

Hujus dux causa pateat sibi janua clausa ;  
Pannis indutus plusquam vivit modo mutus,  
Mox suspendatur, si verum lingua loquatur.  
Expedi armare nos, a somno vigilare.

<sup>1</sup> Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, lord treasurer.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Bagot.

<sup>3</sup> Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Bushey.

Gallica per artes nostras vult perdere partes  
 Rex, fallunt illa quæ fixa penna sigilla,  
 Scriptum Draconis, verbum spernit Salomonis,  
 Gallus cantabit causas, caulis latitabit.

Aquila<sup>1</sup> dux austro salvabit nos alabastro,  
 Illius cœtum præstet Christus fore lætum.

### ON THE DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II.<sup>2</sup>

And as I passid in my preiere  
 ther prestis were at messe,  
 in a blessid borugh  
 that Bristow is named,  
 in a temple of the Trinité,  
 the toune even amyddis,  
 that Christis Chirche is cleped  
 amonge the comune peple,  
 sodeynly ther sourdid  
 selcouthe thingis,  
 a grett wondir to wyse men,  
 as it well myȝth,  
 and dowtes ffor to deme,  
 ffor drede comynge after.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the eagle is applied in all these poems to Henry duke of Lancaster.

<sup>2</sup> This very curious alliterative poem, which is unfortunately incomplete, has been preserved in a manuscript in the public library of the University of Cambridge (Ll. 4, 14), where it follows a copy of *Piers Ploughman*, to which it seems to have been intended as a sort of continuation. The scribe appears from a side note not to

have partaken in the political sentiments of the author, for which cause perhaps, or because he discovered that it did not form a part of *Piers Ploughman*, he left off abruptly. It was evidently composed after the time when Richard II. fell into the hands of his enemies, and before the intention of deposing him was publicly made known, that is, probably, in the earlier half of the month of September, 1399.

= Richard the Redless - Mum  
 and the Smith segger

so sore were the sawis  
of bothe two sidis,  
of Richard that regned  
so riche and so noble,  
that wyle he werrid be west  
on the wilde Yrisshe,  
Henri was entrid  
on the est half,  
whom all the londe loved  
in lengthe and in brede,  
and rosse with him rapely  
to riztyn his wronge;  
ffor he shulde hem serve  
of the same after.  
Thus tales me troblid,  
ffor they trewe where,  
and amarride my mynde  
rith moche, and my wittis eke:  
ffor it passid my parceit,  
and my preifis also,  
how so wondirffull werkis  
wolde have an ende.  
But in sothe whan they sembled,  
some dede repente,  
as knowyn is in cumpas  
of cristen londis,  
that rewthe was, if reson  
ne had reffourmed  
the myssecheff and the mysserule  
that men tho in endured.  
I had peté of his passion  
that prince was of Walis,  
and eke oure crowned kynge,  
tille Crist wolde no lenger:  
and as a lord to his liage,  
thou; I lite hade,

alle myn hoole herte was his,  
while he in helthe regnid.  
And ffor I wost not witterly  
what shulde falle,  
whedir God wolde ȝeve him  
grace sone to amende,  
to be oure gioure aȝeyn,  
or graunte it another,  
this made me to muse  
many tyme and ofte,  
for to written him a writte,  
to wissen him better,  
and to meuve him of mysserewle,  
his mynde to reffresshe,  
ffor to preise the prynce  
that paradise made,  
to ffullefille him with ffeith,  
and ffortune above,  
and not to grucchen a grott  
aȝeine Godis sonde,  
but mekely to suffre  
what so him sente were.  
And ȝif him list to loke  
a leef other tweyne,  
that made is to mende him  
of his myssededis,  
and to kepe him in confforte  
in Crist, and nouȝt ellis,  
I wolde be gladde that his gost  
myȝte glade be my wordis,  
and grame if it greved him,  
be God that me bouȝte.  
Ther nys no governour on the grounde  
ne sholde gye him the better,  
and every cristen kyng  
that ony grounde bereth,



so he were lerned on the langage,  
my lyff durst I wedde,  
ȝif he waite welle the wordis,  
and so werche therafter;  
ffor alle is tresour of the Trinité,  
that turneth men to gode.  
And as my body and my beste  
oute to be my liegis,  
so rithffully be reson  
my rede shuld also,  
ffor to conceille, and I couȝthe,  
my kyng and the lordis;  
and therffor I ffordyd,  
with alle my ffyve wyttis,  
to traveile on this tretis,  
to teche men therafter  
to be war of wylffulnesse,  
lest wondris arise.  
And if it happe to ȝoure honde,  
beholde the book onys,  
and redeth on him redely  
rewis an hundrid,  
and if ȝe sавere sum delle,  
se it fforth overe;  
ffor reson is no repreff,  
be the rode of Chester.  
And if ȝe ffynde ffables  
or ffoly ther amonge,  
or ony ffantasie yffeyned  
that no ffute is in,  
lete ȝoure conceille corette it,  
and clerkis togedyr,  
and amende that ys amysse,  
and make it more better.  
Ffor ȝit it is secrette,  
and so it shalle lenger,

tylle wyser wittis  
han waytid it overe,  
that it be lore lawefulle,  
and lusty to here.  
Ffor witterly my wille is  
that it welle liked  
zou and alle zouris,  
and yonge men leveste,  
to benyme hem her noyes,  
that neweth hem ofte.  
Ffor and they muse theron  
to the myddwardis,  
they shalle ffele ffawtis  
ffoure score and odde,  
that youghe weneth alwey  
that it be witt evere.  
And thouz that elde opyn it  
other while amonge,  
and poure on it prevyly,  
and preve it well after,  
and constrewe ich clause  
with the culorum,  
it shulde not apeire hem a peere,  
a prynce thouz he were,  
ne harme nother hurte  
the hyghest of the rewme,  
but to holde him in hele,  
and helpe alle his ffrendis.  
And if ony word write be  
that wrothe make myghte  
my sovereyne, that suget  
I shulde to be,  
I put me in his power,  
and preie him of grace,  
to take the entent of my trouthe,  
that thouzte non ylle,

ffor to wrath no wyght  
be my wylle nevere,  
as my soule be saff  
ffrom synne at myn ende.  
The story is of non estate  
that stryven with her lustus,  
but tho that ffolwyn her flesshe  
and here ffelle thouztis;  
so if my conceylle be clere,  
I can saie no more,  
but ho be greved in his gost,  
governe him better,  
and blame not the berne  
that the book made,  
but the wickyd will,  
and the werkis after.

Now, Richard the redeles,  
reweth on zou self,  
that lawelesse leddyn zoure lyf  
and zoure peple bothe;  
ffor thoru the wyles and wronge  
and wast in zoure tyme,  
ze were lyghtlich ylyste  
ffrom that zou leef thouzte,  
and ffrom zoure willeffulle werkis,  
zoure wille was chaungid,  
and rafte was zoure riott,  
and rest, ffor zoure daiez  
weren wikkid thoru zoure cursid counceille,  
zoure karis weren newed,  
and coveitise hath crasid  
zoure croune ffor evere.  
Of alegeaunce now lerneth  
a lesson other tweyne,  
wherby it standith  
and stablithe moste,

by dride, or be dyntis,  
 or domes untrewē,  
 or by creaunce of coyne  
 ffor castes of gile;  
 by pillynge of youre peple  
 youre prynces to plese,  
 or that youre wyllē were wrouzte,  
 thouz wisdom it nolde;  
 or be tallage of youre townnes  
 without ony werre;  
 by rewthles routus  
 that ryffled evere,  
 by preysing of polaxis  
 that no peté hadde;  
 or be dette ffor thi dees,  
 deme as thu fyndist;  
 or be ledinge of lawe  
 with love welle ytemprid.

Though this be derklich endited  
 ffor a dulle nolle,  
 miche nede is it not  
 to mwse thereon;  
 ffor as mad as I am,  
 thoutz I litille kunne,  
 I cowde it diseryve  
 in a ffewe wordys.  
 Ffor legiance without love  
 litille thinge availith,  
 but graceles gestis,  
 gylours of hem self,  
 that nevere had harnesse,  
 ne hayle schouris;  
 but walwed in her willis,  
 fforweyned in here youthe,  
 they sawe no manere sitzh,  
 saff solas and ese,

and cowde no mysse amende  
whan mysscheff was up,  
but sorwed ffor her lustus  
of lordsch[i]pe they hadde,  
and nevere ffor her trespass  
oo tere wolde they lete.  
Ze come to zoure kyngdom  
er ze zoure self knewe,  
crouned with a croune,  
that kynge under hevene  
mizte not a better  
have bouzte, as I trowe;  
so ffulle was it filled  
with vertuous stones,  
with perlis of prise  
to punnysshe the wrongis,  
with rubies rede  
the rizth for to deme,  
with gemmes and juellis  
joyned togedir,  
and pees amonge the peple  
ffor peyne of thi lawis.  
It was ffulle goodeliche ygrave  
with gold al aboute;  
the braunchis above  
boren grett charge;  
with diamauntis derne  
ydountid of alle  
that wroute ony wrake  
within or withoute;  
with lewté and love  
yloke to thi peeris,  
and sapheris swete  
that souzte alle wrongis,  
ypoudride wyth peté  
ther it be ouzte,



and traylid with trouthe,  
 and trefte al aboute,  
 ffor ony christen kynge  
 a crowne well ymakyd.

But where this crowne bicomē,  
 a clerk were that wuste ;  
 but so as I can,  
 declare it I thenke,  
 and nempne no name,  
 but tho that neft were.  
 Ffulle prevyly they pluckud  
 thy power away,  
 and reden with realté  
 zoure rewme thoruoute,  
 and as tyrauntis of tiliers  
 token what hem liste,  
 and paide hem on her pannes,  
 whan her penyes lacked.  
 Ffor non of zoure peple  
 durste pleyne of here wrongis,  
 ffor drede of zoure dukys,  
 and of here double harmes.  
 Men myztten as welle have huntyd  
 an hare with a tabre,  
 as aske ony mendis  
 ffor that thei mysdede,  
 or of ony of her men,  
 thouz men wolde plete ;  
 ffor alle was ffelawis and ffelawschepe  
 that ze with fferde,  
 and no soule persone  
 to punnyshe the wrongis ;  
 and that maddid thi men,  
 as thei nede muste.  
 Ffor wo they ne wuste  
 to whom ffor to pleyne ;

ffor as it is said  
by elderne dawis,  
ther gromes and the goodmen  
beth alle eliche grette,  
wolle wo beth the wones,  
and all that woneth therin.  
They ladde 3ou with love,  
that 3oure lawe dradde,  
to deme 3oure dukys myssdedis,  
so derne thei were.  
Thus was 3oure croune crasid,  
till he was cast newe,  
thoru partinge of 3oure powere  
to 3oure paragals.  
Thus lacchide they with laughinge,  
and lourid longe after,  
but ffrist sawe they it not,  
ne youre self nother.  
Ffor alle was wisliche ywrouzte,  
as 3oure witte demed,  
and no ffauntis yffounde,  
tille ffortune aperiod.  
But had 3oure croune be kepte,  
that comons it wiste,  
ther nadde morder ne mysscheff  
be amonge the grette.  
Thus 3oure cautelle to the comoune  
hath combred 3ou alle,  
that, but if God helpe,  
3oure heruest is ynne.  
Wytteth it not 3oure counceille,  
but wyte[t]h it more 3oure self,  
the ffortune that ffallyn is  
to ffeitheles peple,  
and wayte welle my wordis,  
and wrappe hem togedir,

and constrwe clergie  
the clause in thin herte,  
of maters that I thenke  
to meve ffor the best,  
ffor kyngis and kayseceris  
comynge hereafter.  
Whane ze were sette in zoure se,  
as a sir aughte,  
ther carpinge comynliche  
of conceille arisith,  
the chevyteyns cheef  
that ze chesse evere,  
weren alle to yonge of zeris  
to yeme swyche a rewme,  
other hobbis ze hadden  
of Hurlewaynis kynne,  
reffusynge the reule  
of realles kynde.  
And whane zoure counceille I knewe,  
ze come so at ones,  
ffor to leve on her lore,  
and be led be hem,  
ffor drede that they had  
of demynge thereafter,  
and ffor caringe of hem self,  
cried on zou evere,  
ffor to hente hele  
of her owen greves,  
more than ffor wurschepe  
that they to zou owed,  
they made zou to leve  
that regne ze ne myste,  
withoute busshinge adoune  
of alle zoure best ffrendis,  
be a ffals colour  
her caris to wayve,

and to holde hem in hele,  
 if it happe myzte.  
 Ffor trostith rith treuly,  
 and in no tale better,  
 alle that they moved  
 or mynged in the mater,  
 was to be sure of hem self,  
 and siris to ben ycallid;  
 ffor that was alle her werchinge  
 in worde and in dede.  
 But had ze do duly,  
 and as a duke oughte,  
 the firist that zou fformed  
 to that ffals dede,  
 he shulde have hadde hongynge  
 on hie on the fforekis,  
 thouz zoure brother yborn  
 had be the same.  
 Than wolde other boynardis  
 have ben abasshyd,  
 to have meved zou to ony mals  
 that myss[c]heff had ben ynne.  
 But ffor ze cleved to knavis,  
 in this cas I avowe,  
 that boldid thi burnes  
 to belde uppon sorowe,  
 and stirid zou stouttely  
 tille ze stombled alle.

*Passus secundus.*

But moche now me merveilith,  
 and welle may I in sothe,  
 of zoure large levereie  
 to leodis abouzte,  
 that ze so goodliche zaf,  
 but if gile letted,

and hertis yheedyd  
 and hornyd of kynde,  
 so ryff as they rounne  
 zoure rewme thoruoute,  
 that non at zoure nede  
 zoure name wolde nempne  
 in ffersnesse ne in ffoltheed,  
 but ffaste fle awayward.  
 And some stode astonyed  
 and stared ffor drede,  
 ffor eye of the egle<sup>1</sup>  
 that oure helpe brouute ;  
 and also in sothe  
 the seson was paste,  
 ffor hertis yheedid  
 so hy and so noble  
 to make ony myrthe,  
 ffor mowtynge that nyghed.  
 That bawtid zoure bestis  
 of here bolde chere ;  
 they severid and sondrid  
 ffor somere hem ffaylid,  
 and fflowen into fforest  
 and ffeldis abouzte,  
 all the hoole herde  
 that helde so [to]gedir ;  
 but zet they had hornes  
 half [a] zere after.  
 Now liste me to lerne,  
 ho me lere coude,  
 what kynnes conceylle  
 that the kyng had,  
 or meved him most  
 to merke his liegis,

---

<sup>1</sup> The eagle represents Henry duke of Lancaster, afterwards king Henry IV.



or serve hem with signes  
that swarmed so thikke  
thoruoute his lond  
in lengthe and in brede,  
that ho so had hobblid  
thoru holtes and tounes,  
or ypassid the patthis  
ther the prynce dwellyd,  
or hertis or hyndis  
on hassellis brestis,  
or some lordis leveré  
that the lawe strid,  
he shulde have ymette  
mo than ynowe.  
Ffor they acombrede the contré,  
and many curse servid,  
and carped to the comounes  
with the kyngys mouthe,  
or with the lordis,  
ther they belefte were,  
that no renke shulde rise  
reson to schewe ;  
they plucked the plomayle  
ffrom the pore skynnes,  
and schewed her signes,  
ffor men shulde drede  
to axe ony mendis  
ffor her mysdedis.  
Thus levereze overe loked  
zoure liegis ichonne ;  
ffor tho that had hertis  
on hie on her brestis  
ffor the more partie,  
I may well avowe,  
they bare hem the bolder  
ffor her gay broches,

and busshid with her brestis,  
 and bare adoune the povere  
 lieges that loved 3ou  
 the lesse ffor her yvelle dedis.  
 So trouthe to telle,  
 as toune men said,  
 ffor on that 3e merkyd,  
 3e myssed ten schiore  
 of homeliche hertis,  
 that the harme hente.  
 Thane was it ffoly,  
 in ffeith as me thynketh,  
 to sette silver in signes  
 that of nouzt served.  
 I not what 3ou eylid,  
 but if it ese were;  
 ffor ffrist at 3oure anoyntyng  
 alle were 3oure owene,  
 both hertis and hyndis,  
 and helde of non other;  
 no lede of 3oure lond,  
 but as a liege aughte,  
 ty[lle] 3e of 3oure dulnesse  
 deseveraunce made,  
 thoru 3oure side signes,  
 that shente alle the browet,  
 and cast adoun the crokk  
 the colys amyd.  
 3it am I lewde  
 and litille good shewe,  
 to coveyte knowliche  
 of kyngis wittis,  
 or wilne to witte  
 how was the mevyng  
 that 3ou to lykyng  
 3oure liegis to merke,

that loved ȝou fulle lelly  
or levereȝ begynne,  
and as reȝy to ride  
or renne at ȝoure heste,  
as wyȝhte myȝhte wilne  
wonnyȝge uppon erthe,  
tylle levereȝ hem lette,  
and lordyns wrongis;  
as ȝoure selfe ffonde welle  
whane ffortune ȝou ffolwyd.  
Ffor whan ȝe list to lene  
to ȝoure owen lymmes,  
they were so ffeble and ffeynte  
ffor ffauȝte of ȝoure lawe,  
and so ffeble and wayke  
wexe in the hammes,  
that they had no myȝhte  
to amende ȝoure greves,  
ne to bere byrthen  
ȝoure banere to helpe.  
But it longith to no liegeman  
his lord to anoye,  
nother in werk ne in word,  
but if his witt ffayle.  
“ No, redely,” quod reson,  
“ that reule I alowe,  
“ displese not thi demer  
“ in dede ne in wordis,  
“ but if the liste ffor to lede  
“ thy lyf in dissese.  
“ But ȝif God have grauntyd  
“ the grace ffor to knowe  
“ ony manere mysscheff  
“ that myȝtte be amendyd,  
“ schewe that to thi sovereyne  
“ to schelde him ffrom harmes,

“ ffor and he be blessid,  
“ the better the betydyth,  
“ in tyme ffor to telle him,  
“ ffor thi trewe herte.”

Now, ffor to telle trouthe,  
thus than me thynketh,  
that no manere meyntenour  
shulde merkis bere,  
ne have lordis leveré  
the lawe to apeire,  
neither bragger ne boster,  
ffor no bremme wordis ;  
but ho so had kunnyng  
and conscience bothe,  
to stonde unstombed  
and stronge in his wittis,  
lele in his levyng,  
levyd be his owen,  
that no manere mede  
shulde make him wrye,  
ffor to trien a trouthe  
betwynne two sidis,  
and lette ffor no lordschep  
the lawe to susteyne,  
whane the pore pleyned  
that put were to wrongis.  
And I were of conceille,  
by Crist that me bouzete,  
he shuld have a signe,  
and sumwhat be zere,  
ffor to kepe his contré  
in quiete and in reste.  
This were a good grounde,  
so me God helpe !  
and a trewe tente  
to take and to zeve,

and ony lord of this londe  
that levere<sup>z</sup> usith.  
But how the gayes han ygon,  
God wotte the sothe,  
amonge my<sup>z</sup>tfulle men,  
alle these many <sup>z</sup>eris;  
and whedir the grounde of <sup>z</sup>iste  
were good other ille,  
trouthe hathe determyned  
the tente to the ende,  
and reson hath rehersed  
the resceyte of alle.  
<sup>z</sup>it I trowe <sup>z</sup>oure entente  
at the ffrist tyme  
was, as I wene, <sup>z</sup>if I welle thenke,  
in multitude of peple,  
that <sup>z</sup>e were the more my<sup>z</sup>tier  
ffor the many signes  
that <sup>z</sup>e and <sup>z</sup>oure servauntis  
abou<sup>z</sup>te so thikke sowid;  
and that they were more tristi  
and trewer than other,  
to love <sup>z</sup>ou ffor the leveré  
that legaunce stroied;  
or ellis ffor a skylle  
that skathed <sup>z</sup>oure self,  
that comounes of contré  
and costis abou<sup>z</sup>te  
sholde knowe be hir quentise  
that the kyng loved hem,  
ffor her privy prynte  
passinge another.  
<sup>z</sup>if that was <sup>z</sup>oure purpos,  
it passith my wittis  
to deme discrecioun  
of <sup>z</sup>oure welle doynge.



Thus were ze disceyved  
 thoru zoure duple hertis,  
 that nevere weren to truste,  
 so God save my soule!  
 But had the good greehonde<sup>1</sup>  
 be not agreyved,  
 But cherished as a cheffeteyne  
 and cheff of zoure lese,  
 ze hadde had hertis ynowe at zoure wille  
 to go and to ride.  
 And also in serteyne,  
 the sothe ffor to telle,  
 I wondir not hyly thouz  
 heed dere thu ffailid;  
 ffor litille on zoure lyf  
 the list ffor to rewe  
 on rascaile that rorid  
 with ribbis so lene,  
 ffor ffauzte of her ffode  
 that ffateris stelen,  
 and evere with here wylis and wast  
 ofte they hem anoyed,  
 that poverte hem prickid  
 ffulle prevyliche to pleyne,  
 but where they ne wyste  
 ne ho it wolde amende.  
 Thus ze derid hem unduly  
 with droppis of anger,  
 and stonyed hem with stormes  
 that stynted nevere,  
 but plucked and pulled hem  
 anon to the skynnes,

<sup>1</sup> The greyhound was the cogni-  
 zance of the Beauforts. It may  
 perhaps here refer to John Beau-

fort, marquis of Dorset, who was  
 one of the accusers of the duke of  
 Gloucester.

that the ffresinge ffrost  
ffreted to here hertis.  
So whanne zoure hauntelere dere  
whore alle ytakyn,  
was non of the rasskayle  
aredy ffull growe,  
to bere ony bremme heed,  
as a best aughte,  
so wyntris wedir  
hem wesshe with the snowis,  
with many derke mystis  
that maddid her eyne.  
Ffor welle mowe ze wyttytyn,  
and so mowe we alle,  
that harde is the somer  
ther soune schyneth nevere.  
Ze ffostrid and ffodid  
a ffewe of the best,  
and leyde on hem lordschipe,  
a leyne uppon other,  
and bereved the raskalle  
that rith wolde thei hadde,  
and knewe not the caris  
ne cursis that walkyd;  
but mesure is a meri mene,  
thouȝ men much yerne.  
Thus be the rotus  
zoure raskall endurid,  
tylle the blessid bredd  
brodid his wingis,  
to covere hem ffrom colde,  
as his kynde wolde.  
Rith as the hous hennes  
uppon londe hacchen,  
and cherichen her chekonys  
ffro chele of the wynter,

ryth so the hende egle,  
 the eyere of hem alle,  
 hasteth him in hervest  
 to hovyn his bryddis,  
 and besieth him besely  
 to bređen hem ffeedrin,  
 tylle her fire ffeedris  
 be ffulliche yppynned,  
 that they have wynges at her wyllle  
 to wonne uppon hille;  
 ffor venym on the valeye  
 hadde ffoule with hem ffare,  
 tylle trouthe the triacle  
 telde somme her sothes.  
 Thus baterid this bred  
 on busshes<sup>1</sup> abouzte,  
 and gaderid gomes  
 on grene<sup>2</sup> ther as they walkyd,  
 that alle the schroff and schroup<sup>3</sup>  
 sondrid ffrom other.  
 He mellid so the metalle  
 with the hand molde,  
 that lost lemes  
 the levest that they had.  
 Thus ffoulyd this ffaukyn  
 on ffylidis abouzte,  
 and cauhte of the kuyttis  
 a cartfulle at ones,  
 that rentis and robis  
 with rabeyn evere lauzte.

<sup>1</sup> A pun on the name of sir John Bushey.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Green, another of king Richard's creatures.

<sup>3</sup> An allusion, probably, to king Richard's great favourite, William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, the lord chamberlain.

Ȝit was not the ffawcon<sup>1</sup>  
ffull ffed at his likynge,  
ffor it cam him not of kynde  
kytes to love.  
Than bated he boldeliche,  
as a brid wolde,  
to plewme on his pray  
the pol ffro the nekk;  
but the blernyed boynard  
that his bagg stalle,  
where purraile is pulter,  
was pynnyd ffulle ofte,  
made the ffawcon to floter  
and flusshe ffor anger,  
that the boy hadd be bounde  
that the bagge kepte.  
But sone therafter  
in a schorte tyme,  
as ffortune ffolwith  
ech ffode till his ende,  
this lorelle that hadde  
this loby away  
overe ffrithe and fforde,  
ffor his ffals dedis,  
lyghte on the lordschepe  
that to the brid longid,  
and was ffelliche ylauzte,  
and luggid ffull ylle,  
and brouzte to the brydd,  
and his blames rehersed  
prevyly at the parlement  
amonge alle the peple.  
Thus hawkyd this egle,  
and hoved above,

---

<sup>1</sup> The duke of Lancaster.

that, as God wolde,  
 that governeth alle thingis,  
 ther nas kyte ne krowe  
 that kareyne hantid,  
 that he ne with his lynage  
 ne lovyd ffulle sone.  
 Ffor wher so they fferde,  
 be ffryth or be woves,  
 was non of hem alle  
 that him hide myzth,  
 but cam with him a reclayme  
 ffro costis abouzte,  
 and ffele with her ffetheris  
 fflat uppon the erthe,  
 as madde of her mynde,  
 and mercy besouzte;  
 they myzte not aschonne  
 the sorowe they had served,  
 so lymed leves  
 were leyde allabouzte,  
 and panteris prevyliche  
 pight uppon the grounde,  
 with grennes of good heere  
 that God him self made,  
 that where so thay walkid  
 they waltrid dounwardis.  
 And evere hoved the egle  
 on hie on the skyes,  
 and kenned clerliche,  
 as his kynde axith,  
 alle the prevy poyntis  
 that the pies wrouzth.

*Passus tertius.*

Now leve we this beu brid,  
 till I restore,



ffor mater that my mynde  
is meved in now,  
that whi the hie hertis  
her hele so mysside,  
that pasture axid rith  
to here pure wombis ;  
I wolle schewe as I sawe,  
tille I se better,  
and if I walke out of the wey,  
I wolle me repente.  
Now herkeneth, hende men,  
how that me thynkyth,  
savyngge sovereynes  
and sages avyse,  
that the moste myscheff  
uppon molde on  
is demed the dede  
ydo azeins kynde.  
Ȝit clereth this clause  
no thinge my wittis,  
without more mater,  
what it mene wolde.  
I mene of the hertis  
that hauteesse of ȝeris,  
that pasture prikkyth,  
and her prevy age,  
whan they han hoblid on the holte  
an hundrid of ȝeris,  
that they ffeblen in ffeisshe,  
in ffelle and in bonis ;  
her kynde is to kevere,  
if they cacche myȝth,  
adders that [h]armen  
alle hende bestis,  
thoru busschis and bromes  
this beste of his kynde

secheth and sercheth  
 tho schrewed wormes,  
 that steleth on the stedes  
 to stynghe hem to deth ;  
 and whanne it happeth the herte  
 to hente the edder,  
 he puttyth him to peyne,  
 as his pray asketh,  
 and ffedith him on the venym,  
 his ffelle to anewe,  
 to leve at more lykyng  
 a longe tyme after.  
 This is clergie hir kynde,  
 coltis<sup>1</sup> [nat] to greve,  
 ne to hurle with haras,  
 ne hors<sup>2</sup> well atamed ;  
 ne to stryve with swan,<sup>3</sup>  
 thouȝ it sholle werre ;  
 ne to bayten on the bere,<sup>4</sup>  
 ne bynde him nother,  
 ne to wilne to woo,  
 that were hem ny sibbe ;  
 ne to liste ffor to loke  
 that her alie bledde.  
 This was aȝeins kynde,  
 as clerkis me tolde ;  
 and therffor the hertis  
 hire hele so myssid,

<sup>1</sup> The colt is intended as an allusion to Thomas Fitz-Alan, son of the earl of Arundel.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, beheaded in the 21st Richard II. A horse was the cognizance of this family.

<sup>3</sup> The swan was Thomas, duke of Gloucester, murdered at Calais.

<sup>4</sup> The bear was the badge of the Beauchamps, and here represents Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who was banished to the Isle of Man by Richard II.

and myzte nat passe the poynte  
of her prime age.

Now constrew ho so kunne,  
I can saie no more,  
but ffare I wolle to the fflowle  
that I beffore tolde.

Off alle billid breddis  
that the bough spareth,  
the propirté of partriche  
to preise me lustith,  
that in the somer seson,  
whanne sittinge nyeth,  
that ich ffoule with his ffere  
ffolwith his kynde,  
this brid be a bank  
bildith his nest,  
and heipeth his heires,  
and hetith hem after.

And whane the dame hath ydo  
that to the dede longith,  
and hopith ffor to hacche  
or hervest begynne,  
thanne cometh ther a cougioun,  
with a grey cote,  
as not of his nolle,  
as he the nest made,  
another proud partriche,  
and precyth to the nest,  
and prevyliche pirith  
tille the dame passe,  
and sesith on hir sete,  
with hir softe plumes,  
and hoveth the eyren  
that the hue laide,  
and with hir corps kevereth hem  
tille that they kenne,

and ffostrith and ffoðith,  
 tille ffoðris schewe,  
 and cotis of kynde  
 hem kevere alle abouzte.  
 But as sone as they styffe,  
 and that they steppe kunne,  
 than cometh and crieth  
 her owen kynde dame,  
 and they ffolwith the vois,  
 at the ffrist note,  
 and leveth the lurker  
 that hem er ladde,  
 ffor the schrewe schrapid  
 to selde ffor her wombis,  
 that her lendys were lene,  
 and leved with hunger.  
 But than the dewe dame  
 dineth hem swythe,  
 and ffostrith hem fforthe  
 tille they fle kunne.  
 "What is this to mene, man?"  
 maiste thu axe,  
 "ffor it is derklich endited  
 "ffor a dulle panne;  
 "wherffore I wilne,  
 "zif it thi wille were,  
 "the partriche propurtés  
 "by whom that thu menest."  
 A! hicke hevyheed!  
 hard is thi nolle,  
 to cacche ony kunnyng,  
 but cautelle bigynne.  
 Herdist thu not with eeris  
 how that I er tellde,  
 how the egle in the est  
 entrid his owene,

and cried and clepid  
after his owen kynde briddis,  
that weren anoyed in his nest,  
and norished full ille,  
and welle ny yworewid  
with a wronge leder?  
But the nedy nestlingis,  
whan they the note herde  
of the [h]ende egle,  
the heyer of hem alle,  
they busked ffro the busches  
and breris that hem noyed,  
and burnished her beekis,  
and bent to him-wardis,  
and ffolowid him ffersly  
to ffighte ffor the wrongis;  
they bablid with her billis  
how thei bete were,  
and tenyd with twiggis,  
two and twenty 3eris.  
Thus lafte they the leder  
that hem wrong ladde,  
and tymed no twynte,  
but tolled her cornes,  
And gaderid the grotus  
with gyle, as I trowe.  
Than ffolwid they her ffre ffader,  
as good ffeith wolde,  
that he hem ffede shulde,  
and ffostre fforther,  
and bringe hem out of bondage,  
that they were brouȝth inne.  
Thanne sighed the swymmers,  
ffor the swan ffailid,  
and ffolwid this ffaucoun  
thoru ffeldus and tounes,  
with many ffaire ffoole,  
thouȝ they ffeynte were,



and hevy ffor the hirte  
 that the hors hadde.  
 Ȝit they fferkyd hem fforth  
 as ffaste as they myȝte,  
 to have the egles helpe  
 of harme that they hadde;  
 ffor he was heed of hem alle,  
 and hieste of kynde,  
 to kepe the crowne,  
 as cronecle tellith.  
 He blythid the beere,  
 and his broud braste,  
 and lete him go at large  
 to lepe where he wolde.  
 But tho alle the berlingis  
 brast out at ones,  
 as ffayne was the ffoule  
 that fflieeth on the skyes  
 that bosse was unbounde  
 and brouute to his owene.  
 They gaderid hem togedir  
 on a grette rouȝte,  
 to helpe the heeris  
 that had many wrongis;  
 they gaglide fforth on the grene,  
 ffor they greved were,  
 that her ffrendis were ffalle  
 thoru ffelouns castis.  
 They mornyd ffor the morthir  
 of manffulle knyȝtis,  
 that many a styff storne  
 withstode ffor the comunes;  
 the[y] mouside the marchalle<sup>1</sup>  
 ffor his myssedede,  
 that evelle coude his craft,  
 whan he cloped the stede.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas de Mowbray, earl marshal, afterwards created duke of Norfolk.

And evere as they ffolwide  
this flaucoun aboute,  
at iche mevinge fforte,  
venyaunce they asked  
on alle that assentid  
to that synfulle dede.

Arere now to Richard,  
and reste here a while,  
ffor a prevy poynt  
that persith my wittis,  
of ffautis I ffynde  
that ffrist dede engendre  
cursidnesse and combraunce  
amonge the yonge lordis,  
and the wikkid werchinge  
that walmed in her daies,  
and 3it wolle hereafter,  
but wisdome it lette.  
That were a lord of lond  
that lawe hathe in honde,  
that to lyghtliche leveth,  
or lewté apere,  
the tale of a triffour  
in turmentours wede,  
that nevere reed good rewle,  
ne resons bookis;  
ffor ben they rayed arith  
they recchith no fforthier,  
but studieth alle in strountynge,  
and stireth amys evere;  
ffor alle his witte in his wede  
ys wrappid fforsothe,  
more than in mater to amende  
the peple that ben mysled.  
Ffor I say ffor my self,  
and schewe, as me thynchith,

that ho is rialle of his ray,  
 that light reede him ffolwith,  
 3it swiche ffresshe ffoodis  
 beth ffeet into chambris,  
 and ffor her dignesse endauntid  
 of dullisshe nollis.  
 And if thu welle waite  
 of no wight ellis,  
 than waite no wayes  
 how the while turneth,  
 with gyuleris joyffulle  
 ffor here gery jaces,  
 and ffor her wedis so wyde  
 wise beth yholde;  
 they casteth hem to creaunce  
 the courte ffor to plese,  
 and hopen to be hied  
 in hast, yif they my3the,  
 thoru swiche stif stroutynge  
 that stroyeth the rewme;  
 but here wey is alle wronge  
 ther wisdom is ynned,  
 But they lepith als lyghly,  
 at the longe goynge,  
 out of the domes carte,  
 as he that throff nevere.  
 For they kepeth no coyne  
 that cometh to here hondis,  
 but chaunchyth it ffor cheynes  
 that in Chepe hangith,  
 and settith alle her silver  
 in seintis and hornes,  
 and ffordoth the coyne,  
 and many other craftis,  
 and maketh the peple ffor penslac  
 in pointe ffor to wepe;

and ȝit they beth ytake fforth,  
and her tale leved,  
and ffor her newe nyseté  
nexte to the lordis.  
Now be the law of Lyddford,  
in londe ne in water,  
thilke lewde ladde  
ouȝte evylle to thryve,  
that hongith on his hippis  
more than he wynneth,  
and douȝteth no dette,  
so dukis hem preise,  
but beggith and borwith  
of burgeis in tounes  
ffurris of ffoyne  
and other ffelle whare,  
and not the better of a bene,  
thouȝ they boru evere.  
And but if the slevis  
slide on the erthe,  
thei wolbe wroth as the wynde,  
and warie hem that it made;  
and ȝif it were elbowis  
adown to the helis,  
or passinge the knee,  
it was not acounted;  
and if Pernelle preisid  
the plytis bihynde,  
the costis were accountid,  
paye whan he myȝth.  
The leesinge so likyde  
ladies and other,  
that they joied of the jette,  
and gyside hem therunder;  
and if Ffelice ffonde  
ony ffaute thenne of the makyng,

yt was ysent sone  
to shape of the newe.  
But now ther is a gyse,  
the queyntest of alle,  
a wondir coriouse crafte,  
ycome now late,  
that men clepith kerving  
the clothe alle to pecis,  
that sevene goode sowers  
sixe wekes after  
moun not sett the seemes,  
ne sewe hem azeyn.  
But ther is a pr[o]ffith in that pride,  
that I preise evere.  
Ffor thei ffor the pesinge  
paieth pens ten duble  
that the clothe costened,  
the craft is so dere.  
Now if I sothe shalle saie,  
and shonne side tales,  
ther is as moche good witte  
in swyche gomes nollis,  
as thu shuldist mete of a myst  
ffro morwe tylle even.  
Ȝit blame I no burne  
to be as him ouzte,  
in comliche clothinge,  
as his statt axith;  
but to ledyn her lust  
alle here lyff daies  
in quentise of clothinge,  
ffor to queme sir Pride,  
and evere more strontynge,  
and no store kepe,  
and iche day a newe devyse,  
it dullith my wittis



that ony lord of a lond  
shulde leve swiche thingis,  
or clepe to his conceille  
swiche manere cotis,  
that loveth more her lustis  
than the lore of oure Lord.  
And if a lord his leveré  
lyste ffor to zeve,  
ther may no gome ffor goodnesse  
gette therof but lite,  
ffor curtesie, ffor comlynesse,  
ne ffor his kynde herte ;  
but rather ffor his rancour  
and rennyng overe peple,  
ffor braggyng and ffor bostynge,  
and beringe uppon oilles,  
ffor cursidnes of conscience,  
and comynge to the assizes.  
This makyth men mysdo  
more than ouzte ellis,  
and to stronte and to stare,  
and stryve azeyn vertu.  
So clergie the cause  
comsiþ in grette,  
of alle manere myscheff  
that men here usyn.  
Ffor wolde they blame the burnes  
that brouzte newe gysis,  
and dryve out the dagges,  
and alle the Duche cotis ;  
and sette hem aside,  
and scorte of hem telle,  
and lete hem pleye in the porche,  
and presse non ynnere,  
ne no proude peniles  
with his peynte sleve ;

and eke reprove robbers  
and riffleris of peple,  
fflatteris and ffals men  
that no ffeith useth,  
and alle deabolik doeris  
dispise hem ichone;  
and coile out the knyztys  
that knowe welle hem self,  
that were sad of her sawis,  
and suffre welle couude,  
and had traveilid in her tyme  
and temprid hem self,  
and cherliche cheriche hem  
as cheff in the halle,  
ffor to ordeyne officeris  
and alle other thyngis;  
men shuld wete in a while  
that the world wolde amende,  
so vertue wolde fflowe  
whan vicis were ebbid.  
But now so the mater  
that I beffore meved,  
of the gomes so gay  
that grace hadde offendid,  
and how stille that steddeffaste  
stode amonge this reccheles peple,  
that had awilled his wyll  
as wisdom him taughte;  
ffor he drough him to an herne  
at the halle ende,  
welle homelich yhelid  
in an holsume gyse,  
not overe lenge, but ordeyned  
in the olde schappe,  
with grette browis ybente,  
and a berde eke,

and ywounde in his wedis,  
as the wedir axith ;  
he wondrid in his wittis,  
as he welle myȝthe,  
that the hie housinge  
herborowe ne myghte  
half-delle the houshoulde,  
but hailes hem helped ;  
but ffor crafte that he coude  
caste thenne or bethenke,  
he myȝte not wonne in the wones,  
ffor witt that he usid,  
but arouutid ffor his ray,  
and rebuked ofte,  
he had leve of the lord,  
and of ladies alle,  
ffor his good governaunce,  
to go or he drank.  
Ther was non of the mené,  
that they ne merveilid moche,  
how he cam to the courte,  
and was not yknowe ;  
but als sone as they wiste  
that Witt was his name,  
and that the kyng knewe him not,  
ne non of his knyȝtis,  
he was halowid and yhuntid,  
and yhotte trusse,  
and his dwellinge ydemed  
a bowe drawte ffrom hem,  
and ich man ycharchid  
to schoppe at his croune,  
ȝif he nyhed hem ony nere  
than they had him nempned.  
The portir with his pikis  
tho put him uttere,

and warned him the wickett  
 while the wacche durid.  
 "Lete sle him!" quod the sleves  
 that slode uppon the erthe;  
 and alle the berdles burnes  
 bayed on him evere,  
 and schorned him for his slaveyn  
 was of the olde schappe.  
 Thus Malaperte was myztffulle  
 and maister of hous,  
 and evere wandrid Wisdom  
 without the zatis.  
 "By him that wrouzte this world!"  
 quod Wisdom in wrath,  
 "but zif ze wolle sum tyme  
 "I walke in amonge zou,  
 "I shalle fforbede zou burnesse,  
 "the best on this erthe,  
 "that is governance of gettinge,  
 "and grace that him ffolowith;  
 "ffor these two trewly  
 "twynned zet nevere."  
 And so it ffelle on hem, in ffeith,  
 ffor ffauztis that they usid,  
 that her grace was agoo,  
 ffor grucchinge chere,  
 ffor the wronge that they wrouzte  
 to Wisdom affore.  
 Ffor tristith als trewly  
 as tyllinge us helpeth,  
 that iche rewme undir roff  
 of the reynebowe  
 sholde stable and stonde  
 be these thre degrés:  
 by governaunce of grete  
 and of good age;

by styffnesse and strengthe  
of steeris welle y-yokyd,  
that beth myzthffulle men,  
of the mydille age;  
and be laboreris of lond,  
that lyfflode ne ffayle.  
Thanne wolde reule,  
if reson where amongis us,  
that ich leode lokide  
what longid to his age,  
and nevere ffor to passe more  
oo poynt fforther,  
to usurpe the service  
that to sages bilongith,  
to become conselleris  
er they kunne rede,  
in schenshepe of sovereynes,  
and shame at the last.  
Ffor it ffallith as welle  
to ffodis of xxiiij. ȝeris,  
or yonge men of yistirday  
to ȝeve good redis,  
as becometh a kow  
to hoppe in a cage.  
It is not unknowen  
to kunnyng leodis,  
that rewlers of rewmes  
around alle the erthe  
were not yffoundid,  
at the ffrist tyme,  
to leve al at likyng  
and lust of the world,  
but to laboure on the lawe,  
as lewde men on plowes,  
and to merke meyntenourz  
with maces ichonne,



and to strie stronters  
 that stered azeine rithis,  
 and alle the myssedoers  
 that they myzte ffynde,  
 to put hem in preson,  
 a peere thouz he were ;  
 and to rewle as reremys,  
 and rest on the daies,  
 and spende of the spicerie  
 more than it nedid,  
 bothe wexe and wyn,  
 in wast alle abouzte,  
 with deyntis ydoublid,  
 and daunsinge to pipis,  
 in myrthe with moppis,  
 myrroures of synne.  
 3it fforbede I no burne  
 to be blithe sum while ;  
 but alle thinge hath tyme,  
 ffor to tempre glees ;  
 ffor caste alle the countis  
 that the kyng holdith,  
 and loke how these lordis  
 loggen hem self,  
 and evere shalle thu ffynde,  
 as ffer as thu walkiste,  
 that <sup>1</sup> wisdom and overwacche  
 wonneth ffer asundre ;  
 but whane the governaunce goth ther  
 with tho the hous gie shulde,  
 and letith lyghte of the lawe,  
 and lesse of the peple,

Nota, nota,  
 nota.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *What*, in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> This note is in the margin of | the MS., and expresses the sentiment of the scribe.

and herkeneth alle to honour,  
 and to ese eke,  
 and that ich wyght with his wittis  
 waite on him evere,  
 to do hem reverence aright,  
 thouz the rigge brest,  
 this warmnesse in welth,  
 with wy uppon erthe,  
 myzte not longe dure,  
 as doctourz us tellith.  
 Ffor ho so thus leved  
 his lyff to the ende,  
 evere wrappid in welle,  
 and with no wo mette,  
 myzte saie that he sawe  
 that seie was nevere,  
 that hevene were unhonge  
 out of the hookis,  
 and were boun at his bidding,  
 3if it be myzte.  
 But clerkis kne[w] I non 3ete  
 that so coude rede  
 in bokis ybounde,  
 thouz 3e brouzte alle,  
 that ony wy welldith  
 wonnyng uppon erthe,  
 ffor in welle and in woo  
 the werld evere turneth.  
 3it ther is kew-kaw,  
 thouz he come late,  
 a new thing that noyeth  
 nedy men and other,

Propter  
 ingrati-  
 tudinem  
 liber  
 hic revo-  
 cat in ser-  
 vitutem,  
 ut in sti-  
 mulo com-  
 punctionis  
 et in lege  
 civili.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This marginal note, by the  
 writer of the manuscript, shows that  
 he was not a partizan of the house  
 of Lancaster, and that he dis-

approved of the sentiments con-  
 tained in the poem. The word  
*servitutem* seems to imply a pun  
 upon *liber*.

whanne realles remeveth,  
 and ridith thoru tounes,  
 and carieth overe contré  
 ther comunes dwelleth,  
 to preson the pillourz  
 that overe the pore renneth ;  
 for that were evene in her weye,  
 if they welle ride.

But zit ther is a ffoule ffauzte  
 that I ffynde ofte,  
 they prien affter presentis  
 or pleyntis ben yclepid,  
 and abateth alle the billis  
 of tho that nouzth bringith ;  
 and ho so grucche or grone  
 azeins her grette willes,  
 may lese her lyff lyghtly,  
 and no lesse weddis.

Thus is the lawe lonyd,  
 thoru myzhty lordis willys,  
 that meyneteyne myssdoers  
 more than other peple ;  
 ffor meynetenaunce many day,  
 welle more is the reuthe !

hath yhad mo men  
 at mete and at melis  
 than ony cristen kyng  
 that ze knewe evere.  
 Ffor as reson and rith  
 rehersid to me ones,  
 tho ben men of this molde  
 that most harme worchen.

Ffor chyders of Chester  
 where chose many daies  
 to ben of conceille ffor causis  
 that in the court hangid,

and pledid pipoudris,  
alle manere pleyntis.  
They cared ffor no coyffes  
that men of court usyn,  
but meved many maters  
that man never thouzte,  
and ffeyned ffalshed  
till they a ffyne had,  
and knewe no manere cause,  
as comunes tolde;  
thei had non other signe  
to schewe the lawe  
but a prevy pallette  
her pannes to kepe,  
to hille here lewde heed  
in stede of an hone.  
They constrewed quarellis  
to quenche the peple,  
and pletid with pollaxis  
and poyntis of swerdis;  
and at the dome zevynge  
drowe out the bladis,  
and lente men levere  
of her longe battis.  
They lacked alle vertues  
that a juge shulde have;  
ffor, er a tale were ytolde,  
they wolde trie the harmes,  
without ony answere,  
but ho his lyf hatid,  
and ho so pleynded to the prince  
that pees shulde kepe,  
of these mystir men,  
medlers of wrongis,  
he was lygh[t]liche ylauzte,  
and yluggyd of many,

and ymummyd on the mouthe,  
and manaced to the deth.  
They leid on thi leigis, Richard,  
lasshis ynowe,  
and drede nevere a dele  
the dome of the lawe.  
Ther nas rial of the rewme  
that hem durste rebuke,  
ne juge ne justice  
that jewis durste hem deme,  
ffor oute that thei toke  
or trespassid to the peple.  
This was a wondir world,  
ho so well lokyd,  
that gromes overegrewe  
so many grette maistris;  
ffor this was the rewle in this rewme,  
while they here regnyd.  
Thouȝ I satte sevene-nyght,  
and slepte ffulle selde,  
of many mo wrongis  
than I write coude;  
ffor selde were the serigauntis  
souȝte ffor to plete,  
or ony prentise of courte  
preied of his wittis,  
the while the Dogonys domes  
weren so endautid.  
Tille oure sire in his see,  
above the vij<sup>ne</sup> steris,  
sawe the many mysschevys  
that these men dede,  
and no mendis ymade,  
but menteyne it evere,  
of him that was hiest  
yholde [for] to kepe



his liegis in lawe,  
and so her love gette.  
He sente ffor his servantis,  
that sembled many,  
of baronys and baccheleris,  
with many brizth helmes,  
with the comunes the contrés  
they cam alle at ones,  
and, as a duke douzty  
in dedis of armes,  
in fulle realle aray  
he rood uppon hem evere,  
tyll Degon and Dobyn,  
that mennys doris brastyn,  
and were ydubbid of a duke  
ffor her while domes,  
and awakyd ffor wecchis  
and wast that they usid,  
and ffor her breme blastis  
buffettis henten.

Than gan it to calme  
and clere alle abouzte,  
that iche man myzte,  
ho so mynde hadde,  
se be the sonne,  
that so brizte schewed,  
the mone at the mydday  
meve and the steris,  
ffolwinge ffelouns  
ffor her ffalse dedis,  
devourours of vetaile  
that ffouzten er thei paid.

*Passus quartus.*

Ffor where was evere ony cristen kyng,  
that ze evere knewe,

that helde swiche an household  
be the half-delle  
as Richard in this rewme,  
thoru myserule of other;  
that alle his ffynys ffor ffauztis,  
ne his ffee ffermes,  
ne fforffeyturis ffele  
that ffelle in his daies;  
ne the nownagis  
that newed him evere,  
as Marche and Moubray,  
and many mo other;  
ne alle the issues of court  
that to the kyng longid;  
ne sellynge that sowkid  
silver rith ffaste;  
ne halle the prophete of the lond  
that the prince owed,  
whane the countis were caste,  
with the custum of wullus,  
myzte not areche,  
ne his rent nother,  
to paie the pore peple  
that his purvyours toke,  
withoute preiere at a parliament,  
a poundage biside,  
and a fiffeneth  
and a dyme eke,  
and withalle the custum of the clothe  
that cometh to ffayres;  
and zet ne had creaunce  
icome at the last ende,  
with the comunes curse  
that cleved on hem evere,  
they had be drawe to the devylle  
ffor dette that they owed.

And whanne the reot and the reevele  
the rent thus passid,  
and no thing ylafte  
but the bare baggis,  
than ffelle it afforse  
to ffile hem azeyne,  
and ffeyned sum ffolic,  
that ffailid hem never,  
and cast it be colis,  
with her conceille at evene,  
to have prevy parlement  
for propffitt of hem self;  
and lete write writtis  
alle in wex closid,  
ffor peeris and prelatis,  
that thei apere shuld;  
and sente side sondis  
to schrevys abouzte,  
to chese swiche chevallaris  
as the charge wold,  
to schewe ffor the schire  
in company with the grete.  
And whanne it drowe to the day  
of the dede doynge,  
that sovereynes were semblid,  
and the schire knyztis,  
than as her fforme is,  
ffrist they begynne to declare  
the cause of her comynge,  
and than the kyngis wille.  
Comliche a clerk than  
comsid the wordis,  
and pronouncid the poyntis  
aparte to hem alle,  
and meved ffor mony  
more than ffor out ellis,

in glosinge of grette,  
lest greyves arise,  
and whanne the tale was tolde  
anon to the ende,  
amorwe thei must, affore mete,  
mete togedir,  
the knyztis of the comuneté,  
and carpe of the maters,  
with citiseyns of shiris  
ysent ffor the same,  
to reherse the articles  
and graunte alle her askynge.  
But ȝit ffor the manere,  
to make men blynde,  
somme argued aȝein rith  
then a good while,  
and said, "We beth servauntis  
" and sallere ffongen,  
" and ysente ffro the shiris  
" to shewe what hem greveth,  
" and to parle ffor her prophete,  
" and passe no fferthere,  
" and to graunte of her gold  
" to the grett wattis  
" by no manere wronge way,  
" but if werre were ;  
" and if we ben ffals  
" to tho us here ffyndyth,  
" evylle be we worthy  
" to welden oure hire."  
Than satte summe,  
as siphre doth in awgrym,  
that noteth a place,  
and no thing availith ;  
and some had ysoupid  
with Symond overe even,

and schewed ffor the shire,  
and here schew lost ;  
and somme were tituleris,  
and to the kyng wente,  
and fformed him of foos,  
that good ffrendis weren,  
that bablid ffor the best  
and no blame served,  
of kyng ne conceille,  
ne of the comunes nother,  
ho so toke good kepe  
to the culorum ;  
and somme slombrid and slepte,  
and said but a lite ;  
and somme maffid with the mouth,  
and nyst what they ment ;  
and somme had hire,  
and helde therwith evere,  
and wolde no fforther a ffoot,  
ffor ffer of her maistris ;  
and some were so soleyne  
and sad of her wittis,  
that er they come to the clos  
acombred they were,  
that thei the conclucioun  
than constrewe ne couthe,  
no burne of the benche,  
of borowe nother ellis,  
so blynde and so ballid  
and bare was the reson ;  
and somme were so ffers  
at the ffrist come,  
that they bente on a bonet,  
and bare a topte saile  
affor the wynde ffresshely,  
to make a good ffare.



Than lay the lordis alee  
with laste and with charge,  
and bare abouzte the barge,  
and blamed the maister,  
that knewe not the kynde cours  
that to the crafte longid,  
and warned him wisely  
of the wedir side.

Thanne the maste in the myddis,  
at the monthe ende,  
bowid ffor brestyng,  
and brouzte hem to lond;  
ffor ne had thei striked a strake,  
and sterid hem the better,  
and abated a bonet,  
or the blast come,  
they had be throwe overe the borde,  
backewarde ichonne.

And some were acombrid  
with the conceille beffore,  
and wiste welle ynow  
how it sholde ende,  
or some of the semblé  
shulde repente.

Some helde with the mo,  
how it evere wente;  
and somme dede rith so,  
and wold go no fforther;  
some parled as perte,  
as provyd welle after,  
and clappid more ffor the coyne  
that the kyng owed hem,  
thanne ffor comfforte of the comyne  
that her cost paied,  
and were behote hansell,  
if they helpe wolde,

to be servyd sekirly  
 of the same silvere ;  
 and some dradde dukis,  
 and Dowelle fforsoke . . . .

\* \* \* \*

GOWER'S TRIPARTITE CHRONICLE.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Ista tripartita sequitur quæ mente perita  
 Chronica servetur, nam pars quæ prima videtur  
 Est opus humanum, pars illa secunda profanum  
 Est opus inferni, pars tertia jure superni  
 Est opus in Christo ; vir qui bene sentit in isto  
 Scire potest mira, quid amor sit, quid sit et ira ;  
 Est tamen hoc clamor, Omnia vincit amor.*

<sup>b</sup> *Tolle caput mundi, c. ter sex<sup>2</sup> lustra fer illi,  
 Et decies quinque cum septem post superadde ;  
 Tempus tale nota, quia tunc fuit Anglia mota,  
 Dum stat commotus Ricardus amore remotus.*

<sup>a</sup> Opus humanum est inquirere pacem et prosequi eam ; hoc enim fecerunt hi tres procures de quibus infra fit mentio ubi fides interfuit. Opus inferni est pacem turbare justosque regni interficere ; hoc enim Ricardus capitosus dolosa circumventionem facere non timuit. Opus in Christo est deponere superbos de sede et exaltare humiles ; hoc enim Deus fecit, odiosum Ricardum de solio suo projecit, et pium Henricum omni dilectione gratissimum cum gloria sublimari constituit.

<sup>b</sup> Hic in prima parte chronice compositor tempora distinguens, causas unde regnum fuit in se divisum postmodum per singula tractabit.

<sup>1</sup> This interesting political poem is here printed from two manuscripts in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Tiberius A. iv. fol. 152, r<sup>o</sup> ; MS. Harl. No. 6291, fol. 134, r<sup>o</sup> ; and a well-known MS. of Gower's Latin poems in the library, All

Souls' College, Oxford. The variations between the MSS. are inconsiderable, and it has not been thought necessary to carry the collations further than these three manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> *ter et sex*, MS. Cot. and Harl.

Principio regis oritur transgressio legis,  
 Quo fortuna cadit, et humus retrograda vadit;  
 Quomodo surrexit populus, quem non bene rexit.  
 Tempus adhuc plangit super hoc quod chronica tangit;  
 Libro testante stat chronica scripta per ante;  
 Est alibi dicta, transit nec ab aure relicta.  
 Audistis mira vulgaris quæ tulit ira;  
 Omnibus in villis timuit vir justus ab illis.

<sup>c</sup> Rex induratum cor semper habet, neque fatum  
 Tale remordebat mala semper quin faciebat.<sup>1</sup>  
 Stultorum vile sibi consilium juvenile  
 Legerat, et sectam senium dedit esse rejectam;  
 Consilio juvenum spiraverat ille venenum,  
 Quo bona prædaret procerum quos mortificaret.  
 Sic malus ipse malis adhæsit, eisque sodalis  
 Efficitur, tota regis pietate remota.  
 Tunc accusare quosdam præsumpsit avare;  
 Unde catallorum gazas spoliaret eorum.  
 Tres sunt antiqui proceres, quos regis iniqui  
 Ira magis novit, et eos occidere vovit.  
<sup>d</sup> Et sic qui cati pellem cupit excoriati,  
 Fingebat causas fallaci pectore clausas,  
 Cautius ut factum sibi possit habere subactum.  
 Leges conduxit pro parte suaque reduxit.  
 Munere corrupti, suadente timoreque rupti,  
 Legis in errorem regi tribuere favorem.  
 Hi tunc legistæ, quicquid rex dixerat ipse,  
 Foedera componuntque sigilla sub ordine ponunt.  
 Tum rex lætatur super hoc quod fortificatur,

<sup>c</sup> Qualiter infortunatus rex Ricardus, virgam Dei non metuens, de malo in pejus suam semper malitiam continuavit.

<sup>d</sup> Nota de iudiciis illis qui, ut regis errorem præcipue contra illos tres proceres quos occidere vellet justificarent, literas sub eorum sigillis scriptas erronee composuerunt.

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<sup>1</sup> *qui faciebat*, MS. Cotton. *ipsum qui jure carebat*, MS. All Souls' Col.

Quo magis ad plenum diffundat ille venenum.  
Tunc aderant tales juvenes qui sunt speciales,  
Laudantes regem quia vertit sic sibi legem.

<sup>e</sup> Hoc concernentes alique dolos metuentes,  
Ad defendendum statuunt cito quid sit agendum.  
Tunc rex festinat, et ad hoc sua jussa propinat,  
Ut tres quærantur ubi sunt et ibi capiantur.  
Tunc tres, qui justi fuerant et ad arma robusti,  
Factum disponunt et ad hoc sua robora ponunt.  
Qui fuerant isti procures in nomine Christi  
Expedi ut dicam, referens et eis benedicam.  
Si non directe procerum cognomina, recte  
Hæc tamen obscura referam latitante figura.  
Scribere quæ tendo, si mystica verba legendo  
Auribus apportant, verum tamen illa reportant.

<sup>f</sup> Sunt olor, ursus, equus ; stat eorum quilibet æquus,  
Non hi divisi, sed in unum sunt quasi visi.

<sup>g</sup> Penna coronata tribus his fuit associata ;

<sup>h</sup> Qui gerit tandem turmam comitatur eandem.  
Nobilis ille quidem probus et juvenis fuit idem,  
Sic quasi de cœlis interfuit ille fidelis.

<sup>i</sup> Hac sub fortuna præsens aquilonica luna,  
Non fuit ad sortem, sequitur sed mente cohortem.

<sup>j</sup> Qui solem gessit tenebrosus lumina nescit,  
In Trojæ metas dum vendicat ipse diætas.

Troja fuit prima, per quam sol tendit ad ima,  
Pallet in eclipsi populus, quia non favet ipsi.  
Obsistunt turbæ Phœbo ne scandat in urbe,  
Dumque suis alis cygnus fuit imperialis.

<sup>e</sup> Qualiter tres procures prædicti, de regis malitia certius præmuniti, in sui defensionem roborati sunt.

<sup>f</sup> Nota de nominibus trium procerum prædictorum sub figura.

<sup>g</sup> Comes Marescallus.

<sup>h</sup> Strenuissimus comes Derbeia.

<sup>i</sup> Comes Northumbriæ, cujus signum fuit luna crescens.

<sup>j</sup> Qualiter rex, cujus signum sol erat, cives Londonienses pro auxilio ab eis contra dictos tres procures obtinendo requisivit, sed illi regis malitiam perplectentes eidem nullatenus consenserunt.

<sup>k</sup> Fraus tamen obliquas nubes commovit iniquas,  
 Extera dum rebus tentavit lumina Phœbus.  
 Cestria surrexit, aper in qua lumina rexit,  
 Regis vexillum fatue signaverat illum,  
 Sed conspiranti Deus obstat et insidianti,  
 Quo dolus exosos involvit fine dolosos.  
 Auxilio cygni regis pro parte maligni  
 Si vis quæretur, contraria vis operatur.  
 Quærit aper latebras fraudis mortisque tenebras,  
 Quo regnum pereat regisque superbia fiat.  
 Cygnus et expresse super his quæ cernit adesse  
 Providet, et curam regni colit ipse futuram.  
 Ducit aper gentes, quas concitat arma gerentes  
 Liber ut his pergat proceresque per omina spergat,  
<sup>l</sup> Cygnus ut hoc scivit, venientibus obvius ivit  
 Belliger, et purgat regnum quo vita resurgat.  
 Cum Venus incepit lucem sors bella recepit;  
 Stat Thetis a parte, cecidit dum Cestria marte;  
 Thamisiæ fluctus capiunt de sanguine luctus;  
 Vicit olor pennis, sit ei quo vita perennis.  
 Tunc aper Oxoniæ recidit de sede sophiæ,  
 Cum prope stat villam, maledixerat impius illam.  
 Non ibi permansit fugiens sed aper vada transit,  
 Infortunatus fit ibi de fonte renatus.  
 De vulpis cauda velox aper est ut alaunda,  
 Cauda ruit castra quæ sunt numero velut astra.  
 Sic quia deliquit, vacuus sua castra reliquit,  
 Pauper et exposcit foveam qua vivere possit.

<sup>k</sup> Qualiter rex comitem Oxoniæ, qui per aprum designatur, ut ipse contra tres procures antedictos gentes bellatrices secum duceret, in partes Cestriæ una cum regio vexillo destinavit.

<sup>l</sup> Qualiter quodam die Veneris comes Oxoniæ cum suis sequentibus, in conspectu ducis Gloverniæ, qui tunc vulpis caudam in lancea gessit, prope villam Oxoniæ iu fugam se vertit, et castra, quæ ipse familiæ suæ pro signo gestanda attribuerat, ad terram absque relevamine finaliter projecta sunt. Nam et ipse comes, ut securiori modo vitam servaret, profugus ultra mare navigio transiit.



Sed neque castrorum juvat aprum pompa suorum,  
 Nec sibi fossa datur, dum profugus inde fugatur.  
 Hæc ita cum vidit, quod eum fortuna rescidit,  
 Per mare transivit, alibi quo vivere quivit.  
 Sic aper in leporem mutatus perdit honorem,  
 Amplius et certus locus est sibi nullus apertus.

<sup>m</sup> Nil odor incensi tunc profuit Eboracensi,  
 Sed nec mitra choris, nec opes, nec culmen honoris ;  
 Ad regale latus cum plus sit ad alta levatus,  
 Corruit a sede, sic transit præsul ab æde.  
 Curæ mercator primas fuit et spoliator,  
 Pauper et abscessit, quem prævia culpa repressit.  
 Sic fugit hic prædo cleri nova villa Macedo,  
 Quem quia sic vixit pater ecclesiæ maledixit.

<sup>n</sup> Est comes elatus, fallax, cupidus, sceleratus,  
 Fraudes per mille stat cancellarius ille.  
 Hic proceres odit, et eorum nomina rodit  
 Morsibus a tergo, fit tandem profugus ergo.  
 Sic Deus in cœlis mala de puteo Michaelis  
 Acriter expurgat, ne plus comes ille resurgat.

<sup>o</sup> Alter et est talis sub regis qui cubat alis,  
 Mollis confessor, blandus scelerisque professor ;<sup>1</sup>  
 Extitit hic frater qui stat foris intus et ater,  
 Cujus nigredo fœdat loca regia credo.  
 Hic fuit obliquus procerum latitans inimicus,  
 Semper in augendo magis iram quam minuendo.  
 Hic tamen in fine fugit, et de sorte ruinæ

<sup>m</sup> Qualiter statim post fugam dicti comitis Oxoniæ, Alexander de Neville, tunc Eboracensis archiepiscopus, qui etiam cum rege in suis erroribus particeps erat, tunc metu ductus consimili fuga per mare reus evasit.

<sup>n</sup> Qualiter Michael de la Pole, comes Suffolciæ, qui tunc regis cancellarius erat, dum se culpabilem sentiit, trans mare etiam navigando ad sui salutem alibi se munivit.

<sup>o</sup> Qualiter etiam episcopus Cicestriæ, tunc regis confessor, conscius culpæ, extera loca pctens propria fugiendo reliquit.

Quæ mala spondebat aliis prius ipse luebat.  
Sunt ita prædicti cordis formidine victi,  
De propria vivi terra quod sunt fugitivi.

¶ Tunc tres personæ, qui pleni sunt ratione,  
Justitiam quærun, regem super hoc adierunt.  
Rex fuit ad muros Turris, procuresque futuros  
Vidit, et ex visu cognovit se sine risu.  
Armatis turbis portas intrantibus urbis,  
Intrant audaces procures in pace sequaces;  
Turrim ceperunt, ubi regis honore steterunt.  
Ejus ut a latere vitium poterint remove,  
Est iter inventum statuunt quo parliamentum,  
Ut sic purgarent regnique statum repararent.

¶ Terra counata fuerat de lege vocata,  
Rex sedet, et tutum fuit os commune locutum.  
Dicit enim tales qui regis collaterales  
Extiterant, gentes super hoc quod sunt fugientes,  
Judicium tale fuit exilium generale;  
De terra dempti sic sunt, non ense perempti;  
Est ita dilata procerum sententia lata.

¶ Hoc facto quærun alios qui tunc latuerunt,  
Quorum regalis camerarius est capitalis.  
Corruit in fata gladii vestis stragulata,  
Stat quia non recta magis est culpanda senecta;  
Lachryma reginæ dum poscit opem medicinæ,  
Obrutus amittit caput et sua funera mittit.

¶ Qualiter tres procures de querela antedicti Londoniis pariter  
advenientes, cum rege tunc apud Turrim existente, pro remedio  
in præmissis obtinendo, servata regis reverentia, colloquium paci-  
cum habuerunt; unde de regis consensu parliamentum infra breve  
Londoniis tenendum obtinuerunt.

¶ Qualiter in principio parlamenti concordatum est quod ab-  
sentia tunc illorum qui, ut præmittitur, a regno sponte fugierunt,  
in perpetuum exilium absque redemptione judicaretur.

¶ Qualiter parliamentum gradatim processit, præcipue contra  
illos qui regis iniqui fautores iniqui fuerunt, quorum Simon de  
Burlee miles, tunc regis camerarius, in judicio convictus mortis  
sententia decollatus est.

<sup>s</sup> Ecce senescalli non tantum lucra catalli,  
 Quæ mala quæsiuit, sceleris fortuna sitivit ;  
 Sed magis in mortem decrevit curia sortem,  
 Dum caput inclinat, gladius sibi jura propinat.  
 Ille quidem cygnum despexit, aprumque malignum  
 Semper laudavit, cor regis et infatuavit ;  
 Fallax, versutus, quasi vulpis fraude volutus,  
 Invidus et paci lingua fuit ille loquaci.  
 Nomen baronis cecidit, sic pons aquilonis,  
 Hoc rex erroris posuit sibi nomen honoris.

<sup>t</sup> Major erat villæ, tribulus dictus fuit ille,  
 Qui procures pungit regisque dolos magis ungit.  
 Hunc quasi consortem dilexit rex, quia sortem  
 Consilii cepit, quo mortem fine recepit.  
 Furcis pendebat quem primo terra trahebat ;  
 Ictum sic ensis non sentit Londoniensis.

<sup>u</sup> In banco regis qui librat pondera legis,  
 Juraque cognovit, aliis plus jura removit,  
 Cornubiensis erat ; si quis sua crimina quærat,  
 Pejor eo nullus, nec eo fallacior ullus.  
 Hic scelus instigat procures quos sæpe fatigat,  
 Unde fatigatus tandem perit hic sceleratus.  
 Crimine præstante super hoc quod fecerat ante,  
 Ad furcas tractus fit ibi pendendo subactus.  
 Pendula sors tristis morientibus accidit istis,  
 In manibus quorum pendebant jura virorum.

<sup>v</sup> Judicibus reliquis falsisque scienter iniquis,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Qualiter etiam Johannes Beauchamp miles, tunc regis hospitii senescallus, quem rex baronem de Briggenorth vocari constituit, amisso capite de curia recessit.

<sup>t</sup> Qualiter Nicholas Brembel, qui civis et major Londoniarum fuerat, ad furcas tractus et ibi suspensus, suam urbis libertatem turpiter amisit.

<sup>u</sup> Qualiter etiam Robertus Tresilian miles, qui tunc de banco regis iudex capitalis extitit, sub eadem furcarum pœna diem vitæ suæ judicialiter clausit extremum.

<sup>v</sup> Qualiter iudices alii, qui originales regis excessus, ut præ-

Ut patet ante nota, conclamat curia tota ;  
 Urbs, ager, et villa damnarunt falsa sigilla,  
 Quæ dederant causam sceleris regi magis ausam.  
 Non fuit hæc pœna, delictis quæ fore plena  
 Posset, et hoc certe vox plebis dixit aperte.  
 Sed nimis ornate pœnam ficta pietate  
 Pontifices regis moderantur ab ordine legis.  
 Sic non ense cadunt, sed in exilium mare vadunt ;  
 Quos inconsultos suscepit Hibernia stultos.  
 Legiferi tales super omnes sunt speciales,  
 Regis ad errorem qui plus tribuere favorem.  
 Sic non sorte pari statuit sors fata parari,  
 Ut reus incepit sic de mercede recepit ;  
 Exulat iste status, fuit alter decapitatus.  
 Hi cum cæduntur ad funera fune trahuntur ;  
 Dispar erat munus, fuerat tamen exitus unus ;  
 Quicquid homo volvit tandem mors omnia solvit.

\* Ut rex purgetur, ut regnum clarificetur,  
 Restat adhuc quæri poterit quo culpa mederi.  
 Absque Deo fratres fuerant hoc tempore patres,  
 Nec sibi confessa per eos est culpa repressa.  
 In vitiis arent, vitium qui mundificarent ;  
 Morum more carent, mores qui multiplicarent.  
 Fraudis in exemplum sic errat ab ordine templum,  
 Nec cavet ille status solita de sorde reatus.  
 Sunt ita transgressi fratres ad sacra professi,  
 Quod personarum Deus extitit ultor earum.  
 Ad regale latus non est status immaculatus,  
 Quo plusquam centum removentur abinde clientum ;  
 Lugent cantores, perdunt quia cantus honores ;  
 Plangunt scriptores scriptos de fraude rigores.  
 Transit adulator, sceleratus et insidiator,  
 Consilii fautor, inventor, et invidus auctor.

fertur, sigillis suis contra proceres roborarunt, ad instantiam  
 prælatorum absque mortis iudicio in partes Hiberniæ exules ab  
 Anglia transierunt.

\* Qualiter diversi fratres, diversarum curiarum tunc confessores,  
 una cum aliis ministris quampluribus, quasi palæe inutiles, per loca  
 disperguntur.



\* Stat manus extenta, nec cessat curia tenta,  
 Donec purgetur dolus omnis et evacuetur.  
 Falsi tentarunt justos, sed non superarunt  
 Nec prece nec dono, Christo mediante patrono.  
 Tempore quo stabant hi tres regnum solidabant;  
 Regem firmabant, vitiataque jura fugabant.  
 Sic emendatum regem faciunt renovatum,  
 Certius ut credunt, et sic cum laude recedunt.  
 Concinit omne forum benefactaque laudat eorum;  
 Talia dicentes sunt undique laude canentes.

‡ In Christi signo sit semper gloria cygno;  
 Laus et in hoc mundo sit equo, quem signat hirundo;  
 Ursus et ex ore populi fungatur honore.  
 Hi tres Anglorum fuerant exempla bonorum;  
 Regnum supportant alienaque pondera portant.  
 Reddat eis munus tribus qui est trinus et unus. Amen.

*Explicit prima pars chronice, et incipit secunda.*

Hic in secunda parte chronice declarat qualiter rex, sub umbra fictæ concordie pacem dissimulans tres proceres predictos dolose circumvenit, ita quod unum ex istis jugulari, alium decollari, fecit, tertium vero, una cum domino de Cobham, qui regni verus amicus semper extitit, in exilium mancipari tyrannica potestate, prohi dolor, destinavit. Insuper et, quod detestabile fuit, idem crudelissimus rex reverendum in Christo patrem Thomam Arundellie, tunc Cantuariæ archiepiscopum, de sede sua penitus expulit, ipsumque pro perpetuo in exilium delegari crudelissime constituit.

\* Qualiter proceres predicti de querela principales, si precibus aut donis flecti possent, sæpissime blandiuntur, sed illi tanquam veræ justitiæ executores, usque in suæ querelæ consummationem constanter astiterunt.

‡ Hic in fine compositor gesta dictorum trium procerum laudabiliter commendans, pro eis apud altissimum devotius exorat.



<sup>a</sup> O dolor in mente, sed, proh dolor, ore loquente !  
 Heuque meæ pennæ, scribam quia facta gehennæ,  
 Obice, singultu, lachrymis, pallenteque vultu ;  
 Vix mea lingua<sup>1</sup> sonat hæc quæ mihi chronica donat.  
 Ut prius audistis, hi tres quibus Anglia tristis,  
 Plus delectatur, magis hos fortuna minatur ;  
 Rex facie bina fallax, latitante ruina,  
 Omnia fingeatque dolos sub fraude tegebat.

<sup>b</sup> Ad regale latus quasi frater et sociatus  
 Cygnus erat factus, et eos quos vult facit actus.  
 Taliter est et equus regis de carmine cæcus,  
 Quod non discernit ea quæ fallacia cernit.  
 Est incantatus etiam quasi magnificatus  
 Ursus, et ignorat finem, qua sorte laborat.  
 Sed magis ut tuti mancant de lege statuti,  
 Hi regis quæerunt cartas, quas obtinuerunt.  
 Sic se conformant, sic se cum rege reformant,  
 Quod vivunt more quasi grex pastoris amore.  
 Hoc credunt plane, sed transit tempus inane,  
 Cum se stare putant, subito sua tempora mutant.

<sup>c</sup> Ecce scelus magnum latitans quasi vulpus in agnum ;  
 Sic dolus expectat quos ira tyrannica spectat.  
 O fraus ! oque dolus ! quos rex sub imagine solus,  
 Dum scelus exhausit, tam longo tempore clausit.  
 Sed magis ad plenum tunc fuderat ille venenum,  
 Quo prius inflatus quam sæpe dolet sceleratus ;  
 Turbinis ut ventus, sic irruit acra juvenus  
 In cygnum spretum, dum se putat esse quietum.

<sup>a</sup> In hac secunda parte chronicae compositor primo ea quæ postsequuntur dolorosa infortunia doloroso corde deplangit.

<sup>b</sup> Qualiter ut hi tres procures de quibus audistis cum rege, quem dolosum sciebant, pacem securiorem habere possent, cartas concordia ab ipso impetratas obtinuerunt.

<sup>c</sup> Qualiter rex, ut ipse sub dissimulatæ pacis concordia procures decipiat, vulpe fallacior, continua circumventionem dolos machinatur.

<sup>d</sup> O quam fortuna stabilis non permanet una !  
 Exemplum cuius stat in ordine carminis hujus.  
 Rex agit, et cygnus patitur de corde benignus,  
 Illeque prostratus non est de rege levatus :  
 Ad Plescy captus tunc est velut hostia raptus.  
 Rex jubet arma geri, nec eo voluit misereri.  
 Cum sponsa nati lugent quasi morte gravati,  
 Plusque lupo sævit rex dummodo fœmina flevit.  
 Nil pietas munit, quem tunc manus invida punit,  
 Rex stetit obliquus, nec erat tunc unus amicus.  
 O regale genus ! princeps quasi pauper egenus  
 Turpiter attractus jacet et sine jure subactus.  
 Sunt ibi fautores regis de sorte priores,  
 Qui cygnum prendunt, ubi captum ducere tendunt.  
 Sic ducendo ducem perdit sine lumine lucem  
 Anglia, quæ tota tenebrescit luce remota.  
 Trans mare natavit, regnum qui semper amavit ;  
 Flent centum mille, quia cygnus præterit ille.  
 Calisiæ portus petit, unde dolus latet ortus,  
 Error quem regis genuit putredine legis,  
 Carcere conclusus subito fuit ille reclusus,  
 Nescit quo fine sit vitæ sive ruinæ.  
 Tunc rex elatum sumpsit quasi falco volatum,  
 Unde suas gentes perdit custode carentes.

<sup>e</sup> Amoto cygno, rex fervens corde maligno

<sup>d</sup> Qualiter rex sui pectoris odium, quod a diu latuit, ad expressam vindictam primo contra ducem Gloverniæ, qui cygnus dicitur, in oculis omnium fulmine plus subito produxit. Nam et ipse rex in propria persona dictum ducem apud Plescy improvisum manu forti cepit, et eum sic captum Calisias indilate produci, et ibi sub arcta custodia strictius incarcerari, constituit.

<sup>e</sup> Qualiter rex, qui per mille meandros procerum corda exagitant inquietavit Ricardum comitem Arundelliæ, qui dicitur equus, fraudulentè decepit. Erat enim tunc frater dicti comitis Thomas Cantuariæ archiepiscopus, cui rex sub juramento fidem præstitit quod, si dictus comes ad sui regis præsentiam obediens sponte veniret, liber ex tunc absque calumnia ubicumque transire vellet cum firma regis amicitia fiducialiter permaneret; et sic veniens probus comes ab improbe rege decipitur.

Prendere quærit equum, super hocque revolvere secum  
 Cautius in mente conspirat, fraude latente.  
 Perjurans Christum comitem sic decipit istum :  
 Ipse libro tacto jurat, firmanteque pacto  
 Promisit, certeque fidem donavit aperte,  
 Dicens quod tutus nulla de fraude volutus  
 Liber transiret ad eum, si quando veniret.  
 Hoc juramentum frater comitis manu tentum  
 Primas fervore regis suscepit ab ore.  
 Præsul lætus erat, sub tali fœdere sperat,  
 Et sic cautelis captus fuit ille fidelis.

<sup>f</sup> Ursus ut audivit, non ergo remotus abivit,  
 Signans se Christo mentem stabilivit in isto.  
 Non facit excursus patiensque piissimus ursus,  
 Sed magis attendit mala quæ fortuna rependit.  
 Londoniis mansit, nec ab urbis cardine transit,  
 Quo captivatus fuit hic sine labe reatus.  
 Sic tres personæ, vi sed non jure coronæ,  
 Carceribus stricti remanent velut umbra relictæ.  
 Celsius in scanno tunc crevit pompa tyranno ;  
 Nulli parcebat, sibi dum fortuna favebat.  
 Stat scelus extantum statuit quo parliamentum ;  
 Ut sit finalis sic ultio judicialis.

<sup>g</sup> Tunc appellantes fuerant octo dominantes,  
 Qui tres appellant, ut eos a luce repellant.  
 O quis pensare posset quin fleret amare,

<sup>f</sup> Qualiter Thomas, alio nomine ursus, tunc comes de Warwyk, a regis satellitibus Londoniæ captus et in carcerem missus immunis culpæ patiens succubuit. Super quo suum parliamentum apud Westmonasterium in proximo pronunciandum rex tyrannus decrevit.

<sup>g</sup> Qualiter pronunciato parlamento octo tunc appellantes contra dictos tres procures ad eorum perditionem promptissimi interfuerunt, et quia rex propter metum populi ducem Gloverniæ coram eo personaliter in parlamento comparere noluit, subtili mendacio finxit eum in lecto mortuum fuisse, quia adhuc superstes in carcere Calisiæ sub clave tenebatur ; et sic ducem absentem absque responsione rex pestifer falsissime condemnavit.

Dum scelus explorat, per quod magis Anglia plorat.  
 Ecce dies mortis aderant, qua pompa cohortis  
 Regem pomposum statuit magis esse dolosum.  
 Pro regis parte subtili fingitur arte,  
 Cygnum tam purum sine responso moriturum.  
 Cum magis expresse rex novit eum superesse,  
 Finxit eum lecto transisse sub ordine recto.  
 Sic non invento cygno nil parlamento  
 Pro se respondit, quem rex sub clave recondit.  
 Cum non apparet ut se de lege juvaret,  
 Hunc condemnarunt subito quem post spoliarunt.  
<sup>h</sup> O scelus inferni, poterunt quo flere moderni,  
 De jugulo cygni quod constituere maligni.  
 Occulte quærun't quod aperte non patuerunt ;  
 Dumque timent gentes clam sunt sua facta gerentes.  
 Assunt tortores de nocteque fervidiores,  
 Cygnum prostratum jugulant quasi martyrizatum.  
 Calisiis actum sceleris fuit hoc malefactum,  
 Regis præcepto, jugulo qui gaudet adepto.  
 Sic nece devictum, sic corpus ab hoste relictum,  
 Clam de conclavi suscep'rat Anglia navi ;  
 Per mare regreditur corpus, nec adhuc sepelitur,  
 Namque sepulturam defendit rex sibi puram.  
 Desuper a latere patris loca justa tenere  
 Dummodo quæsit, vix bassa sepulchra subivit.  
 Oque nefas tale, quod nec jus imperiale,  
 Sed neque lex Christi, proceri sic contulit isti ;  
 Ejus enim vita periit sine jure sopita,  
 Et mors ejus ita negat esse sepulchra petita.  
 Heu ! quis jam vivit unquam qui talia scivit,

<sup>h</sup> Qualiter rex, cum ipse ducem prænotatum cautelose sicut  
 audistis condemnari spiraverat, postea infra tempus quosdam tor-  
 tores sibi quasi ab inferno confœderatos Calisias, ubi dux adhuc  
 vivus incarceratus est, transmisit, qui illuc advenientes ad regis  
 præceptum de jugulo præ manibus excogitato, ducem improvisum  
 clanculo de nocte sub pondere lecti plumalis mortaliter depressum  
 absque pietate subito suffocarunt.



Sic regis natum per regem mortificatum ?  
 Heu ! quia regalis stirps Anglica tam specialis  
 Regis præcepto periit sine crimine cæpto.  
 Heu ! quia tortorum quidam de sorte malorum  
 Sic ducis electi plumarum de pondere lecti  
 Corpus quassatum jugulantque necant jugulatum ;  
 Quod nimis ingratum dolet Anglia tota relatum.  
 Det Deus hoc fatum, sic adhuc quod corpus humatum  
 Spiritus atque statum teneat sine fine beatum.  
<sup>i</sup> Est recitandus equus, cygnus quia præterit æquus,  
 Non hos morte pari voluit sors æquiparari.  
 Rex sedet, et cuncti fautores tunc sibi juncti  
 Sunt ibi præsentés, ad equum mala plura loquentes.  
 Isteque solus eratque Deum solummodo sperat,  
 Quo pius et fortis permansit ad ultima mortis.  
 Rex prius accusat, et equus scelus omne recusat,  
 Prætendens regisque sigilla sub ordine legis  
 Cartam monstravit, qua tutior esse putavit ;  
 Non fuit absque nota prius est concordia nota.  
 Sed rex cautelis comitis responsa fidelis  
 Cautius extinxitque dolos sub fraude refinxit.  
 Tunc conspirati, cum regeque magnificati,  
 Regis prædicta firmarunt omnia dicta.  
 Heu ! nimis ingrata tunc est sententia lata,  
 Horrida, mortalis, quia pcena fuit capitalis.  
 Per loca, per vicos, ductus respexit amicos,

<sup>i</sup> Qualiter comes Arundellæ, ab impio rege in parlamento accusatus, ad ea quæ sibi obijciuntur intrepidus respondit ; et primo singula quæ per ipsum fiebant secundum suæ intentionis propositum ad regis honorem facta fuisse claro sermone justificavit ; secundo enim regis cartas super hoc pacem et concordiam specialiter testificantes in auribus omnium manifestius pronunciavit ; sed ille, coram quo nullum jus procedit, rex impius comitis responsa non acceptans, ex propria malitia ipsum, mortali sententia damnatum, in impetu furoris apud montem Turris Londoniarum decollari fecit, ubi fratres Augustinenses corpus cum capite secum ad eorum ecclesiam cum psalmis deferentes in loco congruo devote sepelierunt.



Qui magis occulta dederant suspiria multa.  
 Undique tunc flebant qui talia fata videbant,  
 Cum prece devota facientes plurima vota.  
 Sunt et fallaces alii pro rege sequaces  
 Qui veniunt equites, neque justī sed neque mites ;  
 Hi pœnam talem proclamant tunc capitalem,  
 Ad loca signataque jubent procedere fata.  
 Tunc comes ad Christum sermonem dixerat istum :  
 " Omnia tu nosti ; moriar, quia sic placet hosti ;  
 " Hostibus exactus pereō, sine jure subactus ;  
 " Immunis pergo, miserere mihi precor ergo."  
 Expansis palmisque sonantibus undique psalmis,  
 Sic patitur tandem, pœnamque subintrat eandem.  
 Quin caput amittit sibi gratia nulla remittit,  
 Millia quo centum maledicunt parliamentum.  
 Corpus ad ima cadit, dum salvus ad æthera vadit  
 Spiritus in coelis, ubi vivit amore fidelis.  
 Augustinenses fratres tunc Londonienses  
 Hunc magis extolluntque caput cum corpore tollunt.  
 Vix tamen audebant hoc ponere quo cupiebant ;  
 Sed magis occultum condunt pro rege sepultum.<sup>1</sup>  
 Det Deus hoc sciri, poterit quod adhuc sepeliri,  
 Ejus et hæredes proprias habeant sibi sedes.  
 † Jam refrænato violenter equoque gravato,  
 Ursum quærebant, quem tunc agitare volebant ;  
 Pestiferique canes aderant tunc regis inanes,  
 Undique latrando pacem nec habent aliquando.  
 Ad latus omne terunt, sed ad hoc quod plus potuerunt  
 Non magis attendit, quin rex sua retia tendit.

† Qualiter comes de Warvyk ex regis collusionē circumventus,  
 in parlamento se culpabilem recognovit, sperans per hoc certissi-  
 mam regis veniam, ut sibi promittebatur, infallibiliter promeruisse.  
 Sed rex omni fallaciæ intendens, qui per talem recognitionem alios  
 de querela convicisse putavit, dicto comiti mala pro bonis retri-  
 buens, ipsum pro mercede exhæredatum, in partes longinquas, ut  
 ibi in carcere servaretur, exulem pro perpetuo mancipavit.

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<sup>1</sup> *sepulchrum*, MS. A. S. C.

O quam subtilis oritur tunc fraus juvenilis,  
Per quam tunc fraudem nequit ursus carpere laudem.  
Hoc rex testatur, ursus quod si fateatur  
Quod reus existat, nec ad illa relata resistat,  
Rex sibi præstabit veniam, qua curia stabit,  
Et sic transibit sine morteque liber abibit ;  
Sicque recognoscat aliter sibi juraque poscat,  
Incidet in mortem, trahat hanc quam vult sibi sortem.  
Qui cum rege pares fuerant tunc consiliares,  
Ursum tentarunt, ejus quoque velle probarunt.  
Hic vitam portat, alius mortemque reportat ;  
Hic consolatur, alius quandoque minatur.  
Quisque dolor fingit, quibus ursi pectora stringit,  
Quo minus agnoscit quid regi dicere possit.  
Sicque fatigatus tandem de labe reatus  
Se fore convictum reddit ; fuit hoc maledictum.  
Tali sermone concrescunt jura coronæ ;  
Rex tres devicit unus quia talia dicit.  
Ad regis vota fuit ursi dictio tota,  
Omneque respondit verbum quod rex sibi spondet.  
Sed cum sic vere regi putat ipse placere,  
Regis et ad nutum sperabat se fore tutum,  
Tunc magis amisit, quæ rex sibi fœdera misit.  
Nam quod promisit rex pactum denique risit,  
Et sic delusus fuit ursus ab ore reclusus ;  
Unde pium verbum gustu magis extat acerbum.  
Heu ! quam res tristis ! heu ! quam fuit error in istis,  
Quando suum pactum rex non produxit in actum !  
Fingit et ignorat quæ rex tunc fraude colorat,  
De quibus extantum finis docet experimentum.  
Ursus poscebat, quod rex non perficiebat,  
Nec pudet hoc gestum fraudis quod erat manifestum.  
Ursum contemptum, nulla pietate redemptum,  
Exilio demptum statuit rex esse peremptum.  
Insula tunc hominis longinquaque plena ruinis,  
Carcere concludit ursum, quem pœna retrudit.  
Quod sic lædebat regi non sufficebat,  
Sed capit ex toto terras hærede remoto ;

Nec sibi dimissam solam fovet hic comitissam,  
 Sed magis amovit inopem quam curia novit.  
 Sic rex delevit quem tota provincia flevit,  
 Ne plures lædat moriens prius ipse recedat.  
 Restat adhuc dira mons Æthna latente sub ira  
 Regis, dumque faces magis obtinet inde voraces.  
 Quem rex iratus quamvis sine labe reatus  
 Tangit in ardore, subito perit ille dolore.  
 Cum plus morosus sit homo, magis est vitiosus,  
 Regi qui sævit pestis quo pessima crevit.

<sup>k</sup> Unus erat dignus, patiens, pius, atque benignus,  
 Providus et justus, morum virtute robustus,  
 Non erat obliquus regni sed verus amicus;  
 Hunc rex odivit, in quo bona talia scivit.  
 Ut dicunt mille, dominus Cobham fuit ille,  
 Chronica quos læsit, quibus ille fidelis adhæsit;  
 Christo sed vere voluit quia fine placere,  
 Transtulit ad sedem se Carthusiensis ad ædem.  
 Sic cepit Christus, voluit quem tollere fiscus;  
 Quem Christus duxit, fiscus sine jure reduxit.  
 Rex scelus accusat, Cobham scelus omne recusat,  
 Justificans factum, sic res processit in actum.  
 Quæ sapit hæc loquitur, nec in hoc vecors reperitur;  
 Immo quod est certum regi manifestat apertum.  
 Sic, quia veridicus tribus est constanter amicus,  
 Rex condemnavit Cobham, sed non maculavit.  
 Sic non convictus, gladii non sentiit ictus,  
 Exilii lora subiit tamen exteriora.  
 Hinc rogo quod purus redeat cum laude futurus,  
 Ut sic felici reditu lætentur amici.

<sup>k</sup> Qualiter rex, omnes quoscunque lædere posset quærens, tandem innocentem dominum de Cobham, qui per prius sæculo renuntians in domo Carthusiensi tunc moram traxit, etiam in iudicium parlamenti produxit. Sed ille, nullo minarum terrore aut blandimentorum exhortatione locum tyranno præbens, in omnibus suis responsionibus fidelissimus inveniebatur; unde rex, quasi confusus, ejus constantiam abhorrens, ipsum præ verecundia absque mortis sententia in exilium longius ab Anglia destinavit.

<sup>1</sup>Heu! mea penna madet lachrymis, dum scribere  
suadet

Infortunata sceleris quibus horreo fata.  
Non satis est regem mundi deflectere legem,  
Ut pereant gentes sub eo sine lege manentes,  
Sed magis in Christum sævit, quapropter ad istum  
Casum deffendum non est mihi credo tacendum.  
Anglorum primas, supremo culmine primas  
Qui tenuit sedes melius dum sperat in ædes,  
Hunc rex compellit, et eum de sede repellit,  
Dum Simon Romæ supplantat fœdera Thomæ.  
Hic Thomas natus comitis fuit intitulatus,  
Clericus aptatus, doctor de jure creatus,  
Legibus ornatus, facundus, morigeratus,  
Cum Christo gratus, in plebeque magnificatus.  
O quam prælatus! tam purus et immaculatus!  
Ad regale latus tandem fuit illaqueatus.  
Tramite subtili latitans plus vulpe senili,  
Rex studet in fine Thomam prostrare ruinæ.

<sup>m</sup>De tribus audistis, cum rex scelus intulit istis,  
Præsul ut adjutor fuit his quodammodo tutor,  
Non contra legem, sed ab ira flectere regem  
Nomine pastoris tentaverat omnibus horis;  
Semper erat talis, restat dum spes aliqualis,  
Si contra mortem poterat salvasse cohortem.  
Rex tulit hoc triste, quia cancellarius iste

<sup>1</sup> Qualiter rex, qui nec Deum timet nec hominem veretur, contra reverendissimum in Christo patrem Thomam Arundellæ, tunc Cantuariæ archiepiscopum, dum inter eos major putabatur dilectio, occasiones discordiæ importabiles ductus avaritia fingere non erubuit. Unde idem Thomas, de archiepiscopo in non archiepiscopum subito mutatus, omnia bona sua tam temporalia quam spiritualia dolosa regis circumventionem penitus amisit; expulsusque insuper absque ullo mundi relevamine, solum Deum reclamans exul et pauper ab Anglia recessit.

<sup>m</sup> Hic declarat aliquantulum fragmenta causarum per quas pontifex supradictus a parlamento tunc absens contra omnem justitiam, ut audistis, exilii sententiam ab improvviso quasi nescius incurrebat.



Tempore quo stabat, hos tres constanter amabat ;  
 Sic procurator pius extitit et mediator.  
 Cartas quod regis habuerunt munere legis,  
 Pontificis more summi, pro regis amore.  
 Sic pacem mittit mortis gladiumque remittit ;  
 Hæc ita fecisset, pactum si rex tenuisset,  
 Sed quæ juravit hodie cras verba negavit.  
 Cernite pro quali culpa magis in speciali  
 Pontifice tali sine causa materiali  
 Rex fuit iratus, sed et altera causa reatus  
 Est plus secreta, tunc Romæ quando moneta  
 Simonis ex parte papam concludit in arte.  
 Ecce per has causas, sub regis pectore clausas,  
 Hoc scelus objecit Thomæ, qui nil malefecit.  
 Regis fautores super hoc tamen anteriores,  
 Fraudibus obtentum concludunt parliamentum.  
 Sic de finali rex pondere judiciali  
 Exilio demit Thomam, nec amore redemit.  
 Sic pater absque pare, quem rex spoliavit avare,  
 Partes ignotas tunc quærit habere remotas.  
 Tunc pius antistes casus pro tempore tristes  
 Sustinet, et curam sperat revocare futuram.  
 Christus eum ducat, salvetque, salute reducat,  
 Sic ut uterque status sit ei cum laude beatus.

"O dolor ! hoc anno quo crevit pompa tyranno !  
 Qui ferus ut dicit, voluit quos vincere, vicit.  
 Dum scelus hoc restat, super omnes tres manifestat,  
 De quibus in gente stat vox variata repente.  
 Quidam constricti, quidam de munere victi,  
 Ad mala ducuntur, quia multi multa loquuntur.  
 Tunc olor, ursus, equus, non unus dicitur æquus ;  
 Heri laudati fuerant, nunc vituperati.  
 Fama fugit prima, quia sors descendit ad ima,

" Hic narrat qualiter vix unus aut de morte aut de exilio præcipue trium procerum supradictorum aliquod verbum lamentabile in aperto proferre tunc audebat ; sed potius scandalum quam laudem præ timore regis ad invicem confabulati sunt.



Sorteque cessante, cessat laus omnis ab ante.  
Vertitur obliquus amor, est ibi nullus amicus,  
Quo tres prædicti pereunt velut umbra relictæ.  
Tunc consanguinitas aufert de sanguine vitas,  
Denegat et sexus procerum dissolvere nexus;  
Nil genus obstabat, ratio nec eos reparabat;  
Sic transformata fuit illa dies scelerata,  
Stirps extirpatur, flos arboris evacuatur,  
Quo maneat nomen, hæres non percipit omen;  
Ut pater intravit, ita solus ab orbe migravit.  
Sic vice jam versa spergens fuit unio spersa,  
Heri rectores, hodie magis inferiores,  
Et sic derisi fuerant quodammodo visi.  
Portas clausurunt, ubi claves non habuerunt;  
Nec tamen exclusus fuerat tunc regis abusus.  
Non se convertit in pejus qui male vertit,  
Dum mala quærentur in eo pejora sequuntur.  
Tres interfecit proceres, dum pessima fecit,  
Quo nimis elatum sumpsit sua pompa volatum.  
Tunc delusores, quos curia turbidiores  
Novit, ridebant super his quæ gesta videbant.  
Frivola componunt tribus et tria scandala ponunt;  
Tale fuit dictum, nec adhuc stat ab ore relictum.  
“ °Non olor in pennis, nec equus stat crine perennis;  
“ Jam depennatus olor est, equus excoriatus;  
“ Ursus non mordet, quem stricta catena remordet.”  
Sic fatuæ turbæ vox conclamabat in urbe.  
Omnia quæ dici poterant dicunt inimici,  
Pluraque fingentes mendacia sunt parientes.  
Grene, Scrop, Bussy, cordis sine lumine fuscæ,  
Omne nefas quærent quo lædere plus potuerunt.  
Rex fuit instructus per eos, et ad omnia ductus  
Quæ mala post gessit, quibus Anglia tota pavescit.  
Intra se flebat populus, qui damna videbat,  
Cum non audebat vocem proferre, tacebat.

° Canticum quod composuere maligni in derisu procerum tyrannice interfectorum.

PO dux immense! tu Gallica regna sub ense  
 Militis ex more bellasti regis honore.  
 O comes! inque mari pro rege tuo superari  
 Classsem fecisti Francorum, quos domuisti.  
 Heu! rex, qui tales fraudasti collaterales,  
 Sit tibi de fine vindex fortuna ruinæ,  
 Principio rerum placido quam sæpe dierum  
 Finis adest tristis; ideo speculemur in istis;  
 Estque fides rara modo, quam mens nescit avara.  
 Dum favet os fraudis, ne credas omne quod audis.  
 Fingere fingenti schola nuper erat sapienti;  
 Talis at hesterna fuit, est schola nunc hodierna.  
 Fallitur incertum, sed quando videbis apertum  
 Finem cum cauda, tunc demum tempora lauda,  
 Anno bis dena primo de sanguine pleno,  
 Septembris mense, feritas dominatur in ense.  
 Tristis ut audiui carmen scribendo subivi;  
 Plangite vos vivi, quia planctus sunt residivi.  
 Doctoris verba sunt hæc quæ miror acerba;  
 Dum melius fecisse putes, latet anguis in herba,  
 Quicquid homo fatur, quicquid facit aut meditatur,  
 Stat fortuna rei semper in ore Dei.

*Explicit secunda pars chronice, et incipit tertia.*

Hic in tertia parte chronice finaliter scribit qualiter rex antedictus, utroque Dei et hominum jure postposito, strenuissimum principem dominum Henricum, tunc Derbeie comitem, patre suo duce Lancastrie adhuc vivente, per decennium capitive in exilium delegavit. Postea vero, patre defuncto filioque in partibus Francie tunc existente, idem rex omnis malitie plenus, quasi per infinitas doli circumventiones,

<sup>p</sup> Hic circa finem probitates ducis Glovernie necnon comitis Arundellie magis in speciali commemorans, eorum gesta laudabiliter commendat. Consulat insuper quod, per ea quæ præterita sunt, præsentibus utinam discreto pectore sibi contra futura providere nullatenus omittant.

tam in ipsius absentis personam quam in ejus hæreditatem occasiones malitiose fulminari decrevit. Sed qui verum a falso discernit Summus Judex, tantas malitiæ abominationes impune non ferens, dictum dominum Henricum, tunc post obitum patris sui ducem Lancastriæ, in Angliam sua divina providentia, invito rege, remeare fecit; ob cujus adventum universi regni fideles tam procures quam communes, Deum quasi ex uno ore callaudantes, pestiferum Ricardum suis ex demeritis regno renunciantem penitus a gradu suo deposuerunt, gratissimumque ducem dominum Henricum prænotatum in solum regiæ majestatis regnatum coronantes cum gaudio sublimarunt, tertio-decimo die mensis Octobris anno Domini millesimo tricesimo nonagesimo nono.

<sup>a</sup> Tristia post læta, post tristia sæpe quieta,  
Si bene pensemus, satis hæc manifesta videmus.  
Regnum confractum, regis feritate subactum  
Nuper deflevi, lachrymas sed abinde quievit;  
Regnum purgatum probitate ducis renovatum  
Amodo ridebo, nec ab ejus laude tacebo.  
O res laudanda! O res sine fine notanda!  
Ad laudem Christi, qui nos de carcere tristi  
R. tunc custodis, quasi sit regnantis Herodis,  
Gratius eduxit et ad inclyta regna reduxit.

<sup>b</sup> Novit enim mundus, Ricardus quando secundus  
Justos delevit procures, quos Anglia flevit;  
Ipse superbire sic spirat et altius ire,  
Quod dedignatur proprium regnumque minatur;  
Amplius ex more solito latitante furore  
Sævit, et oppressit populum cui parcere nescit.  
Sicut humum iocūit evertens talpaque rodit,

<sup>a</sup> Hic in tertia parte chronici compositor in principio finem præmeditans sub spe gloriæ futuræ lætatur.

<sup>b</sup> Qualiter ad modum talpæ, quæ semper terram effodiens eam continue subvertit, rex Ricardus, ut suum regnum tyrannice disperdat, assiduis imaginationibus ad populi destructionem omnes suas cautelas indesinenter conjectat.

Unde caret requie, sic alter nocte dieque  
 Ut magis evertat regnum quod demere certat;  
 Sic scelus apponit, et ad hoc sua robora ponit,  
 Ut princeps baratri furiens regit acta theatri,  
 Pondera præbebat populum quibus ipse premebat.  
 Utpote salsarum furiosa Charybdis aquarum  
 Gurgite fervoris bibit, evomit omnibus horis;  
 Sic sibi collectum facinus sub pectore tectum  
 Rex vomit in gentem, vae! vae! sine lege manentem.

<sup>c</sup> Per prius obtentum semper sibi parliamentum  
 Per loca conservat, in quo mala quæque reservat.  
 Est ubi persona regis residente corona  
 Corpore præsentis stat ibi vis parliamenti;  
 Sic, ubicunque sedet præsentia regia, lædet,  
 Quod nullus scivit sceleris quæ facta subivit.  
 Hoc factum regis fuit abominatio legis,  
 Quo fremuit certe populus, sed nullus aperte;  
 Sic tamen ut staret et tempora continuaret,  
 Rex sibi papales bullas habuit speciales.  
 Si quis in extento prius aut post parlamento  
 Quid contradicit, in eum sententia vicit.  
 Ad scelus implendum tunc rex habet omne timendum,  
 Excepto Christo, qui non fuit auctor in isto;  
 Quicquid enim dicit clerus, populus maledicit,  
 Invocat et Christi vindictam pectore tristi.  
 Inde sed oblitus rex pestifer hos sibi ritus,  
 Quos prius elegit, maledicto fine peregit,  
 Consensu, tactu, visuque ferocior actu.  
 In regnum sævit, qui post sua crimina flevit.  
 Quæ non audivit auris nec cor mala scivit,  
 Tristia coniectat, populum quo perdere spectat.

<sup>d</sup> Chartæ scribuntur et in omni parte leguntur,'

<sup>c</sup> Nota qualiter rex subtili fraude concessum sibi obtinuit, quod ubicunque sedere vellet cum certis personis sibi assignatis per prius inceptum continuare posset parliamentum.

<sup>d</sup> Nota de primis chartis, quas scriptas ex regis compulsione tam clerus quam populus formidans sigillavit, tali enim subtilitate rex varias regni sui patrias spoliando destruxit.



Hasque sigillari jubet omnibus et venerari.  
 Perficit hoc clerus, si debeo dicere verus,  
 Nescio, sed gentes sua sunt exempla sequentes ;  
 Nescia plebs legis, dum sperat præmia regis,  
 Ut dicebatur, ad regia jussa paratur.  
 Urbs, ager, et villa chartis posuere sigilla,  
 Quo magis ad plenum conspergitur omne venenum.  
 Fallitur ex illo quisquis cum firma sigillo  
 Culpa recordetur, qua proditor omnis habetur.  
 Cum sic quisque status sit in his chartis vitiatuſ,  
 Ut veniam portet sibi solvere quicquid oportet,  
 Tunc exactores baratro magis avidiores  
 Absolvunt gentes, pacem quasi sint redimentes.  
 Hæc sed cautela nihil est nisi ficta medela,  
 Nam magis insanus stat morbus quotidianus ;  
 Rex populum pressit, et abinde quiescere nescit,  
 Semper turbatur, semper sua regna minatur.

<sup>e</sup> Post primas chartas alias statuit magis arctas,  
 Sed de scriptura patuit non una figura ;  
 Has etiam villis jubet affirmare sigillis.  
 Qualis finis erit quisquis sub murmure quærit ?  
 Et sic velata facie plebs illaqueata,  
 Quod facit ignorat, ita dum fortuna laborat.

<sup>f</sup> Accidit interea dum terra fuit Pharisæa,  
 Est nova lis mota, quam noverat Anglia tota.  
 Nobilis Henricus, omnis probitatis amicus,  
 Hic tunc florebat super omnes plusque valebat ;  
 Ut rosa flos florum, melior fuit ille bonorum  
 Custos Anglorum, per quem lux fulsit eorum ;  
 Exemplar morumque probatior ille proborum,  
 Ad loca bellorum leo conterit arma luporum.  
 Ejus cognomen venerabile percipit omen,

<sup>e</sup> Nota de secundis chartis quæ *blanche chartres* vulgariter nuncupantur.

<sup>f</sup> Qualiter rex Ricardus, omnis malitiæ plenus, strenuissimum dominum Henricum tunc Derbeie comitem, ducisque Lancastriæ filium et hæredem, sola ex invidia ut ipsum perderet in exilium projecit.



Quod nunquam victum rutilat Lancastria dictum.  
 Hunc patre vivente de sorte superveniente  
 Rex delegavit, et eum sine labe fugavit ;  
 Rex etenim novit ad eum quod patria vovit,  
 Unde timens sortem dolet ejus habere cohortem.  
 Invidus hanc causam gestat sub pectore clausam,  
 Donec disperdat justum sine jureque perdat.  
 Hic tamen ex more solito pro regis honore  
 Semper promptus erat, aliter quo præmia sperat,  
 Sic nihil offendit, quo rex sibi damna rependit.  
 Sed quia cunctorum rex oderat acta proborum,  
 Singula non scripsi quæ dux bona contulit ipsi.  
 Si meritum detur, tunc dux mala nulla meretur.  
 Exilium tortum gremio de regis abortum  
 Hoc pro finali mercede datur speciali.

§ Purus ad omne latus sic exulat immaculatus,  
 Et quem decepit rex Anglus, Francia cepit.  
 Stans ibi præclarus regno fuit undique carus,  
 Quo sibi concrevit requies, sed non requievit.  
 Dum genus exquirat, in quo sibi jura requirit,  
 Quem Deus absolvit patri mors omnia solvit ;  
 Sic patre defuncto, de consilio sibi juncto  
 Est tunc quærendum melius sibi quid sit agendum.  
 Et sic consultus velut hæres miles adultus,  
 Quæ sua cognoscit post patrem propria poscit.  
 Hos per rumores adeunt ambassiatores,  
 Regem quærentes legem super hocque petentes.  
 Sed qui cuncta vorat, non audit quod pius<sup>1</sup> orat,  
 Exhæredatum sed eum jubet esse fugatum.  
 Et sic nec regem justum justam neque legem  
 Dux probus invenit, dum vox sibi nuntia venit.  
 Tunc confiscatus rapitur sine jure ducatus,  
 Quo se confortat dux commoda nulla reportat.

§ Qualiter nobilis Henricus antedictus in partes Franciæ, ut ibi  
 tempore exilii moraretur, animo constanti viriliter se transtulit.

<sup>1</sup> prius, MS. A. S. O.

Pulli corvorum pascit quos mater eorum,  
 Non ita proclamant, quin plus sibi castra reclamant  
 Regis fautores terrasque ducatus honores.  
 Rex bona dispergit, qui non sine crimine pergit,  
 Distribuens sortes, ditescat ut inde cohortes.  
 Quod sic decrevit rex fama perambula crevit,  
 Per mundum totum scelus hoc erit amodo notum.

<sup>h</sup> O quam plura sinit Deus! et, cum tempora finit,  
 Omnia tunc certe quæ sunt demonstrat aperte.  
 Dux inspiratus tandem, quasi sit renovatus,  
 Singula compensat perfecto cordeque pensat.  
 Tortorem regem tortam crevisseque legem  
 Cernit, et errores in utroque statu graviores.  
 Signans se Christo quæsivit opem super isto,  
 Qui bene dum sperat jubet ut sua propria quærat.  
 Ex subito more, salvo sibi semper honore,  
 Partes subtiles Francorum dux quasi miles <sup>1</sup>  
 Cum paucis transit, nec ibi tardando remansit.  
 Calisias ivit, ubi propria regna petivit  
 Cum modica classe, sic magnanimum remeasse  
 Constat, et in navi dux ducitur inde sua vi.  
 Primas Anglorum, tunc exul fraude malorum,  
 Thomas devote stat ibi, comitante nepote.  
 Hos dux regalis, veluti gallina sub alis,  
 Secum votiva salvos duxit comitiva.

<sup>i</sup> Dux, comes, antistes, pariter solamina tristes  
 Quærun't sperantes, ubi venti sunt agitantes.

<sup>h</sup> Nota qualiter post obitum patris sui ducis Lancastriæ, nobilissimus filius suus comes antedictus, tunc de jure dux, ut ipse hæreditatem suam vendicaret, de partibus Franciæ proviso sapienter itinere Calisias adiit, ubi cum domino Thoma Cantuariæ archiepiscopo, necnon Thoma filio et hærede Ricardi comitis Arundelliæ, ut præfertur defuncti, ut in Angliam transfretaret, Christo se commendans navem ascendit.

<sup>i</sup> Qualiter nobilis Henricus, tunc dux Lancastriæ, per mare navigando portum quærens tandem prope Grymmesby, Christo mediante, littora pacifica sortitus est.

Vela petunt portum, quem sors prope contulit ortum ;  
Ut dux concepit, aquilonica litera cepit.  
Tunc magis audaci vultu, cum plebe sequaci,  
Exultans dicit, quod in hoc quasi prælia vicit.  
Ex animo forti dederat bona corda cohorti,  
Quod bene sperarent, quicquid sibi fata pararent.  
Sic congaudentes sub speque nihil metuentes,  
Quo melius quærent, naves simul applicuerunt.  
Dux prius egressus disponit humo sibi gressus,  
Primitus exoratque Deum genuflexus adorat  
Votis sinceræ mentis, quod possit habere  
Victoris palmas, extendit ad æthera palmas ;  
Utque scelus guerræ superet, dedit oscula terræ,  
Pluraque devota dux fecit ibi pia vota.  
De prece surrexit, surgendoque se cruce textit,  
Et tunc quam lætas incepit adire dietas.  
j Patria cum sciret quod salvus dux reveniret,  
Totus ei mundus occurrit ubique jocundus.

<sup>k</sup> Tunc rex Ricardus lepus est, et non leopardus,  
Quem timor astrinxit, alibi sua robora finxit ;  
Hic ducis adventum præscivit ab ore scientum,  
Quo celer exivit, et Hibernica regna petivit.  
Sæpe silens plangit, quem tunc vecordia tangit,  
Ex quo singultus plures rex cepit adultus.  
Sic redit absente dux noster rege timente,  
Nec quid præsumit, sua propria dumque resumit.

<sup>l</sup> Dux probus audaci vultu cum plebe sequaci  
Regnum scrutatur, si proditor inveniatur.  
Sic tres exosos magis omnibus, ambitiosos,  
Regni tortores invenerat ipse priores ;

<sup>j</sup> Qualiter ad servitium nobilis ducis quasi universa terra grante se obtulit.

<sup>k</sup> Qualiter rex Ricardus, tempore quo nobilis dux Henricus applicuit, in partibus Hiberniæ inutiles dies ad sui confusionem infortunata consumpsit.

<sup>l</sup> Qualiter apud Bristoliam capti et decapitati fuerunt tres præcipue regis fautores, qui in mortis articulo dicti regis conditiones multipliciter accusarunt.

Ense repercussi pereunt Scrop, Greneque, Bussy,  
Hi quasi regales fuerant cum rege sodales.  
Scrope comes et miles, ejus Bristollia viles  
Actus declarat, quo mors sua fata pararat ;  
Greneque sorte pari statuit dux decapitari ;  
Bussy convictus similes quoque sustinet ictus.  
Unanimes mente pariter mors una repente  
Hos tres prostravit, gladius quos fine voravit.  
Sicut et egerunt aliis, sic hi ceciderunt ;  
Quo dux laudatur regnumque per omne jocatur.  
Sunt tamen Henrici quamplures tunc inimici,  
Tales qui quærunt obsistere, nec potuerunt ;  
Sæpius effantur, et eum post terga minantur ;  
Sed non audebant, faciem cum respiciebant.

<sup>m</sup> Tempore sic stante stat rex ubi stabat ab ante,  
Donec commota tremit ejus concio tota.  
Sic magis ignari sceleris fiunt quasi rari,  
Omnes sorte pari dubitant qua parte juvari.  
Tunc fortuna rotam divertit abinde remotam,  
Cæcaque permansit, dum rex super æquora transit.  
Quos laqueos fecit, in eos sua culpa rejecit,  
Qui laqueatus erit, patriæ dum littora quærît.  
Hoc non obstante, vento tamen exagitante,  
Portum fatalem sors reddit ei specialem ;  
Inque suas claves cepit fera Wallia naves,  
Quas cito dissolvit, regis cum facta revolvit.  
Rex mittens sortes mandavit habere cohortes,  
Sed nihil invenit, ubi gratia nulla revenit.  
Hoc ita cumque vident, quidam sub murmure rident,  
Et quidam flentes fuerant de corde dolentes.  
Prospera quæ nescit tunc regia pompa recessit,  
Quisque viam vertit subito, nec ad arma revertit.  
Tunc rex, ut dicit, sua fata dolens maledicit,  
Nec timet hinc Christum, mundum nec abhorruit istum.  
Non est contritus, nec vult dimittere ritus,

<sup>m</sup> Qualiter Ricardus rex, de partibus Hiberniæ rediens, Walliæ littora cepit.



Ut prius erravit, sic semper continuavit.  
 Sic fuit ipse malis semper sine lege feralis,  
 Principio qualis steterat stat fineque talis.  
 Cautus ut invadit agnos quos lædere vadit,  
 Vulpes in occulto, sic rex a tempore multo,  
 Pectore subtili juvenis sub fraude senili,  
 Omne scelus poscit regnum quo perdere possit.  
 Tunc super omne tamen conspirat habere levamen,  
 Unde ducis sortem fallat fugiatque cohortem.  
 Hinc perscrutatur dolus, et fraus continuatur,  
 Si quid prodesse poterit cogente necesse.  
 Est ibi vis nulla, velut os perit absque medulla,  
 Rex qui posse caret pro tunc sine viribus aret.  
 Per loca, per castra fugit, et si tunc super astra  
 Scandere scivisset, transcendere tunc voluisset.  
 Sic tumor elatus, nuper tam magnificatus,  
 Est timor effectus, latitans quasi talpa rejectus.  
 Quem non præservat Christus se non homo servat ;  
 Et, quamvis tarde, de te loquor ista, Ricarde.

<sup>n</sup> Pervigil a somnis quod dicitur audiat omnis,  
 Et quod dicetur regnis exemplificetur.  
 Est rota fortunæ quodammodo regula lunæ,  
 Quæ prius albescit de nocteque post tenebrescit ;  
 Sic de quo scripsi Ricardo contigit ipsi.  
 Dum stetit ad plenum, steterat sibi tempus amœnum ;  
 Sed cum decrescit, lucem tunc nebula nescit ;  
 Cum se pervertit, sua sphaera retrograda vertit.  
 Nil sibi de bellis, quia stat sibi terra rebellis,  
 Nec mare succurrit, fugiens quia nauta recurrit.  
 Spes sibi collata non est, sed et undique fata  
 Ipsum torquebant, et ad ima repente ruebant.  
 Non ita secreta loca sunt neque castra quietâ,  
 Quæ nunc<sup>1</sup> securâ fuerant pro sorte futura.

<sup>n</sup> Qualiter rex Ricardus cum suis fautoribus nobili duci Henrico eisdem in Wallia occurrenti se reddiderunt.

<sup>1</sup> tunc, MS. Cotton.



Finis adest, actus capitur, rex fitque subactus,  
 Et reliqui tales, sibi sunt qui collaterales,  
 Caute ducuntur capti, qui fata sequuntur ;  
 Sic rex præventus ducis est virtute retentus.

° Augusti mensis dedit hoc, quo Londoniensis  
 Urbs congaudebatque ducem cum laude canebat.  
 Sicut arena maris occursus adest popularis,  
 Tanti victoris benedicens gesta vigoris.  
 In Turrim transit R., sub custode remansit ;  
 Sic caput Anglorum minimus jacet ipse minorum.

p Ut sit opus planum nihil et deponere vanum,  
 Apponendo manum dux purgat ad horrea granum ;  
 Justos laudavit, injustos vituperavit,  
 Hos confirmavit, hos deprimit, hos relevavit.  
 Regni primatem, crudelem per feritatem  
 Quem rex explantat, dux ex pietate replantat ;  
 Humfredum natum patre defuncto spoliatum,  
 Quem rex transduxit, hunc dux probitate reduxit.  
 Nil tibi desperes, Arundelliae profugus hæres ;  
 Prospera namque ducis fati tua fata reducis.  
 Warwici comitem, cujus sine crimine litem  
 Dux pius agnovit, salvum de carcere movit ;  
 Cobham sorte pari dux fecit et hunc revocari,  
 Exilio demptus justus redit ille, redemptus  
 Nec prece nec dono, Christo mediante patrono.  
 Tanta tulit gratis primordia dux bonitatis ;  
 Ut bona tam grata super hoc sint continuata,  
 Christus adhuc mentem ducis efficit esse manentem.  
 ¶ Londoniis festo Michaelis tunc manifesto,

° Qualiter nobilis Henricus una cum rege Ricardo et aliis Londoniam veniunt, ubi dictus rex in Turrim positus per aliquod tempus sub custodia remansit.

p Qualiter nobilis dux Henricus proceres quoscumque, per regem Ricardum in exilium delegatos, ad propria mitissime revocavit.

¶ Qualiter assignatum fuit parliamentum tenendum apud Westmonasterium ad festum sancti Michaelis tunc proximi, et interim Humfredus, filius et hæres ducis Gloverniæ, una cum matre sua corporis infirmitate mortui sunt.

Sunt ut ibi tuta sunt parlamenta statuta ;  
 Quilibet attendit quæ sors sibi fata rependit,  
 Semper et in gente fit murmur rege regente.  
 Interea transit moriens, nec in orbe remansit,  
 Humfredus dictus, redit ille Deo benedictus ;  
 Defuncto nato, cito post de fine beato  
 Mater transivit, nati dum funera scivit.  
 Primo decessit cygnus, dolor unde repressit  
 Matrem cum pullo, sibi mors nec parcit in ullo.  
 Est apud antiquos dictum, defunctus amicos  
 Vix habet a tergo, caveat sibi quilibet ergo ;  
 Quisque suum pectus tangat vivens homo rectus,  
 Nec sic gaudebit, quia singula vana videbit.  
 Scribere jam restat, quæ mundus adhuc manifestat,  
 Ut sit opus tale cunctis speculum generale.

<sup>r</sup> Tunc prius incepta sunt parlamenta recepta,  
 De quibus abstractus Ricardi desinit actus.  
 Ecce dies Martis nec adest præsentia partis,  
 Nec sedet in sede, quem culpa repellit ab æde.  
 Denegat in stanno loca tunc fortuna tyranno,  
 A visu gentis quem terruit actio mentis ;  
 R. non comparet, alibi sed dummodo staret  
 Causas assignat quibus H. sua sceptrâ resignat.  
 Substituit aliquos procures tunc juris amicos,  
 Ad quos confessus proprio fuit ore repressus.  
 His circumspectis, aliisque sub ordine lectis,  
 R. qui deliquit, hunc curia tota reliquit :  
 Hunc deponabant plenum quem labe sciebant,  
 Nec quis eum purgat, iterum ne forte resurgat.  
 Tunc decus Anglorum, sed et optimus ille bonorum,  
 H. fuit electus regno, magis est quia rectus.

<sup>r</sup> Qualiter primo die parlamenti rex Ricardus personaliter non comparuit, sed alibi existens titulo coronæ suæ sub forma magis authentica penitus renunciavit ; super quo nobilis Henricus, universo populo in ejus laudem conclamante ut rex efficiatur, electus est.

Sola dies tentum tulit istud parliamentum,  
 Nec magis expressit pro tunc, sed abinde recessit.  
 H. tamen extenti nova tempora parlamenti  
 Proxima decrevit, quo regni gloria crevit.  
 Quando coronatus foret et de fine levatus,  
 Tunc processus erit super hoc quod curia quærit ;  
 Interea gentes vivunt sub spe recolentes,  
 Quod novus errores rex conteret anteriores.

<sup>s</sup> Sexta dies stabat Octobris, quando parabat  
 Rex novus optata sua parlamenta novata ;  
 Curia verbalis fuit et non judicialis,  
 Ad tempus restat nihil et depondere præstat ;  
 Dicitur expletum quod nil valet esse quietum,  
 Donec persona regis sit operta corona ;  
 Sicque coronari, quem Christus vult venerari,  
 Corditer exultat plebs omnis et inde resultat.

<sup>t</sup> Qui res disponit, et eisdem tempora ponit,  
 Ille diem fixit Henricum quo benedixit ;  
 Prædestinavit Deus illum quem titulavit,  
 Ut rex regnaret sua regnaque justificaret.  
 Quem Deus elegit, regali laude peregit,  
 Unde coronatur in honoreque magnificatur.  
 Tempore felici poterunt solemnia dici,  
 Quæ tam sacratis horis patuere beatis ;  
 Edwardi festa confessoris manifesta  
 Henrici festum regis testatur honestum.  
 Plebs canit in menteque resultat in ore loquente,  
 Quisque colit Christum, quia regem suscitât istum.  
 Vix homo pensare poterit seu dinumerare,  
 Quæ tunc fulserunt, solemnia quanta fuerunt.  
 Omnis terra Deum laudatque canit jubilæum,  
 Henricum justumque piumque ferumque robustum.

<sup>s</sup> Qualiter parliamentum continuatum fuit usque post coronationem.

<sup>t</sup> Qualiter in die solemnî nobilis Henricus, in solium regiæ majestatis sublimatus, cum omni gaudio coronatur.

v Unde coronatur trino de jure probatur :  
 Regnum conquestatque per hoc sibi jus manifestat ;  
 Regno succedit hæres, nec abinde recedit ;  
 Insuper eligitur a plebeque sic stabilitur ;  
 Ut sit compactum, juris nil defuit actum ;  
 Singula respondent Henrici juraque spondent.

w Fama volans crevit, quæ climata cuncta replevit,  
 Quo laus vexilli super omnes præfuit illi.  
 Sic regnat magnus reprobis leo, mitibus agnus,  
 Hostes antiquos qui terret et auget amicos.  
 Luna diem donat, qua regem terra coronat,  
 Marsque sequens terræ dat parlamenta referre.  
 Rex sedet et cuncti proceres resident sibi juncti,  
 Stant et præsentibus communes plus sapientes ;  
 Tempus erat tale communeque judiciale,  
 Quod bene provisum nihil est a jure rescisum.  
 Est quia protectus lætatur sic homo rectus,  
 Et metuunt reliqui sua damna dolenter iniqui.

x Sed quia plus dignum prius est recitare benignum,  
 Quæ sunt majora scribens recitabo priora ;  
 Henrici natus Henricus, honore beatus,  
 Est confirmatus hæres princepsque vocatus.  
 Sic pars abscisa, summo de judice visa,  
 Arboris est uncta veteri stipitique rejuncta.  
 Istud fatatum fuit a sanctisque relatum ;  
 Quod tunc complevit Deus, ex quo terra quievit,  
 Hoc facto læta stupet Anglia laude repleta,  
 Cordeque lætatur, quia stirps de stirpe levatur.

y Tunc de consensu regis, procerum quoque sensu,

v Nota, qualiter jura coronæ serenissimo jam regi nostro Henrico quarto tribus modis accrescunt, primo successionem, secundo electionem, tertio conquestu sine sanguinis effusione.

w Qualiter parlamentum adhuc fuit continuatum.

x Qualiter Henricus, regis tunc Henrici primogenitus, statumque nomen principis de consensu omnium gloriose adeptus est.

y Qualiter ea quæ nuper in parlamento tempore Ricardi per ducem Gloverniæ et socios suos gesta fuerunt, præsens parlamentum confirmavit ; et ea quæ Ricardus in ultimo suo parlamento constituit, præsens etiam parlamentum penitus cassavit.



Plebe reclamante, stant parlamenta per ante;  
 Sic procedebant super his, quæ gesta videbant  
 Ad commune bonum, recolentes gesta baronum.  
 Quæ prius ursus, equus, et olor, qui dicitur æquus,  
 Nuper fecerunt, firmissima constituerunt;  
 Et quæ pomposa perversaque fraude dolosa  
 Ricardus fecit, hæc curia tota rejecit.  
 Et tunc tractatum fuit illud opus sceleratum,  
 Quo dudum cygnus periit sine labe<sup>1</sup> benignus.  
 Justitiæ veræ vindictam clamat habere  
 Omnis ob hoc funus populus, quasi vir foret unus;  
 Sic communis amor popularis et undique clamor  
 Exstitit acceptus a regeque lege receptus.

<sup>2</sup> Infortunatus Ricardus, plus sceleratus,  
 Omnibus ingratus, fuit undique tunc maculatus;  
 Sic quasi damnatus abiit præ labe reatus,  
 Quo stetit elatus sub carcere magnificatus.  
 Ejus fautores, qui sunt de sorte priores,  
 Tunc accusati sunt ad responsa vocati.  
 Hi responsales submittunt se speciales  
 Judicio regis, per quem silet ultio legis.  
 Regia nam pietas sic temperat undique metas,  
 Quod nil mortale datur illis judiciale.  
 Est tamen ablatum, quod eis fuit ante beatum  
 Vocibus Anglorum venerabile nomen eorum;  
 Corpora stant tuta, cecidit sed fama minuta.  
 Dux redit in comitem, quatit et sic curia litem;  
 Labitur exosus Bagot, quem rex pius  
 Erigit, et mite prolongat tempora vitæ.  
 Sic pius Henricus, inimico non inimicus,  
 Gratius ut debet, pro damno commoda præbet.  
 Ipse pium frænum laxat, quia tempus amœnum

<sup>2</sup> Qualiter Ricardo suis ex demeritis judicialiter condemnato, cæteri qui cum eo accusati erant tantummodo ex mera regis pietate quieti permanserunt.



Appetit, et Christo placuisse putavit in isto.  
 Non tamen in gente placet hoc, sed in ore loquente  
 Publica vox dicit, leges quod Mammona vicit.  
 Justitiam quæri plebs vult, rex vult misereri;  
 Et sic fortuna pro tempore non fuit una;  
 Rex excusatur, nam dicunt quod variatur  
 Consilio tali quo res latet in speciali.

<sup>a</sup> Quatuor auctores sceleris, Juda nequiores,  
 Ore dabunt laudes, tacito sub cordeque fraudes;  
 Holand, Kent, Sarum, Spenser, quasi fellis amarum,  
 Fœdera strinxerunt, quibus H. seducere quærunt;  
 Vivere quos fecit pius H., nec eis malefecit.  
 Hi mala conjectant in eum, quem perdere spectant.  
 H. etenim pacem dedit illis, hique minacem  
 Ejus spirantes mortem sunt arma parantes.  
 Sic nimis ingrati mala retribuunt bonitati.  
 In caput illorum tamen est vindicta malorum;  
 Nam qui cunctorum cognoscit corda virorum,  
 Detegit occulta, quibus accidit ultio multa.  
 Cum magis instabant subitoque nocere putabant,  
 Ex improvise pereunt discrimine viso.  
 Per loca diversa fuit horum concio spersa,  
 Quos Deus extinxit, nec in hoc miracula finxit.  
 De populo patriæ nato comitante Mariæ  
 Quatuor elati perierunt decapitati.  
 Ecce Dei munus! populus, quasi vir foret unus,  
 Surgit ad omne latus, sit ut H. ita fortificatus.

<sup>b</sup> Quod satis est carum, concives Londoniarum  
 Nobilis Henrici steterant constanter amici.  
 Rex jubet et prompti fuerant armis cito compti,

<sup>a</sup> Qualiter, finito parlamento, infra breve post quidam impii, instigante diabolo, ut ipsi pium regem Henricum cum sua progenie a terra delerent, proditorie conspirantes insurrexerunt, quos ira Dei præveniens in villa de Cirestre per manus vulgi interfectos miraculosa destruxit.

<sup>b</sup> Qualiter regis nati in custodia tunc majoris Londoniarum pro securitate secundum tempus fidelissime servabantur.

Ejus et in sortem magnam tribuere cohortem.  
 Urbs fuit adjutrix, quæ regis tunc quasi nutrix  
 Natos servavit, et eos quasi mater amavit;  
 Regis enim camera fuit urbs hoc tempore vera,  
 In qua confisus multum fuit ille gavisus.  
 Sic pius in Christo pietatem sentit in isto,  
 Quo præservatur et regnum clarificatur.  
 Anglicus a somnis quasi surgens vir canit omnis,  
 R. cadit, H. regnat, quo regnum gaudia prægnat.  
 ° Tempore quo facta sunt hæc, Ricardus ad acta  
 Non foris exivit; qui quando pericula scivit,  
 Quod sors falsorum destructa fuit sociorum,  
 Fortunam sprexit et eorum funera flevit.  
 Tunc bene videbat quod ei fraus nulla valebat,  
 Quo contristatus doluit quasi morte gravatus.  
 Ecce dolor talis suus est, quod spes aliqualis  
 Amodo viventem nequirit convertere flentem.  
 Qui tamen astabant custodes sæpe juvabant,  
 Ne desperaret, dum tristitia continuaret.  
 Sed neque verborum solamina cepit eorum,  
 Dum lachrymas spersit, sibimet nec amore pepercit.  
 Sic se consumit, quod vix si prandia sumit,  
 Aut si sponte bibit vinum, quo vivere quibit.  
 Semper enim plorat, semper de sorte laborat,  
 Qua cadit, et tales meminit<sup>1</sup> periisse sodales.  
 Solam deposcit mortem, ne vivere possit  
 Amplius, est et ita moriens sua pompa sopita.  
 Anglia gaudebat, quia quem plebs plus metuebat  
 Christus delevit, quo libera terra quievit.  
 Sed probus Henricus, pietatis semper amicus,  
 Ad Christi cultum corpus dedit esse sepultum  
 Sollemni more, quamvis sine laudis honore.

° Qualiter Ricardus, cum ipse nova de morte illorum qui apud  
 Cirestre, ut prædictum est, interierunt audisset, seipsum omni cibo  
 renunciantem præ doloris angustia morientem extinxit.

<sup>1</sup> memorat, MS. A. S. C.

Langele testatur, quod ibi Ricardus humatur ;  
 Ipse loco tali magis omnibus in speciali  
 Corpus donavit, quod mundus habere negavit.  
 Sic bona proque malis H. mitis et imperialis  
 Reddit ei mite, qui clauserat ultima vitæ.  
 Mortuus R. transit, vivens probus H.que remansit,  
 Quem Deus extollit, et ab R. sua prospera tollit.

<sup>d</sup> O quam pensando mores variosque notando,  
 Si bene scrutetur, R. ab H. distare videtur !  
 Clarus sermone, tenebrosus et intus agone,  
 R. pacem fingit, dum mortis fœdera stringit.  
 Duplex cautelis fuit R., pius H.que fidelis ;  
 R. pestem mittit, mortem pius H.que remittit ;  
 R. servitutem statuit, pius H.que salutem ;  
 R. plebem taxat, taxas pius H.que relaxat.  
 R. procures odit et eorum prædia rodit ;  
 H. fovet hæredesque suas restaurat in ædes.  
 R. regnum vastat vindex et in omnibus astat ;  
 Mulcet terrorem pius H.que reducit amorem.  
 O Deus, Henrico, quem diligo, quem benedico,  
 Da regnum tutum nulla gravitate vultum.  
 Vitæ presentis pariter vitæque sequentis  
 Da sibi quodcumque felicius est ad utrumque.

<sup>e</sup> Chronica Ricardi, qui sceptrâ tulit leopardi,  
 Ut patet, est dicta populo sed non benedicta.  
 Ut speculum mundi, quo lux nequit ulla refundi,  
 Sic vacuus transit, sibi nil nisi culpa remansit.  
 Unde superbus erat, modo si præconia quærat,  
 Ejus honor sordet, laus culpat, gloria mordet.

<sup>d</sup> Nota hic, secundum commune dictum de pietate serenissimi regis Henrici, necnon de impietate qua crudelissimus Ricardus regnum dum potuit tyrannice vexavit.

<sup>e</sup> Hic in fine chronicam regis Ricardi secundum sua demerita breviter determinat.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Hic in exemplum aliorum Ricardi demerita commemorans finaliter recapitulat.* MS. A. S. C.

Hoc concernentes caveant qui sunt sapientes,  
 Nam male viventes Deus odit in orbe regentes.  
 Est qui peccator non esse potest dominator,  
 Ricardo teste, finis probat hoc manifeste.  
 Post sua demerita periit sua pompa sopita,  
 Qualis erat vita, chronica stabit ita.

*Explicit chronica presentibusque futuris vigili corde  
 regibus commemoranda.*

MEMORIAL VERSES ON THE REIGNS OF EDWARD III.  
 AND RICHARD II.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Tertius Edwardus vivo genitore coronam  
 Suscipit, et merito dignus in orbe coli.  
 Quartus et annus erat quo BaylloI jura Johannis  
 Scottorum regis filio deveniunt  
 Edwardo, procures qui congregat undique regni  
 In regnum pergant et sibi subveniant.  
 Armantur plures, et classica magna parantur;  
 Intrans Scottorum limina marte fero.

<sup>a</sup> Edwardus de Wyndesore, filius Edwardi secundi, vivente patre suo, coronatur in regem Angliæ, dum xvj. esset annorum, vir strenuus valde et illustris. Hujus anno quarto Edwardus de Balliolo, filius et hæres domini Johannis de Balliolo regis Scottorum, cupiens regnum jure hæreditario debitum recuperare, barones et nobiles ad bella fortes secum per maritima in Scotiam conduxit. Quibus advenientibus obviam habuerunt Scottorum exercitum in tribus aciebus, ubi apud Gledmore atrociter pugnatum fuit, et mons fuit interfectorum altitudinis scilicet Scottorum xx. pedum. Deinde rex Scotiæ transiit usque Scone, ubi coronatus fuit, et magnates ei fidelitatem juraverunt, quam modico tempore observabant, nam ipsum cito post a regno fugaverunt.

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<sup>1</sup> From MS. Harl. No. 1808, fol. 41, v<sup>o</sup>. These form the latter portion, and the only valuable part, of a series of memorial verses on

English history, and are in part at least the recollections of a contemporary, who seems to have had a certain political bias.



Obsistunt Scotti, Gledmor pugnatur utrinque,  
 Edwardus Baillol victor eos superat.  
 Hic terram Scoticam peragrans virtute potenti  
 Debita magnatum jura recepit ibi.  
 Ad villam Sconæ cepit diadema coronæ,  
 Juratur sibi pax, nec tenet illa diu.  
 Insurgunt Scotti, regem regnoque fugarunt,  
 Pervenit ut nudus concito Karliolum.

<sup>b</sup> ¶ Anglorum regi Scottus rex nuncia misit,  
 Promittens terras ut sibi subveniat,  
 Et regnum de se Scottorum jure tenere ;  
 Rex ut subveniat protinus arma parat.  
 Berwicum tendunt ambo reges, ubi bellum  
 Fit Halidon, moritur Scottus ubique manens.  
 Millia centena subeunt discrimina mortis  
 Scottorum populi, redditur urbsque dolens.  
 Adque Novum Castrum devenit rex homo regis ;  
 Pro regno Scotus præstitit inde fidem.

Hanaldi comitis natam rex ipse Philippam  
 Pro consorte capit, nobilis illa fuit ;  
 Edwardum de qua genuit, qui postea princeps  
 Wallorum fuerat, inclitus orbis apex.

¶ Deinde petit Flandros, et postea Cæsaris arva,  
 Bavarros etenim consiliando sibi.

<sup>c</sup> Armis juncta suis Francorum miscuit arma,  
 Inde redit, Gallos opprimit, arva vorat.

<sup>b</sup> Edwardus rex Scotiæ misit nuncios suos ad regem Angliæ, promittens se omnes terras suas citra mare Scoticanum eidem daturum, et pro regno ejusdem homagium et fidelitatem facturum, ut sibi pro eodem recuperando auxilium præstare dignaretur. Unde rex Angliæ cum exercitu pugnavit apud Halidonthille, ubi x. millia Scottorum corruerunt, et villa redditur regi.

<sup>c</sup> Junguntur arma Franciæ armis Anglorum.



<sup>d</sup> Et boreas partes ad Tornacum simul ardet,  
 Festo Baptistæ per mare carpit iter.  
 Fit conflictus ibi cum Francis, sunt data letho  
 Viginti quinque millia mersa mari.  
 Et simul occisi Mounthermer, sic Latymerque,  
 Willelmus Botiler, fata tulere necis.

<sup>e</sup> ¶ Juxta Wallericum dantur morti duo mille,  
 Secanico fracto ponte notante necem.

<sup>f</sup> ¶ Bellum de Crescy magnum peragunt duo reges;  
 Philippus fugiit, fit timor atque cædes.  
 Majoricæque Bohem reges moriuntur ibidem,  
 Lothariæque comes, Senonis atque præsul.  
 David Scottorum rex captus eratque Dunelmi,  
 Maxima summa notat, quaque redemptus erat.  
<sup>g</sup> In bello Payters capitur sub principe nostro  
 Gloria Francorum, subditur hinc et obit.

<sup>h</sup> ¶ Victus bastardus fugit bello Nazaræo,  
 Principe sub nostro restituente Petrum.  
 Et regis nato, de Gaunt dictoque Johanni  
 Lancastri nata traditur uxor ovans.

<sup>i</sup> ¶ Edwardus princeps patre vivente tumulatur,  
 Unde gemunt arma Marsque ducesque simul.

<sup>d</sup> De bello super mare anno Domini millesimo cccxl.

<sup>e</sup> Discomfitura Francorum ad pontem Secanæ juxta sanctum Walericum.

<sup>f</sup> Bellum de Crescy fuit anno M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>o</sup>xlvi, ubi victus est rex Franciæ. Et eodem anno bellum Dunelmiæ. Et eodem anno rex Edwardus obsedit Calesiam, quam ante annum completum obtinuit.

<sup>g</sup> Bellum de Payters, ubi Johannes rex Francorum captus est, anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>ccclvj<sup>to</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> Bellum Hispaniæ apud Nazers, ubi devictus est bastardus, anno gratiæ M<sup>o</sup>ccclvi.

<sup>i</sup> Edwardus princeps moritur.

i ¶ Condolet Edwardus de nati morte benigni,  
 Proh dolor! et moritur prætereundo dies.  
 Septem septuagin., ter e., junctis sibi mille,  
 Sub Junii mense permeat in requiem.

k Turbida succedunt juvenalis tempora regis,  
 Nomine Ricardi, cui diadema datur.  
 Quatuor hic procures comitum succinxit honore,  
 Plurima contulit his prædia grata nimis.

¶ Berwicus capitur Scottorum fraude, sed illos  
 Expellit Percy, sed ne cat ense feros.

l ¶ Francia vastatur patruo regis peragrante  
 Terras, cum prædis itur ad Armoricam.

j Obiit rex Edwardus anno M<sup>o</sup>ccclxxvij<sup>o</sup>.

k Anno gratiæ M<sup>o</sup>ccclxxvij<sup>o</sup>, xvj<sup>o</sup> die Julii, apud Westmonasterium, coronatio Ricardi de Burdegalia, filii Edwardi principis Walliæ, cum xj. esset annorum, ubi in die coronationis suæ creavit quatuor comites, scilicet Thomam Wodstoke, avunculum suum, in comitem Bukingham, Thomam Moubray in comitem Notyngham, Guichardum de Engolismo in comitem de Huntyngdone, et Henricum Percy in comitem Northumbriæ. Proscribitur hoc anno domina Alicia Perreres per procures in parlamento. Insula Vecta capta fuit et redempta pro M<sup>l</sup> marcis, sub custodia Hugonis Tirelle militis. Anno M<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>mo</sup>lxxvij<sup>o</sup>, et regis Ricardi secundo, capitur castrum Berwici et per octo dies tentum recuperatur industria comitis Northumbriæ, et Scoti ibidem occisi sunt. Hoc anno villa de Cherburchie acquiritur pro certa summa solvendum regi Navarriæ.

<sup>1</sup> Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>ccclxxj<sup>o</sup>, et regis Ricardi tertio, Thomas Wodstok, comes de Bukingham, cum Hugone de Calverley, Roberto Knolles, Thoma Percy, Willelmo Wyndesore, et aliis, destinatus in auxilium ducis Britanniæ, dum recto cursu propter galeas in Britanniam navigare non poterat, trajectus est Calesiam, a quo loco suam incipiens equitationem, per gyrum Franciæ nullo resistente equitavit in Britanniam, salvis hominibus et jumentis. Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>ccclxxj<sup>o</sup>, et regis Ricardi quarto, mense Junii, facta est insurrectio communium contra regem et dominos; in quo tumultu occisi sunt a communibus magister Simon Sudbury, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et regni cancellarius, Robertus Hales, thesaurarius, et dominus Johannes Cavendisshe, capitalis justiciarius, prior sancti

¶ Assumpsit Wyclyf multas hæreses violando  
 Catholicamque fidem, dogmata falsa serens.  
 ¶ Vulgaris populus in regem sub duce Jak Straw  
 Consurgitque necat, et loca plura cremat.  
 Quo mox depresso, reliqui pacem violantes  
 Suspensi pereunt, et fugiendo ruunt.

<sup>m</sup> Applicat Anna cito terræ, regina futura,  
 Regis adusque thorum nupta remansit ovans.  
<sup>n</sup> ¶ Norwici præsul cruce signatus, vice papæ,  
 Flandrenses contra protulit arma nova.  
 Appropriat villam Dunkirk, quo schismaticorum  
 Millia bisque novem corruerant mutuo.  
 ¶ Dux Lancastrensis Scoticanas destruit oras,  
 Prædam distribuit, deinde domum rediit.  
<sup>o</sup> Scoti Berwicum capiunt per prodicionem,  
 Et damnatur ob hoc inclitus ille comes

Edmundi de Bury, et alii, diversis in locis. Quæ insurrectio cito fuit compressa, et turbatores pacis per totam Angliam requisiti tractu et suspendio vitam finierunt.

<sup>m</sup> Eodem anno mense Decembris applicuit Anna, soror Wencelai regis Bohemiæ, in terram istam, regina futura, ob quam causam parliamentum quod tunc fuerat inchoatum dissolvitur et differtur usque post regales nuptias et natale Domini quod instabat, post cujus festum, xiiij<sup>o</sup> die Febr. desponsatur regina.

<sup>n</sup> Anno gratiæ M<sup>o</sup>ccciij<sup>xxij</sup><sup>o</sup>, et regis Ricardi vj<sup>o</sup>, dominus Henricus Spencer, episcopus Norwici, cruce signatur contra Gallicos et Flandrenses schismaticos, accepta prius inaudita potestate a papa Urbano, unde circa medium Maii profectus est in Flandriam, ubi cepit villas de Graveling et Dunkirk, et confligit cum schismaticis, et occidit ex eis xvij. milia. Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>ccciij<sup>xxij</sup><sup>o</sup>, et regis Ricardi vij<sup>o</sup>, Johannes dux Lancastriæ, cum Thoma fratre suo comite de Bokyngham, profectus est in Scotiam, et cum multa præda et sine pugna reversus est.

<sup>o</sup> Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>mo</sup>lxxxiiij<sup>o</sup>, Johannes dux Lancastriæ cum exercitu transiit in Scotiam, assistente sibi Thoma fratre suo comite Bukingham, ubi Scoti tunc prudenter agentes subtraxerunt se ad nemora fugientes, bellum nolentes inferre, ubi nostri plurimis de exercitu amissis et captis, sine fructu victoriæ in patriam redierunt. Anno eodem in parlamento apud Westmonasterium tento Henricus Percy, comes Northumbriæ, publice damnatus est

Northumbræ, sed ei villam sub conditione  
 Restituunt, marcis mille bis inde datis.  
 ¶ Innumeris populis rex nobilis induit arma,  
 In Boream tendit ense vorante Scotos;  
 Et sine congressu partes proprias remeavit,  
 Arrepta præda, Scotica regna dolent.  
 ¶ Patruus Edmundus regis fit dux Eboraci,  
 Sic alterque Thomas Claudiocestra petit.  
 Ver comes Oxoniæ Dublinensis marchio fertur,  
 Australes Michael Pool comes it populos.  
 ¶ Transit in Hispanos dux Lancastri, simul atque  
 Gens numerosa nimis, Anglicus atque Brito.  
 Jure vocante ducem, quia fit Constantia causa,  
 Papalis veniam contulit inde favor.  
 ¶ Conspirant mutuo proceres, nam pars sibi regem  
 Attrahit ad votum, pars levat ultra tamen.

pro amissione castri de Berewik, quod quidam de suis ipso ignorante Scotis prodiderat. Regis autem indulgentia honori atque bonis est restitutus, et se transtulit versus Berwicum, obsedit castrum, sed pactione duorum millium marcarum Scotis solvendarum, illud de eorum manibus recuperavit.

¶ Anno gratiæ M<sup>o</sup>ccclxxxv<sup>to</sup>, et anno regis Ricardi secundi octavo, Galli duce Johanne de Vienna venerunt in Scotiam, ut juncti Scotis regnum Angliæ facilius infestarent. Habebat rex Franciæ apud Selusam regalem exercitum paratum ad ingrediendum Angliam, dum nostri in Scotiam bello contra Gallicos tenerentur. Quamobrem rex Angliæ cum ccc. milibus hominum et equorum Scotiam est ingressus, sed hostibus fugientibus vel non apparentibus, est reversus patria concremata. Eodem anno Robertus Ver comes Oxoniæ fit marchio Dubliniæ, Thomas Wodstoke comes Bokyngham fit dux Gloucestriæ, et frater suus Edmundus dux Eboraci, qui prius fuit comes Cantabrigiæ, et Michael Pole fit comes Suffolchiæ. Anno gratiæ millesimo cclxxxvj<sup>to</sup>, Johannes dux Lancastriæ in regnum Hispaniæ jure uxoris sui Constantiæ debitum proficiscitur, filiæ senioris Petri quondam regis Hispaniæ.

¶ Anno Domini millesimo cclxxxvij., et regis Ricardi decimo, Robertus de Veer, tunc dux Hiberniæ, cui rex tantum præbuit favorem ut præ aliis sibi carissimus haberetur, in tantum extollitur ut indignantibus inde duce Gloverniæ, comitibusque Arundeliæ,



Judicio procerum quidam capiuntur ad horam,

Quidam suspensi, decapitantur item.

<sup>r</sup> ¶ Henricum Percy notat Otterburn fore captum,  
Occubuit Douglas, nocte ferente necem.

<sup>s</sup> ¶ Transit Hibernenses rex partes, ut sibi reges  
Subjectos faciat et sua colla premat.

<sup>t</sup> ¶ Rex natam sponsat Francorum connubiali  
Fœdere complacitam, deinde coronat eam.

Warwici, Derby, et Nottingham, cum aliis, regeque semper eosdem dominos destruere proponente, qui cum dominis congredi præparens, apud Rathcotebrigge fugiit a facie eorum devictus. Ob hoc fugierunt Michael Pole comes Southfolchiæ, Alexander archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Robertus Tresilian, et alii. Symon Burle suspenditur, et quidam justiciarii damnantur.

<sup>r</sup> Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>ccclxxxvij<sup>o</sup>, et regis Ricardi secundi xj<sup>o</sup>, Scoti, quietis nescii, intrantes Angliam improvisis provincialibus, agebant cædes et rapinas, multos captivantes, et villas conflagrantes, duce eorum comite Douglas. Quibus occurrit dominus Henricus Percy junior, cum fratre suo Radulpho Percy, contigitque Henricum Percy in primo congressu dictum comitem occidere, sed mox idem Henricus cum fratre suo capitur a Georgio comite Dunbarre, occisis ex Anglicis ibidem multis noctanter. Sed Scoti non audentes expectare adventum aliorum procerum fugerunt. Eodem anno in parlamento creatus est Johannes Holande, frater regis ex parte matris, in comitem Huntynghdone.

<sup>s</sup> Anno gratiæ M<sup>o</sup>ccclxxxiiiij<sup>o</sup>, rex Angliæ Ricardus, circa festum nativitatis beatæ Mariæ, cum duce Gloverniæ et comitibus Marchiæ, Notyngham, et Rutlande, ac exercitu magno, in Hiberniam transfretavit, ubi perterriti reguli terræ se regi submiserunt, videlicet Power cum filio suo, Ocelle Onelon cum filio suo, Abron Makmorthie cum presbytero Powerensi, Dymyl Dangwithe Dendymysin, et Archay.

<sup>t</sup> Anno gratiæ M<sup>o</sup>ccclxxxvj<sup>o</sup>, et regis Ricardi xix<sup>o</sup>, in quodam loco ultra Calesiam convenerunt reges Angliæ et Franciæ ad colloquium, ubi tentoria magnifice sunt erecta, et ibidem maritagia erant firmata, comendataque est Isabella filia regis Franciæ dominabus Anglorum, quæ eam conduxerunt usque Calesiam, cum xij. curribus dominabus et mulieribus onustis, ubi rex Angliæ dictam Isabellam duxit in uxorem, pusiolam non octennem. Cito post rediit rex cum regina in Angliam pro solemnitate coronationis suæ.



- <sup>u</sup> ¶ Rex nomen sumpsit Cestrensis principis, atque  
 Parlamento novos concreat hinc dominos.  
 Ast Glovernensemque ducem jussit jugulare,  
 Atque duces binos trusit in exilium,  
 Unum pro semper, alium sed tempore certo;  
 Extorsit populum, nam sua cuique rapit.  
<sup>v</sup> ¶ Rex cartas albas per totum denique regnum,  
 Adque sigillandas mittit ubique viris.

<sup>u</sup> Anno regis Ricardi xxj. incipiente, rex assumpsit sibi nomen principis Cestriæ, ob amorem populi Cestriæ, in parlamento, ubi novi domini creantur, scilicet Henricus comes Derby in ducem Herefordiæ, comes Marescallus in ducem Norfolk, comes Rutland in ducem Albemariæ, comes Cantiae in ducem Surriæ, comes Huntynghdone in ducem Excestriæ, comitissa Northfolchiæ in ducissam Northfolchiæ, comes Somerset in marchionem de Somerset, dominus Despenser in comitem Gloucestriæ, Radulphum dominum de Neville in comitem Westmerlandiæ, dominum Willelmum Scrope, camerarium regis, in comitem Wilteschire, dominum Thomam Percy, senescallum domus regiæ in comitem Wigorniae; et tunc addidit rex armis suis arma sancti Edwardi confessoris et regis. Anno gratiæ M<sup>o</sup>ccclxxxvij<sup>o</sup>, et regis Ricardi xxj., tenuit rex natale solemniter apud Lichefelde, quo peracto transiit Salopiam, ubi parliamentum interruptum reincipitur, interempto prius et suffocato ignominiose Thoma duce Gloucestriæ apud Caleys. In quo quidem parlamento dux Herefordiæ appellavit Thomam ducem Norfolchiæ de proditione, unde uterque ad duellum se properavit coram rege apud Coventree; quo per regem cassato, perpetuo exilio dux Norfolchiæ damnatus est, ducemque Herefordiæ ad decennium relegavit. Rex iste populum vexabat graviter, pecunias extorquens, equos et quadrigas exigens, nil resolvens.

<sup>v</sup> Parum ante obierat Johannes dux Lancastriæ, scilicet in crastino purificationis beatæ Mariæ, cujus corpus ipso rege interessente solemniter sepultum est London. in ecclesia sancti Pauli. Ex cujus morte rex sumens occasionem malignandi contra filium suum et hæredem, Henricum ducem Herefordiæ, quem relegaverat prius per decennium, exulare decrevit in perpetuum, ut si manus injiceret suis amplis possessionibus, et ea sibimet appropriare vel inter sibi adhærentes distribuere. Extorsit autem a populo xvij. comitatum Angliæ grandiores summas, imponens eis quod contra eum equitaturam fecerant cum duce Gloucestriæ, quare paratus

w ¶ Rex ad Hibernica regna ferocia vi properavit,  
 Appulit interea dux sua jura petens.  
 Rex renuit regnum, dux rex fit, sicque coronam  
 Suscipit, et regnum sceptrā tenendo regit.

erat super eos equitare tanquam super publicos hostes suos. Ad cartas etiam albas suos ligeos universaliter apponere sigilla sua compulit, ut quotiens grassari vellet in plebem facultatem haberet licet illicitam opprimendi quamcunque personam.

w Circa finem Pentecostes, rex Ricardus cum Cestrensibus et ducibus Albemariæ et Excestriæ aliisque dominis, una cum filiis ducum Gloucestriæ et Herefordiæ, transivit in Hiberniam, captisque secum regni thesauris, coronis quinque, reliquiis, et jocalibus regni Angliæ, ubi Hibernenses terruit, prostravit, et afflixit. Dum sic rex ageret in Hibernia, dux Herefordiæ, ut per mortem patris sui recuperaret hæreditatem suam in Anglia, acceptis spiritibus, cum Thoma Arundelle nuper archiepiscopo Cantuariæ, filio similiter comitis Arundellæ et hærede, Thoma Erpyngham, et Johanne Northburye, juxta Ravenesere applicuit in Angliam. Et advocatis sibi auxiliariis partis Borealis, videlicet Henrico Percy comite Northumbriæ, Henrico filio suo, Radulpho de Neville comite Westmerlandiæ, qui sororem ejusdem ducis desponsaverat, aliisque innumeris, terram versus partes Australes festinavit, et Bristolliam pervenit, ubi, castro reddito duci, regis consilarii, scilicet Willelmus Scrope comes Wilteschire, Bagot, Bussy, Grene, et Russel, capti sunt, et ut falsi proditores regni decapitati sunt, et ut hostes publici proclamati. Interea applicuit rex Ricardus apud Milforde pugnare proponens, sed meticulosus non audens congregi cum duce, commisit domino Thomæ Percy, senescallo suo, familiam suam, et ipse cum paucis fugit ad castrum de Flynt, postea aliquando ad Angleseyam, Coneway, Beaumarys, et Holte. Tandem desiderante rege colloquium habere cum duce, mediantibus internunciis, apud castrum de Flynt ambo interloquuntur, deinde simul usque Cestriam pervenire, deinde Londonias usque ad Turrim, ubi, summonito parlamento, rex noscens se indignum, resignavit regnum cum corona, et meritis exigentibus depositus est. Unde procerum et communi assensu, dux, clamans regnum, coronatur die translationis sancti Edwardi, et inungitur. Rex autem Ricardus per decretum communis perpetuo carceri traditur, et in castro Pontefracti ultimas efflavit auras.



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